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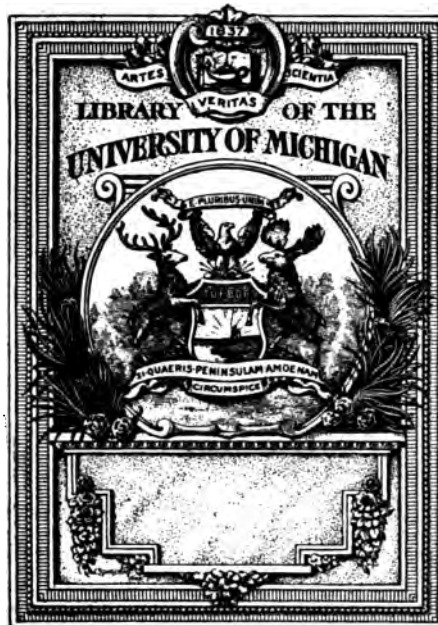
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THE  
WESTMINSTER  
REVIEW.

*JANUARY TO JUNE*  
*(INCLUSIVE)*  
1904.

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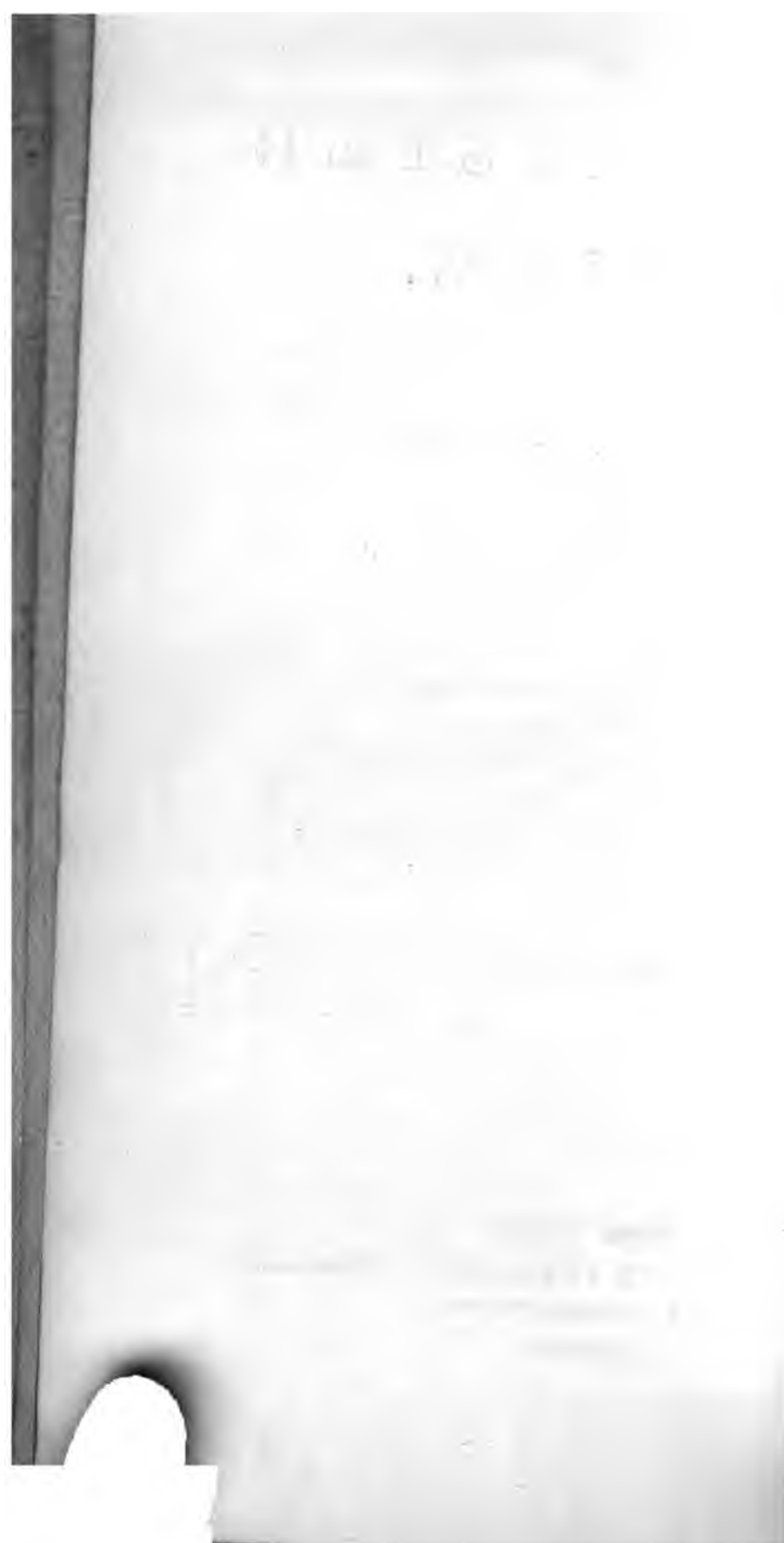
"Truth can never be confirmed enough,  
Though doubts did ever sleep."  
SHAKSPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weis.  
GOTHE.

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THE  
WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

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HERBERT SPENCER.

IN his impressive address beside the coffin of the late Herbert Spencer—an address which will long live in the memory of those of us who were privileged to hear it as a masterpiece of slow and stately eloquence—Mr. Leonard Courtney laid particular stress upon the great philosopher's marvellous powers of generalisation. And he was right in so doing, for it is precisely here, we think, that we may recognise the most remarkable characteristic of Spencer's genius. How vast were the range and sweep of his mind, and how daring yet how sure-footed was his advance from facts to induction, and again to more comprehensive induction, will become clear to any reader who watches closely the unfolding of his argument in almost any division of his works. Much has been written of his encyclopedic knowledge, illustrated not only in the ten volumes of the *Synthetic Philosophy*, but also in his numerous disconnected essays, in which he discussed with apparently equal ease and certainty, such varied subjects as the Nebular Hypothesis, animal worship, architectural types, music, railway policy, manners and fashions, and representative government. Such versatility is well calculated to cause astonishment. But the real significance of it is missed if no due notice is taken of the fact that in treating thus of many topics, Spencer made important contributions to the discussion of nearly all of them. Specialists in almost every walk acknowledge their indebtedness to him, and writers on astronomy, musical theory, and literary style, no less than those who deal with psychology and ethics, find it necessary, even when it is to express disagreement, to take his speculations and conclusions under consideration. Why is this? In the nature of things it cannot be

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that Spencer wrote as a specialist himself on all these different themes—that in every phase and aspect of life dealt with in the Synthetic System, from the most abstract questions of cosmology at the one end, to the most trivial details of savage superstitions at the other, his own position should have been that of pioneer and original investigator. This was impossible. The explanation of the extraordinary value possessed by nearly all his writings, even on subjects remote from the great highways of his thought, will ultimately be found in the fact that he brought to bear upon every problem that he took up, not only enormous erudition and the rarest sagacity, but also, and in particular, that wonderful generalising power to which we now specially refer. It seemed as if in his hands facts, apparently the most alien and disconnected, discovered their affinities with one another, and entered into wholly unexpected relationships; as if the phenomena under study grouped themselves of their own accord into such patterns as to make recognition of the laws which they exemplified inevitable. The finest illustrations of this power and of the results which it enabled Spencer to achieve, are probably to be found in the *Principles of Psychology*; but there is hardly an essay or chapter in the whole extent of his writings in which some noteworthy instance is not afforded.

Approaching his philosophy in this way, we reach a point of view from which both the salient features of his system and his characteristic method become perfectly clear. The object which Spencer set out to accomplish was the discovery and co-ordination of those most general laws by which we symbolise the processes of the Universe as we know these under the limitations of our own intelligence. And this object was reached primarily by a long series of generalisations, the results being finally knit together, in their most abstract statements, into a unified and coherent whole. By the process of generalisation the various sciences advance to the establishment of certain comprehensive laws within the area of their own phenomena. But such special results remain practically independent of one another. The business of philosophy, as conceived by Spencer, is to formulate the universal laws underlying all such special laws, and thus to become the science of the sciences; for “as each widest generalisation of science comprehends and consolidates the narrower generalisations of its own division, so the generalisations of philosophy comprehend and consolidate the widest generalisations of science.” Philosophy thus represents “the final product of that process which begins with a mere colligation of crude observations, goes on establishing propositions that are broader and more separated from particular cases, and ends in universal propositions.”

Spencer's greatest achievement in generalisation was of course his formulation of the great law of Evolution, which is the founda-

tion and backbone of his entire body of thought. Of the relation of this law to those universal truths which constitute the first principles of his system—the persistence of force, the uniformity of law, the indestructibility of matter, and the rhythm of motion—it is hardly necessary here to speak, for this is a point which can have very little interest for any one save the special student of philosophy. There is one aspect of his general doctrine, however, which has practical importance, and which, since misconceptions concerning it are rather common, calls for passing remark. It is often supposed that, as a universal process, Evolution stands alone in Spencer's systematic treatment of life. This is not so. It is a necessary corollary from one of the first principles just referred to—the law of the rhythm of motion—that the redistribution of matter and motion throughout the universe and in all its parts, should comprise two antagonistic processes—the one tending to increasing consolidation and definiteness, the other towards diffusion and incoherence. The former is Evolution, the latter Dissolution; the one is the building, the other the destroying force. Thus in no theory of things—whether we consider the tiny cycle of an insect's life, or the growth and decay of worlds—can we ignore the disintegrating force by which sooner or later the work of Evolution must be undone. But as upon our own planet, throughout the ages of which we know anything, and still at the present time, it is the evolutionary process which has been and remains predominant, it is upon this phase of the general transformation going on everywhere about us, that we may properly fix our attention. And the Spencerian philosophy, broadly considered, is the philosophy which explains the universe in terms of the fundamental law of Evolution, which, established in *First Principles*, was then, in the nine succeeding volumes of the Synthetic System, carried forward as an organon into the domains of biology, psychology, sociology, and ethics.

Let us take this crowning achievement of Spencer's inductive powers, and try to show how by generalisation upon generalisation the complete formula of Evolution was gradually reached. In marking the successive stages of the process, we shall be able to bring out the full meaning of the method pursued by Spencer in the elaboration of his entire system of thought.

It is, of course, to the work produced by him between 1850 and 1860—that is, to his remarkable series of preliminary studies from *Social Statics* to the original edition of *First Principles*—that we naturally turn,<sup>1</sup> and in these the development of his thought towards

<sup>1</sup> Readers of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW will hardly need to be reminded how many of Spencer's most important essays first appeared in these pages. Among them may specially be mentioned those on "The Philosophy of Style," "Over-Legislation," "Manners and Fashion," "Progress, its Law and Cause," "Representative Government," "State Tamperings with Money and Banks," "The Morals of Trade," "The Social Organism," "The Nebular Hypothesis," and "Parliamentary Reform."

the conclusions finally established is clearly shown. We are able, however, to supplement this record by an outline of his intellectual history furnished us some years ago by Spencer himself, and in what follows we shall, wherever necessary, make use of this important document.

It will be remembered first that, unlike Darwin and Wallace, Spencer approached the general problem of Evolution not from the biological, but from the sociological and ethical side. His interest to begin with, and his chief interest throughout, was in man and the practical questions connected with man's life, and no matter how far afield his inquiries sometimes took him, the direct human bearings of his philosophy were never absent from his mind. His first conception of Evolution, therefore, was under the limited form of progress, or the evolution of man, individually and in society; and the question—what is progress? was the question which at the outset he set himself to answer. His first reply is to be found in *Social Statics*, historically interesting not only because it opens his own work, but also because, as we hardly think he himself realised, it points back in many ways to the speculations of the eighteenth century. In that volume, as he told us, was contained the simple nucleus of his system. Life was there regarded as a "tendency towards individuation" (the phrase itself was borrowed from Coleridge, or Coleridge in turn had taken it from the Germans), and progress was interpreted as the fulfilment of this tendency. But examination revealed the fact that "individuation" is not a simple, but a compound process, since while on the one hand it means the more and more sharply defined separation of parts in an organism, on the other hand it implies closer relationship among such separating parts, or increasing unity of organisation. Low types of animals, as he already saw, are composed of many like parts *not* mutually dependent, while higher animals are composed of parts that are unlike and *are* mutually dependent. This, he wrote, "was an induction which I had reached in the course of biological studies—mainly, I fancy, while attending Professor Owen's lectures on the Vertebrate Skeleton." From this generalisation he at once passed on to the further generalisation that the same statement holds good not only of individual organisms, but also of societies, after which, joining these two separate inductions, he reached the wider conclusion that this law was not special, but general. Two years later he fell in with Von Baer's well-known principle "that the series of changes gone through during the development of a seed into a tree, or an ovum into an animal, constitute an advance from homogeneity of structure to heterogeneity of structure." This principle harmonised completely with the conceptions already reached, and while it did not play the important part it is commonly

assumed to have played in the development of his ideas, it was of great service to him at the time. By furnishing him with the compact expression "from homogeneity to heterogeneity," it gave him a convenient intellectual implement, since (to quote from his letter) "by its brevity and its applicability to all orders of phenomena, it served for thinking much better than the preceding generalisation, which contained the same essential thought."

Yet it is evident that however useful it may have been to him in other ways, Von Baer's law misled him by fixing his attention upon one side only—the more conspicuous side—of the two-fold evolutionary process, the tendency towards ever-increasing complexity. Now it is clear that, if unaccompanied by a corresponding increase in mutual dependence among the parts of an organism, this tendency must inevitably lead not to progress, but to disorganisation. But this all-important truth, though it never entirely dropped out of Spencer's thought, was for the time being neglected by him, the process of differentiation (or the setting up of differences within an organism) having taken full possession of his mind. Thus in his Essay on "Progress: its Law and Cause," first published in this REVIEW in April 1857, he sought to expand Von Baer's generalisation into a complete statement of Evolution at large, the change from homogeneity to heterogeneity being alone recognised. Nor had he got beyond this point when he began work on the Synthetic System, for in the first edition of *First Principles*, again, the process of integration was overlooked, and Evolution was made to consist merely in increase of heterogeneity.

But now Spencer realised his mistake. The law of Evolution as thus enunciated was, indeed, a law of Evolution, but not the complete law, since evidently there are many transformations from simplicity to complexity which are not changes in the line of Evolution. In other words, while all Evolution implies increasing heterogeneity, all increasing heterogeneity does not imply Evolution. When, then, does development in complexity mean Evolution, and when does it not? This was the question by which Spencer now found himself confronted, and the answer to it was reached by the revival of that principle of integration which for a time he had allowed to slip out of sight. When increasing complexity is accompanied by corresponding increase of dependence among the parts of an organism, then and only then is the change a change in the direction of Evolution. Still pursuing the method of generalisation, Spencer finally established the conclusion that Evolution is the process which brings about multiformity in unity—the multiformity arising from differentiation (or the growth of unlikenesses among parts); the unity from the integration of those parts, through mutual dependence, into a more and more



coherent whole. Hence his world-famous form which thus, after all, turns out to be by no means first sight it possibly looks.

It must, of course, be added that when he had his complete law of Evolution by a series of inductions not allow his results to remain in the inductive stage to give a *rational* explanation of the Evolution of this necessitated the re-statement of his law, and all in deductive form. When his "many small inductions merged in his "largest induction" (we are here on his own account), he found awaiting him behind "induction" the inevitable questions—*Why* these things? *Why* these processes? *Why* these laws? and in answering these questions he passed from empirical generalisation to principles, and from these again to his foundation of the persistence of force. "So you see," he wrote us, "began by being inductive, and ended by being deductive. This is the peculiarity of the method followed."

The majority of readers will, however, hardly care to master through these remoter stages of his thought. Doubtless, the chief interest of the Spencerian system will be found to lie in its detailed applications of the law to the phenomena of life, mind, and society, and in the truths which are thus everywhere brought to light.

Of the majestic structure which Spencer reared upon his mental conception of Evolution, it is no part of our business to speak. The question has already been raised as to how little, of the ten bulky volumes in which his system unfolded is destined to endure amid the new century's progress of knowledge and inevitable development of thought. It is too early to put this question, for time alone will show us. We think that the tendency at the moment is generally to underestimate the importance of his labours, and the permanency of his conclusions. But however this may be, it is certain that the Synthetic Philosophy has already taken its place among the world's greatest works, and that Spencer's name will stand among those of the immortals.

## THE FANTASTIC FALLACY OF AN EMPIRE BUILDER.

A CHALLENGE TO MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

THROUGHOUT the commercial world Great Britain is the only considerable country that has in her strong common sense steadfastly repudiated a protective policy. The rest of the great communities have encircled their shores and their borders with barriers of protective tariffs based on the strangest idea ever conceived by a topsy-turvy brain.

To-day, Protection is raising its head again in England, and the most powerful political leader of the hour stands as its chief exponent. Never did a Napoleon conceive simpler or more sufficient strategies than he, never did a Peter the Hermit preach more rousinglly or more energetically. Dazzled by the splendid barbarity of a mighty Empire, he has stepped into the arena armed with the keenest weapons of persuasive oratory, behind which he can laugh to scorn the old methods of half-hearted and poor-policied Free Traders, whose limited imaginations get no further than the advocacy of revenue and non-protective taxes.

Rightly did Mr. Chamberlain style the present system of revenue tariffs as rude, brutal, and unscientific; but, thanks be to the Gods, they do not constitute Free Trade, for the beauty of true Free Trade brings out the real science of taxation, before the regal splendour of which both revenue tariffs and protective tariffs pale like the silver stars before the rising of the morning sun. I hope, with as firm and fair a hand as may be, to expose the fallacies of both protective and revenue tariffs; and if the splendid weapon of absolute Free Trade be but in 'prentice hands, the merit of the victory will with stronger reason lie with Free Trade itself.

What is the system which Mr. Chamberlain attacks? It is the existing system of revenue or non-protective tariffs on imports. If he is right in calling it rude, brutal, and unscientific, he is absolutely and emphatically wrong in calling it Free Trade. If it were not that the pretentious party (the Liberal party) calls itself the Free Trade party, whereas it is really the party of revenue tariffs, this fallacy could not have passed muster among a group of the veriest political tyroes.

Imports are divided into two classes—(a) goods which compete with similar home-manufactured goods, and (b) goods nothing similar to which is produced in the importing country. An import tariff on the former naturally places the foreigner at a disadvantage, and “protects” the home industry by enabling the home manufacturer to get a better price for his productions. An import tariff on the latter cannot protect any home manufactures, as there are none to protect.

The Unionist advocates tariffs on the first section of imports, *i.e.*, protective tariffs. The Liberal advocates the maintenance of tariffs on the second section, *i.e.*, revenue or non-protective tariffs. *The Free Trader* proper advocates the absolute sweeping away of all import tariffs. What Mr. Chamberlain is fighting is therefore not Free Trade, but a system of revenue tariffs. And the men who have hitherto opposed him are not Free Traders, they are revenue-tariff men. That is the reason why I, as a *no-tariff man*, issue the present challenge to Mr. Chamberlain.

Party leaders (and Mr. Chamberlain is still one in fact) are fond of catchy sentences and words. It was a master-trick to drop the word “Protection,” to which so much opprobrium has hitherto clung in English thought, to replace it by the more attractive “Preferential Tariffs.” The new word is undoubtedly better suited to the present controversy, involving as it does the interests of many countries instead of one country only. It is however at bottom the same thing as “Protection,” as I hope now to show.

A protective tariff is a tariff on imports *when the same kind of goods are produced within the importing country*. In a vast country like the United States, where nearly everything is or may be produced, protective tariffs may be levied on nearly everything which is imported. But in smaller England the range of protective tariffs is far narrower, because of our more limited productive opportunities. If, however, we extend the policy of Protection to the whole British Empire, instead of restricting it to Great Britain, the range of possibly protective tariffs becomes as great as in the United States, or even greater.

Such an extension necessitates our treating the Empire as a unit, instead of as a number of separate countries. So that a tariff on British imports which is not protective so far as English industry is concerned (there being none) may become protective to some colonial industry, on condition that whilst the tariff be maintained towards the foreigner, it be mitigated or taken away for the Colony. If we had Free Trade within the Empire, the Empire would virtually be one country. All (or nearly all) revenue tariffs in England would become protective tariffs for some part of the Empire. For instance: the tax on tea is a revenue tariff at present; there is no tea-growing industry in England to protect. But if we leave the

tax standing on Chinese tea, and take it off Indian tea, our revenue tea tax becomes immediately a protective tax on Indian tea.

The distinction between "preferential tariffs" and "protective tariffs" is therefore illogical and worthless. If we treat the different States composing the United States of America as so many colonies, we see at once how true this is. They are contiguous colonies, instead of being separated by water. But that is a matter of no consequence, as some of their parts are fully three thousand miles away from each other. What is a revenue tariff in one State protects the industry of another State, but has the same title to be called "preferential" as any proposition Mr. Chamberlain may bring forward.

We may conclude then that Mr. Chamberlain's policy is a protective one. Whether it be protective as applied to the Empire, or only protective as applied to Great Britain, does not change the main fact of its being protective. It is not my present object to examine the effect of protective tariffs. My first aim is to examine the idea on which they are based. Their consequences will be all the easier to trace afterwards.

*The grand aim of protective tariffs is to reduce imports.* If Protectionists can stop things being brought into the country, or hamper the bringing in, or reduce the quantity brought in, they are satisfied with the result of their efforts. But it does not follow that Protectionists wish to reduce exports to the same amount. On the contrary, they make strenuous efforts to increase exports. It is said of a certain American Senator that he would stop advocating protective tariffs when America could supply herself with everything and still sell to other countries. This is an acute form of the folly with which Mr. Chamberlain is afflicted in a smaller dose, and I hope presently to deal with it.

In the meantime let us simply note that the *rationale* of Protection is that it is good for a country to decrease her imports and to increase her exports.

The idea that exports should exceed imports passes current today among nearly all classes of politicians, and it underlies as a self-evident assumption nearly every argument employed by the Protectionist party. The theory is of course of more use to them than to any one else, and it has the advantage of appealing in a certain sense to large classes of men whose interests lie in the export business. As, however, I am appealing to the nation, I hope to convince all that this idea is as false as it is foolish.

Exports are merchandise which we send out of the country. Imports are merchandise which are brought into the country. The idea that exports should exceed imports therefore means that we should send more out of the country than we bring into it. It is however not merely held that we should send out much and get



little in, but that we send out the maximum and get in the minimum. The ideal of the greatest possible exports is the complement of that of the least possible imports. In other words, it is held to be a sign of commercial prosperity in a country that it should send away as much merchandise as possible while receiving the smallest quantity possible from other countries; and a sign of commercial poverty and decadence, that it should send away as little merchandise as possible while receiving as much as possible from other countries.

According to this statement of affairs, *a rich country is one which gives much and receives little.* It follows from the same starting-point that *a poor country is one which gives little and gets much.* These definitions are startling to say the least of it, and I cannot conceive by what magic of thought the Protectionist can avoid being struck by the fact of their strangeness and absurdity. Still how can one avoid the conclusion, given the initial idea that exports should be superior to imports?

The comparative of a rich country (a richer one) would be a community which gave a great deal and received very little. The superlative (the richest country) would similarly be *a community which gave everything and got nothing.* This may be reduction to the absurd, but I would point out that I have stuck quite closely to the doctrine of the Protectionist as it is expressed or understood in a thousand speeches and articles every day.

A rich community is indisputably one which has within its midst a great quantity of merchandise at its disposition. If, therefore, it sends much of this merchandise out of its midst and receives little back, its store of goods must be reduced, and it must therefore be poorer for following out the idea that exports should be superior to imports. If it send away its whole store of goods and get back none, its riches will be at zero, instead of being at their zenith as they should be according to the protective theory. This is quite clear. Of course, the practical politician meets such evident truths with his usual scorn of mere "theories," and proceeds to place before the country long rows of figures. We know, however, that statistics are dangerous things to deal with, and that the statistical departments of customs houses are not quite perfect. We also know that figures may have more than one explanation. This I hope to show presently.

The merest glance at the facts of the case shows that the Protectionist idea is wrong. A rich community should import much and export little. Its imports should exceed its exports. It is, however, not sufficient to satisfy ourselves with having seen this fact; we must make it clear for every one. Let us try and clear the question of its difficulties by simplifying it. Let us take a "community of one man." A shipwrecked sailor is thrown on an island. He lives by dint of hard toil. He kills wild goats and pigs, and

snares birds. He gathers eggs and catches fish. He plucks fruit and gathers nuts. He makes clothes with difficulty, and builds a hut and a boat after long and painful efforts.

Now let us suppose that this island, hitherto unknown, is at length discovered. And strange to say, people agree to leave the shipwrecked mariner in peace; nobody asks him for any rent on his island. Further, he refuses to leave his dominions, and decides to trade with any ships that may pass.

A ship comes along and offers him knives, tools, pistols, and the thousand accessories of civilisation, against his fruit, nuts, eggs, goats, pigs, birds and fish. The things offered cost little, and fresh meat and fruit are rare in mid-ocean. The people on the ship, therefore, offer to the solitary islander many things in exchange for a few things. The disproportion may not be very remarkable to the people on the ship, but to the man on the island it is remarkable. He spent six months making a boat which puts his life in constant danger, and here is a good one offered for a day's work. He spent a week cutting a tree down with a sharp stone, and here is an axe that will do the work in a day with less fatigue; and the axe can be had for an armful of fruit easily gathered. He gets a good knife to skin animals with, in exchange for a cocoanut, which will save him heaps of trouble. In exchange for a single pig, he has clothes which protect him from the inclemency of the weather. He may build a hut which will be almost perfection with the tools now put into his hands and save time in doing it. And so on through an interminable list of good bargains.

What is the state of his imports and exports? Evidently he gets more than he gives. That is, his imports exceed his exports. Now, this is the exact opposite of the Protectionist idea. Is our shipwrecked man richer or poorer? Evidently he is richer. I take this side of the question, but it is quite the same to me whether I picture him with high imports and low exports, or the contrary. What I want to bring out, however, is, that if his imports (what he gets) exceed his exports (what he gives) he is the richer for it, and that if his exports (what he gives) exceed his imports (what he gets) he is the poorer for it.

One can imagine a conversation between our Robinson and a Protectionist, as thus:

*Protectionist.* "Now look here; I can quite see that your imports are too high and your exports too low. If you don't stop people bringing you things, you'll be ruined. Already a period of industrial depression seems to have set in. You're doing very little about here."

*Robinson.* "Great Scott, what on earth do you mean by all this jargon of imports, exports and industrial depression? I thought I was doing splendidly. I never was so happy in my life."

*Protectionist.* "My dear fellow, that is a mere theory. Your industry is bound to suffer. Don't you see that you are buying ever so much and selling ever so little? It is easy to predict that at this rate you will simply be standing idle, instead of having good flourishing industries."

*Robinson.* "I don't care a fig about my industry, what I want is results. I want to get as much for my work as I can, and do as little as possible, or just what is necessary to live comfortably."

*Protectionist.* "My poor deluded man, if I didn't believe that Free Traders were really a myth, I should fancy one had got hold of you. You seem to think that you pay for your imports with your exports. That is a delusion of the older economists. The idea has been exploded long ago. To-day, we want facts and figures. Theories and principles are all out of date."

*Robinson.* "If by imports you mean what I get and by exports what I give, then it certainly seems to me that I pay for my imports by my exports, and that the ships which pass are paid for the things I get from them by my exports. If that is not so in your country, you must get things for nothing, or give them for nothing. Nobody is more desirous of getting things for nothing than I am, and if some kind of arrangement could be made which would help me to do this I guess you'll make a convert of me."

The Protectionist, finding further argument useless on such a stubborn person, retires in high dudgeon. Now, if in a "community of one" it is better for imports to exceed exports, how does it come about that the reverse should be held to be the case in a community of forty millions?

The reason will be found in the argument used by Robinson, and we shall see that it is a pernicious fact that *imports are not always paid for by exports* when imports are higher than exports, and that *exports are not always paid for by imports* when exports are higher than imports. The argument used by Robinson is true: *we either get things for nothing, or give them for nothing.*

In order to trace these facts in a simple way, we have merely to follow in imagination the events of our little fable about Robinson, as when the commercial facts with which we are dealing have been made clear by tracing their action in a simple case, it will be easy to show their influence in complicated ones.

Let us suppose then that Robinson is not only left to his island, but that he is acknowledged as being a separate and independent republic by the Powers. Let us further suppose the existence of another island at a distance of 100 miles from the first one, which is occupied not by one, but by two men, who are likewise recognised as an independent republic by the Powers.

These two men decide that Robinson's island is a nuisance, and they declare war on Robinson. They pretend to send him word of

their decision by means of a passing ship, and one day they set off on their expedition. They surprise Robinson, who is dusting his pots, sharpening his tools, cleaning his instruments, &c. He is set upon vigorously, badly knocked about, and finally reduced to powerlessness. In the fight, however, the two other men have been hurt. In anger they break his instruments and his pots. They throw his tools and goods into the sea. And then they proceed to draw up a treaty of peace.

Robinson must pay them one thousand pounds sterling, just as France paid Germany millions of francs. Robinson has no money (doesn't need such), but finally agrees to recognise any duly signed papers coming from his conquerors up to the tune of one thousand pounds, and to give his goats, pigs, fruit, eggs, &c., against these papers, without asking (naturally) anything in return!

For some time afterwards, Robinson is in a bad way. He has to replace his lost goods, and his damaged pots and instruments, &c. Not only this, but ships which pass only give him papers signed by the other two men, in return for his fresh meat and fruit, &c. So he finds, poor man, that his exports are increasing with a vengeance, while his imports not only do not increase, but actually diminish. So he grows gradually poorer, and curses the triumph of the protective theory (beg pardon, fact), for he doesn't find it to work in his favour. He has a terrible job to get sufficient knives, books, &c., now that his war indemnity has to be paid.

On the other hand, the men (republic duly recognised!) who beat him get good things from passing ships by simply handing signed pieces of paper on Robinson. *Their* imports go on whether they export or not. In fact they can for some time increase their imports and absolutely export nothing.

This makes the balance up. A few years afterwards Robinson has just nicely recovered from the blow, when a new calamity befalls him. The British Government, finding him exposed to the attacks of foreign Powers (!), decide to extend their protection to him. They annex his territory nominally, leaving him perfect master of his island in the meanwhile.

But Britain cannot possibly protect its possessions for nothing. And Robinson is asked to pay "home charges" (just like India!) for this protection. In order to facilitate his sending value to the Government, a financier induces him to open a banking account in London. A cheque book is given him, and a thousand pounds are deposited in the bank for him.

When the "home charges" (how sweet a name for taxes!) are due, the Government make a draft on Robinson's banker, and the banker makes a draft on Robinson. In the ordinary course of financial matters this draft eventually comes into the hands of somebody on a ship passing Robinson's way, and Robinson pays the amount in



goats, pigs, fruit, &c., without getting anything in return save a paper showing that his "home charges" are at last definitely paid.

This new governmental operation increases his exports in fine style; but for these exports he gets no imports (only a paper), and he curses once more the odious triumph of the Protective theory (or fact!). He can, however, get on by working a little harder, but he probably feels the necessity of being protected from foreign invasion, and so he grins (or groans) and bears it. But misfortune ever overtakes the brave worker, and Destiny smiles her evil smile as she sees his exports increasing and his imports stationary, or decreasing.

A Lord has spoken in the House, and a new measure has been passed. (The House of Commons agreed like lambs!) The good old Common Enclosure Rights, so hoary with age, have received new extensions. Robinson's isle is to be enclosed!

The Lord who "encloses" the island sends over an agent nullifying all old understandings, and dissolving the originally independent republic Robinson was proud of. But that is not all. The agent fixes the rent of the island (not very high for a start), and retires, leaving Robinson to his reflections!

Robinson (like all other workers, he has a wonderful amount of patience) does not remove. He sticks stolidly to his island, and awaits the coming blow. It comes with the next ship. Goats, pigs, fruits, nuts, eggs, &c., are demanded. All these are so many exports. But there are no imports in return. Oh, dear no. Robinson simply receives his receipt for the rent, or a credit note on the bank from whom the rent has been drawn in cash, and which has come round to Robinson with the unfailing certainty of sunrise.

It would be useless to follow our Robinson through the smaller incidents induced by varying factors in imports and exports. What I have principally to say has now been said.

It follows from this little experiment that under a healthy *régime* imports should be greater than exports. It is seen that exports are increased to the impoverishment of the exporting country. They go out in payment of debts contracted for wars, they go out in payment of war indemnities, they go out in payment of taxes to another country. *And in return for all these exports, there are no imports whatever.* Lastly, and most markedly, fruitless exports (*i.e.* for which no imports are returned) are made in payment of rent on land.

Now, *commerce as I understand it, is an exchange of commodities.* How often this definition is given with that ease and glibness which is the result of habit! Commerce is, if you will, *an exchange of exports for imports.* That is, *true commerce is to send out exports for which imports are brought back to the same value.* To send out exports in payment of taxes, of war indemnities, and of rent is not commerce. There is no exchange. And where there is no exchange there is no commerce.

I will not ask whether it is known how much of the Irish exports are caused by the absentee landlords. The fact is clear (whatever the amount may be), and Irish exports are greater than they ought to be in proportion. I will not ask how many millions of dollars are drawn from the United States by landlords in London. The fact is clear that the exports of the United States are greater than they ought to be in proportion. I will not ask how much India pays in "home charges"; the fact remains that her exports are greater than they ought to be in proportion.

We have a new Blue-book, and know how much we export and how much we import. But who will show us how much of our exports are really commercial (sent out against imports of like value), and how much of our imports are really commercial (received in exchange for exports of like value)? If we knew this, we should know exactly *how much trade we are doing*. We should also know how much of our so-called commerce is unproductive, *i.e.*, we should see how much of our exports are fruitless (bring no return in imports), and to what extent our imports have rendered the exports of other countries unproductive (they having received nothing in return for them from our country). In one word: *how much real business are we doing as a nation, and to what extent are we imposed upon by others, or do we impose on them?* This would be a good basis for a Blue-book on *real trade, i.e. on the interchange of products, and not on their giving*.

I am fully aware that an important factor which I have not yet considered enters into this question. Our shipping trade increases our imports without increasing our exports to a like amount. This is an exchange of goods for services, and is a part of genuine commerce. If Robinson had gone out to the ships in his boat, instead of allowing them to land on his island, he might have asked more for his goods on the strength of this extra carrying (shipping on a small scale) work. This would have increased his imports without increasing his exports. After deducting the increase of imports due to shipping, we may fairly conclude that the balance of imports and exports is due to the fact that exchange has been replaced by extortion, and that tribute has taken the place of trade.

Now it must be the tendency of progress and trade to equalise the distribution of the shipping trade, so that it will not be long possible for Great Britain to keep this monopoly.

In a fluent state of commerce, imports would not be superior to exports nor exports to imports. Their value ought to be equal, and in a purely commercial world would be so. There is a natural advantage in exporting and importing which consists in the carrying of things from places where they are naturally cheap (abundant) to where they are naturally dear (scarce). What is imported is therefore of more utility and, in figures, of more value than what is exported.

In such a sense imports should exceed exports, this being the indication of a prosperous commercial state of affairs. In any other sense imports can only exceed exports when some other country or countries are drained by tribute and by extortion for the benefit of the importing country. Likewise exports can only exceed imports when there is a similar drain on national resources from the outside.

To think it possible to increase exports without increasing imports is an absurdity almost too childish to be worth a thought. It is, however, held by a surprising number of people. First of all, we must note that if we increase our exports, somebody else's imports must be increased to the same amount. Goods which are sent away must go somewhere. If England increases her exports, that country to which the goods are sent must have its imports swelled by receiving our shipments. It is therefore a contradiction in terms to talk about every country increasing simultaneously its exports while keeping down its imports.

If it is not possible for all countries to achieve this, is it possible for one country to attain this end? It evidently is if our exports are not replaced by imports. *In that case our exports are absolutely given away for nothing, no return being made for them.* The presents are made to governments, landlords, financiers, &c. Are we to suppose that this is the grand aim of the new form of Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal philosophy? If this is the desire of the community, I can only characterise it as a strange, mad desire on the part of a commercial, common-sense, sharp-witted, practical community!

No, we are to believe that England wishes to increase her exports *in order to make a profit.* I accept this as a very natural and praiseworthy aim. But what does it mean? In what shape will the profits come into the country? And what is meant by a "profit"? It is a perfectly evident fact to any thinking man, and a perfectly demonstrable one to any non-thinking man, *that the profits on exports can only come into the country in the form of imports.* And not only so, but if we understand by "profits" that we are to get more than we give, then imports will preponderate over exports by the very fact of our making a profit on the latter.

I am sorely afraid that I have here to deal with the very childish and inconceivably tenacious fallacy *that we pay for our imports with money, and that our exports are paid for to us in money also.* It is impossible to explain in any other way the emphasis and insistence of the Protectionist Party in asking us to increase our exports and to limit our imports. That Mr. Chamberlain, who is held to be as thoughtful as business-like, should stick to such an idea (in the hope of teaching something about economics to the country!), is very regrettable. Does he ask us to give our exports for nothing, or does he pretend that we get money in exchange for them?

The introduction of money into the controversy fogs the whole thing in a hopeless way, until the false factor is got rid of. When we send goods to America, we don't get so many dollars of American money back; and when we send an order to America for goods, we do not send a packet of so many sovereigns to pay for them. Money takes no part in international exchanges. Even if we were to receive American dollars in payment of our shipments to America, these coins would be of no use to us. We could not use them in England as a means of exchange. We should be obliged to go to the money-changers to change them. But the coins would be of no use so long as they remained in possession of the money-changer. He would be obliged eventually to pass them on to some one who had to go to America, where they would be spent, thus causing a consumption of American goods, the equivalent of the original exports in payment of which they had sent to England.

There is no universal money. Money is restricted to its own country and to its own time. International exchanges are made by means of credit. Credit is international, but no kind of money is. When I send goods to a foreign country, I receive a cheque. I pass this cheque to my banker, and if I want cash I draw the money, and as far as I am concerned the transaction is closed finally. But it is by no means finished as far as the foreign country is concerned. The cheque (or the credit) is passed from hand to hand, and if we were to trace it to its closing transaction, we should find that it necessitated a consumption of goods produced in the country to which I originally sent the goods.

The goods I sent out were my country's exports. In the final step of the commercial process of changing credit, imports come into my country for about the same value as the exports I sent out. And they come from the country to which the goods were originally sent. It is indifferent whether the credit passes through one or through a dozen hands, or even countries; in the final analysis there is a simple exchange of goods to be registered, and exports are thus always paid for by imports.

Commerce is made up of a number of individual transactions, in which the clumsy form of barter (exchange of one thing for another), has been replaced by the very convenient form of credit. But at last there is and must be an exchange of commodities, which is in every way the same as barter. Things are not paid for by money, they are paid for by things. In short, from whatever standpoint we look at the matter, imports are paid for by exports.

Mr. Chamberlain may call this a fallacy, but assertion is not proof. I think I have shown conclusively that when exports are not paid for by imports, they are given away in presents to governments, landlords, &c. And we may say that though each man is simply seeking his own interest in trying to send goods abroad, all

sending of goods abroad must result in the bringing of things in from abroad. An effort to export is infallibly an effort to import. There is no escape from the conclusion.

The very heart of this fallacy, that we may increase exports without increasing imports, or that it is desirable to do so, lies in the formula that *exports are sales and imports purchases*. If we accept that idea we naturally say, let us sell much and buy little. But if we accept as national formula that *exports are what we give and imports what we get*, we naturally say, let us get much and give little. As I have shown, the latter is the true statement of the problem. Even if we were to limit the problem to a single individual case, and say that what a man sells are his exports, we must say also that the money he gets for those sales constitute his imports. And if his exports (the things he sells) exceed in value his imports (the money he gets), he is the poorer for the transaction. As I have said, this is only one half of the transaction; the other half consists in his exchanging the money got for goods. These latter goods constitute his imports in a final sense. In any way it is better for him that his imports should exceed his exports.

In the same way, if exports may be treated as the nation's sales, the credit it gets for them (instead of money, there being no international money) may be called the half-way imports, and should be greater than the exports for which we are credited, and when they are finally replaced by imports (as they absolutely must), these imports must be proportionate to the credit, taking collectively all the small transactions for which individuals are given credit by other individuals in foreign countries. From every point of view we see that it is desirable to have imports which exceed exports, and that the former pay for the latter.

I have dwelt on this question in order to finally settle the difficulty. Now let me say a word to the working man. If a nation's exports are what it sends out to other countries, a man's exports are the work (or its results in wealth) which he "sends out" to society. And if a nation's imports are what they get from other countries, a man's imports are what he receives from society in exchange for his work. In what way is a man rich, when his imports are great and his exports small, or in the contrary case?

I am a workman. My work creates (or helps to create) wealth to the value of five pounds a week. I export to society five pounds' worth of goods per week. In return I receive one pound, and (to complete the transaction) get in one pound's worth of goods from society. My exports exceed my imports by four pounds. I am therefore four pounds poorer for the transaction. This is the Protectionist theory to a "T," and I ask workmen to give it full consideration, so that they may denounce it all the more completely afterwards.

This is not a question of imports and exports in a national sense. It is a question of inland trade. It is a problem of exchange between man and man. It is a matter of justice.

Let us suppose that Robinson's landlord, a Government official, and his two conquerors had gone to live on his island. These four men would draw on Robinson—the landlord would want his rent, the official would draw his tax, and the two men would ask for their war indemnity. What would be the result? It would be necessary to import great quantities of things into the island to satisfy them. They would want books, luxuries, service, &c. These imports would have to be paid for by exports. The exports would be found by Robinson. So he would export much and import much. But for all this splendid trade he would be no richer, but would only get poorer and poorer. His rent would be raised, the tax increased to keep up the official, and the two men would want to increase their war indemnity. So that although Robinson worked much, and did much business by exporting, he would get very little in return for his own account.

Now, we all know that in Great Britain imports exceed exports by millions. And the country as a whole is the richer for it. But the people who provide the exports do not get the imports. These go to landlords, officials, and other useless people. It is therefore essential to note that the first thing is to assure the imports to the people who produce the exports.

Mr. Chamberlain's adherents have had leaflets printed, and on one of them there is a list of questions which the electors are asked to put to every Liberal candidate. Here is one of them: "Is it a fact, as we are told on the authority of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, that 12,000,000 of our people—more than one-fourth of the whole population—are always on the verge of starvation?"

It is a fact. It is also a fact that they are constantly slipping over this verge into the gulf of absolute misery. And the reason is that these people give to society from five to ten times more than society gives to them. Their exports exceed their imports by a terrible balance, struck on the side of misery, degradation, and death. And Mr. Chamberlain has gone on his pilgrimage of education. He wants to convince these miserable ones that they are rich, and that the poorer they get the richer they will be!

Let me sum up with an appeal and a challenge. I have brought out the following facts: (1) if imports exceed exports we are richer for it, and if exports exceed imports we are poorer for it; (2) exports either pay for imports or are given away; (3) in the home market a large proportion of each man's exports to society are not replaced by imports from society to anything like a just extent, but are given away for nothing; (4) this is what social injustice consists in.

If imports are a good thing, tariffs which prevent them are stupid and harmful. Protection implies the paying of officials, thus diminishing the share of each worker. Free Trade abolishes the whole useless band of parasites, and thus increases each worker's share. Protection keeps up an army and thus diminishes each worker's share. Free Trade abolishes armies by taking away the motive of war, and thus increases each worker's share. Protection implies private property in land, and thus takes away the biggest part of the worker's share; Free Trade takes the value of land in one tax, opens the land to all, and restores the whole of the worker's share to him.

I dealt with this question at length in the November number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, and I appeal to all workers to stand out against Protection and against all forms of restriction. Ask for liberty in trade, liberty in work, and justice in remuneration.

I challenge Mr. Chamberlain to show that I am wrong in the four points I have summed up in this article, and trust that for the sake of humanity he will cease to combat that shadow of Free Trade which is really a system of revenue tariffs, that he will abandon the system of Protection which cannot better the worker, and that he will use his intellect to the furthering of Liberty and of Justice in England, their last and greatest sanctuary.

LEONARD M. BURRELL.

## THE FISCAL QUESTION AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.

THE facts referred to in these few pages have been too long before the public to be treated as fresh ; my object therefore has little other pretension than that of an endeavour to give additional impetus to the generating of ideas on a subject about which the public mind is or ought to be interested.

Want of employment on the part of the producing classes and deficiency of trade on the part of the distributing classes appear to lie at the root of the now notorious Fiscal question ; but, whatever merits or demerits exist in the various modes of handling it, there is no disputing the fact that the agitation to which it has given rise is having the effect of creating a general disposition for serious reflection on subjects of State policy which, when ignored, as it has been for a long period, is a strong proof of laxity in the duties of citizenship, and any suspicion of its existence justifies some apprehension that our defective condition, as a community, may interfere with the possibility of reaching to a satisfactory solution of the problem before us, especially so when one considers the deplorable effects to which the masses of this country are subjected through the meagre attention being given to a proper cultivation of their thinking powers ; and the struggle for existence gives such a prominence to ideas of commercialism that success in it is too often considered a reason for supporting a commercial man instead of a Statesman to conduct affairs of State. A greater mistake cannot be made. Equal force of mind may be required for each of the departments, but they are separated one from another by virtue of their difference in mental training. The commercial man works to obtain some end which chiefly concerns himself, but the Statesman has to consider broadly the proper balancing of all interests. It will not do for us to close our eyes to the danger to which a nation is exposed when, through a great extension of electoral suffrage, a mentally inefficient majority acquires such an increase of power as to become the absolute dictators of the composition of a Parliament and the consequent nature of the Government.

We are called upon to examine two diametrically opposite principles, Protection and Free Trade ; the former, by the management



of false (not intentionally false) statistics in relation to imports and exports, being capable of an adjustment which, if not carefully investigated, may have the appearance of self-evident truth, whereas the latter is of so complicated a nature that it is difficult to convey to the general mind anything like a clear understanding of the subject.

Before the Boer War in South Africa Mr. Chamberlain never ventured, and perhaps never dreamed of, turning our backs on Free Trade and resorting to Protection; but since then difficulties have arisen, which had long before been predicted, of a nature to create a position ten times worse than the pretended object for which the war was undertaken. Mr. Chamberlain must feel that he has made a mistake, and he is now exerting his utmost efforts to check evils which inevitably follow unwise actions of any sort. Before the war our taxes were so high that they raised the cost of produce to an extent seriously interfering with its sale abroad; and now that we are compelled to pay interest on an enormously increased national debt, and to meet the expense of vastly augmented armaments, military and naval, the cost of productions will increase proportionally, and add to the difficulty of their sale in foreign markets, besides rendering quixotic any attempt to surmount the difficulty by drawing upon other nations to relieve ourselves from the weight of taxes incurred by our unfortunate or mistaken policy. Will resort to Protection cure the evil? I think not. Mr. Chamberlain seems to entertain the idea that if his scheme is adopted it will result in procuring employment for the many hundreds of thousands, if not millions, who are unemployed, or, if employed, receiving only starvation wages.

But this want of employment complained of cannot be a consequence of Free Trade, for if it were so those countries which adopt Protection might be thought to have their inhabitants plentifully and profitably occupied; and our emigrants know through bitter experience that the contrary is the fact. This want of employment affecting the whole of Europe and beyond it has for cause something totally different to what is commonly believed.

Every human being reasonably healthy could, under proper conditions, produce far more than he can consume. What is there then that prevents his doing so? The answer to this question is, Deficiency of wisdom on the part of humanity.

Labour cannot be set in motion without the aid of capital. Capital and labour are necessary to one another. Producers create all the capital, and God knows that there exists plenty of it. This capital properly used could set everybody at work, with the result that production would be so cheap that it would render easy the maintenance of life and facilitate reduction of the hours of labour now monotonously and stupefyingly employed. But as a drawback to so

desirable a result we have to bear in mind that the great holders of capital are not the makers of it : they are collectors, heapers-up of capital, and are not moved by a proper interest in the well-being of the actual creators of capital. The hoarders of capital belong to no country, they are drawn here, there and everywhere by the coarsest of interests. The creators of capital have yet to find out how to control in the true interest of the community of which they form a part the use of the capital created. The holders of capital are represented by millionaires, monopolists, trusts, &c., &c ; they are in possession of the key by means of which the employment door can be opened and shut ; they open or close it when it suits their own particular purpose, and the duration of these periods is too often mistakenly assumed to be an actual representation of the world's demand for production, greater or less as it may be, while the fact is lost sight of that the holders of capital are the real authors of interruption in the world of the free action of supply and demand, which, if allowed to follow its natural course, would be accelerated by increase of wants promoted by the progress of civilisation ; besides, what greater proof can there be of the existence of such demand than the state of wretchedness which is spread over not only our own, but almost over every other nation ? And, as to supply, the question of the practicability of its accomplishment is answered by pointing to the general advance of physical science.

But whatever wrong notions may be entertained about supply and demand, there exist other errors which are not less deserving of notice : one, that of believing that want of employment is a consequence of over-population ; and another, that of placing faith in either Mr. Chamberlain's or Mr. Balfour's proposed policy as likely to create opportunities for employment. Nor, indeed, will what now passes for Free Trade get over the difficulty, though, compared with what can be expected from a system of Protection, the existing system, short as it is of genuine Free Trade, most certainly offers greater prospects for encouraging employment ; and, so far as I am acquainted with the many talented speeches reported in the newspapers and the clever articles which from time to time appear in the various magazines, they all seem to be chiefly devoted to surface views of the question, and little or no attempt is made to enlighten us as to causes without the consideration of which no more can be expected than would happen if a physician limited himself to healing a wound without having first examined and applied a remedy to the foundation of the evil.

Then, again, the statistics with which we have been favoured by the Protectionist party appear to be of a questionable character. We are told that in 1901 the imports amounted to £113,196,000, and the exports to £92,820,000, and further that for a number of years the imports have been increasing, and the exports decreasing.

We will not suppose it likely that Mr. Chamberlain would damage his argument by reducing the amount of imports; but it is different with exports, since, in order to make good his case, the lower he can prove their amount the stronger will be the tendency to accept his advice.

It is universally acknowledged that a commercial nation like ours cannot expect to increase its wealth by giving out or exporting more value than it receives; and if the above financial statements were true, instead of increasing in wealth, our nation must have been getting less and less rich for a certain number of years—but what is our actual position? Why, that we have never ceased to increase in wealth, and as proof of this the amount of income-tax paid gives evidence of the fact that the total addition to this country's wealth has year by year enormously increased, and added to this there stands forward the extraordinary rise, almost by leaps and bounds, of the deposits in Savings Banks and in other places.

For myself I place very little reliance on statistics, they are too much open to mistakes, voluntary or otherwise, and I would not trouble about them here were it not for the fact that experts outside the Protectionist party find that there has not been included in the stated amount of exports certain values which ought to have been included. There are several of them—but I am only prepared to name one—it is that of Freightage, which is calculated to be of the value of ninety million pounds. If we add this alone to the admitted £92,820,000 value of exports, the total will be found to be far in excess of the amount of imports, thus giving consistency to the before-mentioned statement that our nation is growing in wealth.

Why has freightage not been included in the statement as an export? I may not be able to account for its being left out, but it is open for me to suggest a reason for the necessity of including in the statistics, if not the whole, at least the largest proportion of exports. Let us suppose that the value of the world's carrying trade were divided into two parts, and that the divisions were found to be equal, there might then be some reason for not including exports in the statistics; but it so happens that, compared with England, foreigners in their totality as one body do only a very small proportion of the world's carrying trade. It therefore seems only fair that in this respect whatever may be the amount of difference in our favour, we have a right to credit ourselves with that amount of difference, and if the foreign total be deducted from the above estimated value of ninety millions, there would still be left a balance, which, if added to the admitted £92,820,000, will produce a total of exports greatly superior to that of imports; and I think it may be presumed that there can be no objection to consider freightage as an export, since the nature of the expenses connected with carriage service gives to it the character of a commodity, seeing:

that it is as much resolvable into money, labour and material as a barrel of beer or any other article.

But I have only added freightage, and it has been stated by people who ought to know that there are other omissions in the amount set down for exports. Add the value of these omissions, whatever they might amount to, to the favourable balance above referred to, which is left to the reader to calculate, and at once we get accounted for the incontestable increase in our commerce.

We have for a long time adopted the policy of a certain degree of freedom of trade under the impression that Protection is wrong; and we still, including Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Balfour, and their followers, believe Free Trade to be right, though the advocates of Protection think that circumstances require that we should deviate from a course which in the abstract is almost universally admitted to be right. Nations or individuals do not exhibit much nobleness of soul in allowing themselves to get into the rut of doing the opposite of right, and certainly to commit a wrong act to retaliate for another wrong is not to be commended. It appears to me that the better plan would be to encourage faith in what is right by continuing to practise it.

There can be no contradiction of the fact that peoples of all nations have the right to avail themselves of just opportunities for supplying their wants by their own efforts, and that nations which possess the largest means for this may be reasonably expected to do so whenever suitable conditions are arrived at. Also, that continents in the course of time, through advance in intelligence of the inhabitants, and by virtue of their extensive domains, are more likely to be able to accomplish so desirable a result than are the occupants of a limited space like our island, which, from whatever cause, is the reverse of self-sustaining.

Circumstances have up to the present, or rather up to a comparatively recent period, so favoured England through superior local and in many cases temporary advantages, that she gradually became a sort of necessity to the world for the supply of manufactured articles; but this necessity in relation to other nations is fast vanishing, and every day brings fresh proofs of the fact in the increasing substitution of foreign goods for those of our own make. In spite, however, of this, the substitutions referred to have been more than met by such commercial alterations or accidents as have had the effect of enabling us to maintain, as above drawn attention to, continuance of the accumulation of wealth and of its successive increase year by year.

There is little doubt but that the wonderfully enormous increase of our carrying trade forms one of the principal means of more than making up for disadvantages which we seem helpless to prevent. Judging, however, from present and past experience, this last-named

means, the carrying trade, will in time fade away like other advantages once enjoyed but now no more. It can only be a question of time when other nations, instead of employing us to do their carrying, will do it for themselves, as they have for a long time done in the manufacture of goods.

Whether some other resources will be forthcoming to maintain us in the profitable (shall I say fortunate?) position in which we now stand, is a problem that the future will have to solve; and in the meantime it would appear to me to be wise policy to avoid hazarding the danger of a tariff war, in which the combatants would be England on one side, and the remainder of the world on the other side. Instead of attempting to remove unwieldy obstacles, let us make use of the advantages we still enjoy, and exert our best endeavours to harmonise our actions with conditions the course of which it is impossible to alter.

Honest, direct, open, not concealed taxation, would enlighten people; and instead of sham Free Trade, real Free Trade would smooth the way instead of obstructing it.

E. B. HUSBAND.

## IS ENGLAND LIVING ON HER CAPITAL?

PROTECTIONISTS are on safe ground in asserting that circumstances have changed since 1870. If that alone were sufficient for their case we might have some of the reactionary Conservatives clamouring for an "inquiry" into our parliamentary system, with a view to reverting to the pre-Reform *régime*; for no one can deny that things have altered vastly since 1832. There is nothing new about this cry of "altered circumstances," "obsolete dogmas," "worm-eaten formulas," "Free Trade shibboleths," "Cobdenite Fetish," &c. They are almost as old as Free Trade itself. No sooner was the edifice of Free Trade completed than such phrases began to be heard.

Sir Edward Sullivan wrote in 1870:

"We are told the battle of Free Trade was fought and won twenty years ago, and that it is ridiculous, an insult to common sense, to argue it over again. No doubt the battle was fought and gained; but it was fought under false colours, and with a totally different class to that which is now clamouring for its modification. The conditions of the problem are totally changed. Then all was theory. Now we have the light of practice and experience to instruct us. The promises of theory have proved vain, illusionary, whilst the lessons of experience have proved hard and startling. The battle was fought twenty years ago with the Tory party, with the landowners. Now it must be fought over again with the working classes."—(*Protection and Native Industry*, p. 138.)

Practically the same words that we hear to-day from Mr. Chamberlain, given forth in the sensational manner that we associate with some fresh and startling discovery.

But though circumstances have changed Protectionist arguments have not, and we are confronted with the same familiar assertions that did good service in the defence of Mercantilism two centuries ago. The Balance of Trade scare has been revived, with the added terror of statistics. Board of Trade returns and the study of the Foreign Exchanges (*pace tuâ*, Mr. Seddon) have, it is true, silenced the cry about the export of the precious metals; but as the modern representative of this old complaint, we have to-day the cry that we are living on our capital, by the export of securities purchased in the days of our prosperity. Protectionists recognise at least that in the long run exports pay for imports, account being taken of the exchange

of securities, shipping freights, interest on foreign investments, &c., and the controversy may be said to centre largely in the question whether we are paying for a portion of our imports by exporting securities, and, if so, whether this is necessarily living on our capital. What evidence we have tends to show that America has of late years made heavy purchases of securities in London, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the large excess of exports to England is in part to be accounted for in this way. On the larger question, whether our total investments abroad are diminishing, satisfactory evidence is difficult to procure. Expressions of individual opinion by stockbrokers or writers of money-columns are to be received with caution. The experience of each can cover only a small portion of the field of inquiry, and there is no way of summing those opposed statements that usually go to make up what is called *expert evidence*, so as to arrive at a net result. The figures from the income tax returns are, however, available, and from these it appears that the incomes returned as being derived from foreign and colonial investments increased from £31,890,000 in 1882-83 to £62,550,000 in 1901-02. This, though by no means conclusive, is yet noteworthy as being one of the few points on which statistical evidence can be brought to bear, and it certainly lends no countenance to the assertion that our foreign investments are diminishing. If such were the case, moreover, we should expect to see the price of home securities forced up by those seeking reinvestment for their funds. Instead of this Consols have remained for some years at an abnormally low figure.

But waiving the question as to whether this process of exporting securities is actually going on, let us consider whether such a state of affairs could justly be entitled *living on our capital*. Even some Free Traders seem to assent to this view, which, when examined, reduces it nevertheless to one of the crudest fallacies of the Mercantile School. The fullest development of the argument in its latest application I have found in Mr. Byng's *Protection*, and in this, as in most other points, he has been followed by the writer in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, Mr. C. A. Vince.

"As for *benevolent England*," says Mr. Byng, "the course of her trade with America will be as follows: If we persist in our Free Trade policy, the balance of trade between the two countries will become more and more unfavourable to England. Her imports from America will become enormous, while her exports to that country will sink into insignificance. Of course I refer to her profitable exports, not her gold or securities in the form of bonds. *No country can stand this drain for long*. We shall gradually lose our purchasing power, the consequences of which I need not explain; or we shall be driven into Protection under the influence of panic."

"If foreign nations send us goods, they naturally require payment for them; and if we put the word export for payment, never mind in what

form the payment is paid, no doubt the theory that imports must be paid for by exports is true."

"But they [the Free Traders] deny *the inclusion of capital*. They know well that if it were proved that we are paying with capital, the whole fabric of Free Trade must tumble to the ground. And it will tumble, I maintain, because we are paying with capital. *The period of the diminution of capital has commenced.*"

Let us grant that our investments in foreign countries are at present being repaid, and that this process is taking the form of imports of foreign commodities. Does this mean living on our capital? Had the repayment been made in gold and silver, it is difficult to see how even the most extreme Protectionist could have contended that this was "living on our capital" merely because the latter was being returned to us. It would simply mean that so much capital was being transferred from foreign to home investments, and though it might be less productive than before, there would not necessarily be any diminution of our stock. We should then hold a greater part of our stock of wealth in the form of gold and silver, a form which is one of the least productive of all, when it exists in a quantity greater than is required to fulfil the function of exchange. The surplus, unless it can be exported in exchange for commodities, must result in a rise of prices, that is, a fall in the value of gold.

The whole ground of complaint then must lie in the fact that our capital is being returned to us in the form of directly consumable commodities, such as cotton, corn, steel, &c. Certainly, when we have received back our capital in the form of corn, for example, and when we have eaten the latter, it does appear *prima facie* as if we had been living on our capital; for without a doubt we have consumed it. And some consideration is required before we can see clearly that consuming our capital is not necessarily living on it, in the ordinary sense of that term, for, while living on it, we may be engaged in the production of some other commodities, the wealth consumed being thereby reproduced with an added surplus.

"The greater part of a nation's capital," says Roscher, one of the apostles of Protection in Germany, "undergoes, through consumption and reproduction, an incessant change of form. From the individual, as well as the national, point of view, we say that our capital is maintained, increased, or diminished, according as the value of the product is equal, greater, or less than that of the capital consumed."

Some, like Mr. Seddon, may imagine that when these American loans were first made, the wealth was sent to the States in the form of "golden sovereigns." On the contrary, we may feel confident that instead of sovereigns we sent them steel plates, rails, machinery, cotton and woollen fabrics, all intended for more or less rapid consumption. Yet so profitable was this consumption, this living on borrowed capital, that, instead of impoverishing America, it enabled



her to develop her resources and accumulate capital at an unprecedented rate.

Protectionists will object that such is only the case when the articles imported cannot be produced at home. If they can, then such importation throws a certain number of workmen out of employment, and, instead of being spent in support of an industrious population, it is spent in support of unemployed, paupers, and loafers. This is an argument on which Protectionists greatly rely, and which is likely to have great weight with people who have neither the capacity nor the inclination to think the question out.

Protectionist doctrine unfortunately has the same advantage over the Free Trade that the Ptolemaic system of Astronomy had over the Copernican; it is in harmony with first impressions. To the savage who trusts to his eyes it seems folly to deny that the sun moves round the earth once a day, and considerable reasoning power is required before he can understand that what seems so obvious at first glance is not always the truth. Similarly, to those who have not sufficiently considered the matter it appears mere trifling to assert that if an order for 10,000 tons of steel rails goes to Belgium instead of to Yorkshire a proportionate amount of employment is not lost for English workmen. What mysterious influence is there, they ask triumphantly, that should cause an equal value of cotton or woollen goods to be exported? And because they cannot see this "mysterious influence" at work in a single case, they conclude that it can have no effect on our aggregate exports; just as one might argue that because the price of sugar is not in the least affected by John Smith's doubling his consumption, there is no connection between demand and price.

But, without venturing into the regions of abstract economic theory, we can apply one decisive test. If we are living on our capital, then it must be shown that while the stream of imports representing the repayment of our capital comes pouring in, we are merely consuming these commodities and producing nothing in their place. It must be shown that unusually large numbers of our workmen are unemployed, that factories are working short hours, or being shut up. As for the first of these points statistics are readily available. The members of trade unions reported as unemployed in the Board of Trade returns during the period 1888-1901 averaged only 4.1 per cent. Considering the disorganisation caused by trade disputes, this proportion cannot be looked upon as large. These figures, it is true, apply only to the organised trades composed mostly of skilled workers who make regular returns, but it is precisely those engaged in such trades, the textile and the metal industries, for example, who are most exposed to foreign competition, and any lack of employment might be expected to show first in this quarter. The amount of pauperism, moreover,

which is to some extent an index of the labour market, has shown no increase of late years.

It may be urged that symptoms of diminishing production are to be found in the present stagnation of our export trade. The mere figures considered by themselves furnish no conclusive evidence either way. That they should be regarded as a decisive test of national wealth and prosperity arises from the crude conception of the industry of nations as a number of shops where each profits only by what it sells, and where a growth in the business of one means a loss of business to the others. After all, what we export (about £6 per head) is only a small fraction of the wealth we produce, and in our interminable discussions about exports and imports we are, as the Duke of Devonshire pointed out, apt to forget that there is such a thing as home trade. We forget that it offers still greater scope for the production and accumulation of wealth. It has been asserted, and not without reason, that the small amount of American exports relative to population (£2 18s. 4d. in the period 1895-99) is really a sign of the immense activity of trade at home, the home demand being so brisk as to leave only a moderate surplus for export. In Germany again in 1901-02, when exports rose to an unprecedented figure, wages were low and employment scarce, a phenomenon open to the interpretation that manufacturers were unable to dispose of their stocks at home and had to unload them abroad at unremunerative prices. The period 1870-75, notable in France for the financial and industrial disorganisation caused by the Franco-German War, was marked by an unusually high proportion of French exports to imports. Instead of this conception of a nation as a shop, subsisting solely by its sales, we should be nearer the truth if we thought of a nation as a peasant-proprietor, growing his own food, spinning and weaving his own wool, and dependent on the market only for the means of exchanging his surplus for a few odd articles that he cannot otherwise procure.

The statement that we have been living on our capital in recent years is not without an element of truth, but the real forces at work have been not economic but political. The vast (and from the economic point of view, wholly unproductive) expenditure on the war in South Africa has probably helped to swell the excess of imports over exports. So far as the loans were subscribed for abroad, so far as they caused English capital to be withheld or withdrawn from foreign funds, or attracted foreign capital to make good the gap in the home money-market, to that extent they must have tended to increase the balance of trade against us. The prolonged absence, moreover, of so many thousand men on active service, and the numbers engaged at home in the manufacture of war material have, no doubt, had some effect in checking the growth of the exports. A similar state of affairs was to be found in the United States during the War of

Secession. Bonds for enormous sums of money were sold in Europe, and the value sent to the States in the form of arms, ammunition, clothing, &c., all of which were consumed without leaving anything to show, except an imposing array of debts. Redemption and interest on these loans represented for many years no inconsiderable portion of American exports. Thus America may be said to have been living on her capital while the struggle went on, but it would have been quite otherwise had all that wealth been expended on industry and in support of productive labour, as was the case with other American securities, such as railroad shares.

In this regard one of the Birmingham leaflets makes rather a curious admission, the full implication of which was probably not perceived by the writer. He points out that a capitalist who invests his money in some home industry confers a benefit on British workmen, which is quite lost should he subsequently, induced by the hope of greater returns, transfer his capital to America. Most people will no doubt agree that the more capital there is invested in home industries, the better it must be for our workmen, and any transference abroad is a direct loss so far as he is concerned. But the writer goes on to ask: "Is not this what is happening in every case where imports into this country are paid for by the interest on investments abroad? Are not our foreign investments really employed in developing industries which compete with similar industries in England, which it is important that we should maintain and increase? Does not the country, and especially the working population, lose on balance?"

Here, then, one of the very contentions that excite the greatest outcry among Protectionists has the ground cut from beneath it. Just this exportation of securities alleged to be in progress would show that the drain on our capital for foreign investments has ceased, or must soon cease; and that we are nearing the time when the emigration of capital will be rendered more difficult or less remunerative. Thus British workmen and British trade must eventually benefit by the very process which, according to most Protectionists, heralds the downfall of our economic supremacy.

This is a good example of the heterogeneous elements that make up the Protectionists' case, and of their efforts to make the most contradictory conclusions do duty side by side for their cause. But unless sentiment and private interest have more weight than facts, figures, and scientific reasoning, there can be little question of the verdict.

W. M. LIGHTBODY.

## PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

THERE are many forms of disease, a considerable percentage of them unfamiliar to our forefathers, though it may be suspected that in reality only the names are new, while the phenomena to which they relate are old. I am not a student of therapeutics, and therefore cannot claim to make any statement with authority, but the ordinary person may be permitted to express an opinion upon matters in regard to which he is not an expert. With such qualification may the assertion be made that among the English people a new disease has made its appearance, mental in its ravages rather than physical, which is known as passive resistance. Those who are afflicted by it seem to entertain the idea that at some future time their deeds will be narrated in a book something like Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, and that their zeal and steadfastness will be a shining light to all who come after them. Other symptoms of the malady are that a certain number of legislators, backed up by the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Churches, have entered into a conspiracy to despoil them, to deprive them of religious liberty, and so forth. Fortunately, the disease is circumscribed in its operations; it shows no signs of being infectious. What the consequences might have been if such had been the case no man can say; but to contemplate the possibility is enough to make one shudder. However, there is reason to believe that this disease, like so many others, is an old one with a new name. It used to be called fanaticism. No doubt intercourse with foreign nations has had something to do with the change of name. As applied in modern times, passive resistance had its origin in Russia. The leader of the movement is Count Tolstoy. It is very gratifying to know that, while foreign nations occasionally borrow ideas from us, we sometimes return the kindness. From the point of view of the spectator this disease has a great merit. It combines with police-court summonses and auction sales, genuine farcical comedies acted with the consummate ability of great artistes, but it injures those principally concerned very materially.

Why is the comedy being performed, or, to put the question in another form, what is the cause of the disease? Because in 1902 the King, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual, Lords temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, enacted a

law effecting a radical alteration in educational administration. The whole grievance of the passive resisters is contained in the provision of the law that certain schools which had not hitherto been publicly managed, having been under the control of various religious organisations, who went to considerable expense in providing them, should be placed in charge of the County Councils who, however, are expressly prohibited from interfering with the facilities already granted for the teaching of denominational religious precepts. "Now," say the passive resisters, "the doctrines which are being taught in many of these schools are repugnant to our consciences. Yet you wish us to contribute to the support of that which is obnoxious to us. The answer we make is that we shall not pay voluntarily. We shall not actively resist the collection of the money to be devoted to this object but, short of this, we shall go as far as we can." This, I believe, is a fair statement of the position of the passive resisters in regard to the Education Act of 1902.

The first thing to be ascertained is whether the Act is as bad as it is painted by these people. If it is, there still remains the question whether they are using the right methods to extricate themselves from their sorry plight; and, if it is not, not only are their methods wrong, but another question is opened, namely, whether they have any cause to complain about the Act at all. It is not within the province of this paper to deal with the latter question, but it may not be out of place to take a brief glance at the Act and, if I can show, as I hope to do, that, although not by any means perfect, it is not such a hopeless piece of political injustice as it has been made out to be, then one strong argument in favour of passive resistance will have been broken down. It has been often urged that the Act gives no public control and that it rivets dogma on the nation. Supposing that is so, does it prohibit any sect from availing itself of the opportunity to teach the children its own dogma? This question must be answered in the negative. Does the Act benefit only the Anglicans and Roman Catholics? Again "No" is the answer. This fact may be illustrated by a case in which the Baptists have actually benefited by the Act. I received the information from a Congregational minister of Sunderland. At Clou Bridge, near Burnley, there is a Baptist school which has been in existence about thirty-seven years. It cost the Baptist Church an expenditure of nearly £4000 in school buildings, and nearly £40 a year in educational work. Now the County Council proposes to take over the entire cost of education and to pay a rental for school buildings of from £60 to £80 a year. So that this school, which teaches exclusively Baptist doctrine, benefits by the Act of 1902 by at least £100 a year. Is there any injustice to Nonconformists here? I fail to see it.

It shows, at any rate, that, if the Church of England or the

Church of Rome derive advantages, those advantages may be shared equally by other sects. There seems to be an idea current that all the denominationalists have to do in this matter is to hold out their hands, which are instantly filled with the ratepayers' money to keep their schools going. Here again this idea may be combated by facts. I am assured that the voluntary schools in Sunderland, to take one case alone, have to raise £10,000 to comply with the Act of 1902. This is not going to be raised in the twinkling of an eye, and, if it is not raised, the benefits to the owners of these schools of the Act of 1902 will be in the nature of a mirage. Thirdly, the basis of Durham Training College, a Church of England institution, has been widened so as to admit candidates who are Nonconformists, without the latter submitting to baptism or confirmation, as has been the case heretofore. So that we have, in this instance, a positive benefit to Nonconformists. An institution which had before been closed to them, unless they chose to submit to tests which were repugnant to them, has now been thrown open. Do these facts tend to justify passive resistance?

Those who are so ardent in their opposition to the present Act hug the idea that it was enacted specially for the disadvantage and discomfiture of the Nonconformists. Do they sufficiently consider the enormous difficulties in the way of a scheme of national education that will satisfy and do justice to everybody? My own impression is that the passive resisters never think about the subject at all. Precipitate action rarely follows careful thought. Is it possible to devise any scheme which shall meet the views of all parties? The National Free Church Council have trotted out a cut and dried scheme in which they advocate the abolition of all religious tests, full popular control of all schools aided by public money, and unsectarian religious teaching, or teaching contained solely in the Bible. But would pure Bible teaching be unsectarian? On consideration, it appears just as dogmatic as any religious instruction now given in English schools. Dogma is unverifiable assumption stated as fact; opinion labelled verified truth. Fact is that which has been experimentally proved or can be so proved, and which is accepted as true by the mass of intelligent mankind. If you take a stone in the hand and drop it, it will fall to the ground. That is a statement of fact and is not dogma; but if it be asserted that no one can enter heaven unless he accepts all the saints of the Roman calendar, that is dogma. It may be true enough, but it cannot be proved. Some people may be found in the world, most probably in lunatic asylums, who would say that a stone does not fall to the ground, but they may fairly be regarded as a negligible quantity. The mass of the people admit that it does behave in such a way. Now, even in pure Bible teaching it will not be found that there is universal, or nearly universal, agreement as to its truth. If you

take the Sermon on the Mount, you will instantly find divergence of opinion. Some people, members of our Churches too, will say that Christ never delivered the sermon in the form in which it was presented; others will say He never gave it at all; and so we might go on citing different opinions in almost endless variety. If we pass on to the Old Testament and consider one episode, that in which the sun and moon are supposed to have stood still at the behest of Joshua, I daresay if any dozen Christians were collected and had a discussion on the subject there would be warm differences of opinion. But these are minor points; there are greater. The Jew accepts the Old Testament and rejects the New, the Unitarian only accepts either in a very qualified sense, the Roman Catholic Church accepts the Apocrypha while Protestants do not. Finally, at the very starting-point you have grave differences of opinion. The essence of religious teaching is the assertion "God exists." But, when you affirm so much, a storm of criticism is instantly provoked. Atheists deny your assertion point blank and Agnostics say you have not a scrap of evidence to show that God exists and they say nothing should be affirmed as a fact unless it can be proved. It is very evident, therefore, that even pure Bible teaching is going to give offence to Atheists, Agnostics and Jews and, to a somewhat less extent, to Unitarians and Roman Catholics. Would a system of education which permitted this sort of thing meet the nation's needs? There would be a conscience clause, it may be said, and all these people could withdraw their children during the progress of religious instruction. That is perfectly true. But there is also a conscience clause in the present Act. Nonconformists who do not approve the religious teaching given in any school under the operation of the Act can withdraw their children while it is being given. Yet this provision is regarded as unsatisfactory. Then, if it is unsatisfactory as applied to Free Churchmen, would it not be equally unsatisfactory if the other classes of opinion mentioned had to endure it? I fail to see any way out of the dilemma, except by sweeping away all religious teaching in the national schools. I agree with the late Cardinal Vaughan that parents have a perfect right to secure for their children what religious instruction they think best, but I disagree with his opinion that the nation should pay for such teaching. I am in accord with the Free Church Council's efforts to abolish all religious tests in the schools of the nation but, unlike them, I cannot understand how such tests may be dispensed with while any form of religious teaching is permitted. I have heard a Jewish teacher in a board school teaching a class New Testament doctrines, which included the divinity of Christ, and which he himself entirely disbelieved. I do not think this conduces to the good of the teacher or the scholars. Yet if the Free Church Council scheme were adopted, this sort of thing would be

perpetuated, while the battle of the creeds would wax fiercer than ever.

In the foregoing remarks my object has been to show, firstly, that the Education Act of 1902 is not the tyrannous instrument that it is made out to be, although I am far from admitting that it is perfect; secondly, that in some cases it has actually benefited the Nonconformists, who are, of course, as free to avail themselves of the Act as anybody else; and thirdly, that religious teaching of any kind whatever is dogmatic and tends to arouse civil strife, because there are so many different opinions regarding it; and that, in consequence, any scheme of national education not entirely secular, including that of the Free Church Council, would simply satisfy one section of the community at the expense of others. If my argument has been as strong as I hoped to make it, it weakens the position of the passive resisters inasmuch as it shows that, apart from the actual merits or demerits of their method, there has been no adequate cause for complaint, at least not to such an extent as to justify them in breaking the law.

Leaving this part of the subject, I shall now proceed to argue against passive resistance on the assumption that those who have taken and are taking part in it have a genuine grievance. The leaders of the movement go back to the reign of Charles I. to find a precedent for their action. They say they are following the example of John Hampden, a man who is almost unanimously regarded by the English people as one of the pioneers of their liberty, and worthy of respect and veneration by all lovers of free government. The name of John Hampden, and the acts which made him famous, ought to be well known to every English citizen. Almost every English history, however small and incomplete, contains mention of this illustrious name. It cannot be supposed for an instant that the passive resisters of the present day are ignorant of what is so widely known. But they endeavour to point to an analogy where none exists. To show by argument that this is so, the old story must be gone over again to some extent. Charles I. and his Parliament, when he chose to summon one, had long been at daggers drawn and, as the King could not get any subsidies from the legislative assembly, he asked the nation for a free gift. There was no response, but, on the contrary, a loud murmur of discontent arose. Then recourse was had to a forced loan. Opposition was universal. "I could be content to lend," said Hampden, "but fear to draw on myself that curse in Magna Charta which should be read twice a year against those who infringe it." He went to prison as a consequence. In 1635, we are told in Green's *Short History of the English People*, Laud, the King's Prime Minister, resolved to find a permanent revenue in the conversion of the "ship-money," till now levied on ports and the maritime counties, into a general tax



imposed by the royal will upon the whole country. Hampden repeated the refusal he had made in the case of the forced loan, declared ship-money an illegal impost, and resolved to rouse the spirit of the country by an appeal for protection to the law. The news thrilled through England at a moment when men were roused by news of resistance in the north. His attitude had roused the country to a sense of the danger to her freedom and the nation was with him. Scotland, too, was fighting England's battle. We know what happened afterwards and no useful purpose would be served by further entering into the circumstances of that time. It is quite certain that Hampden was acting in defence of the Constitution and the law against the encroachments of the Crown. The imposition of the forced loans and of ship-money by the King without the consent of Parliament was clearly illegal and its illegality rested upon the fact that it was not enacted with the sanction of the two Houses of the Legislature. Can it be supposed for a moment that if this tax had been levied by Act of Parliament in the usual way, John Hampden would have raised any objection? No; what he objected to was the arbitrary and tyrannical behaviour of the King, as unjustified by English law and usage. It was repugnant to the national spirit of liberty. Thus it may be said that Hampden did not object to the tax itself, but to the manner in which it was levied.

Now, so far as the passive resisters of to-day base their right to act as they are doing on the action taken by John Hampden, their case must stand or fall by the identity or otherwise of the circumstances of the two cases. To justify themselves they must show that the measure they object to has been passed without the consent of Parliament or in some other way in antagonism to the principles of the English Constitution. Nothing of the kind has happened. The Education Act of 1902 was, of course, passed by Parliament in the usual way and with all the formalities required by the Constitution. And it must be remembered that the Parliamentary franchise was not so broad in the days of Hampden as it is in our own day. We practically enjoy manhood suffrage, in spite of the ridiculous registration law. Nearly all the people who call themselves passive resisters have votes, and it is to a great extent their fault if Parliament passes a law of which they do not approve. At any rate, the simple facts that Hampden would not pay a tax because it was not imposed with the consent of Parliament, and the passive resisters will not pay rates which have been imposed with the consent of Parliament, destroys the supposed parallel between the attitude of modern passive resisters and that of Hampden.

We arrive then at this position: Hampden obeyed the law and resisted attempts to break it, while the passive resisters adopt a method directly opposed to this, and systematically break the law

and resist attempts to keep it. They have another plea. "The Government," they say, "received no mandate from the electors to deal with the education question. It was elected in 1900 to settle up the Boer War." In reply I beg to ask: Since when has the referendum existed in Great Britain? Can it be shown that British Governments have been in the habit of getting mandates from the people to deal with particular classes of legislation? No written law on the subject can be produced nor can any such custom be proved. The theory of our Constitution conflicts with such an idea. Mr. Bryce in his work, *The American Commonwealth*, makes a comparison between the American and British Constitutional machines. He points out that in the United States the people are regarded as the sovereign and are above and beyond the Government and the Congress as well as all the Legislatures of the different States. All these authorities, which are regarded simply as the people's servants, have exactly the amount of power, and no more, which is given to them by the people; and there is a Supreme Court to define the extent of that power. The case of Great Britain is widely different. In theory, Parliament is the nation itself assembled to decide, in conference with the monarch, matters affecting its well-being and good government. In former days, it should be remembered, when our race was in its infancy and the people were not so numerous, the nation did actually meet to settle its affairs. Dr. Stubbs, in his great work on the English Constitution, and Mr. Freeman substantially confirm this view.

But facts are also to be had bearing out in modern practice the above remarks. When Lord Salisbury returned to power in 1895 he had no mandate; or he had such a wide one that he could do anything he liked. Mr. Gladstone's Government of 1886 had no mandate. The Home Rule Bill which he produced was quite unexpected. More evidence against the theory that a mandate is necessary before a British Government can do any legislative work can be obtained from the Liberal side. Mr. John Morley, in a speech delivered when the Education agitation was at fever heat, declared that the idea was erroneous. The remedy, he said, would be to turn out the Government which passed the obnoxious legislation at the following general election. Lord Rosebery has expressed similar views. Both these statesmen are constitutional authorities, and, as both are opposed to the education policy of the present Government, they would have no interest in giving other than honest opinions on this matter. Any amount of speeches of Conservative politicians could be quoted from to show that they certainly think the Government was justified in passing this legislation, but I neglect their utterances because political motives might have induced them to bend their views to suit the occasion.

It seems to me that every man whose mind is not swayed by

prejudice must recognise the fact that the big majority given by the electors of this country to the present Government in 1900 was a sufficient mandate to justify the Government in doing, without going beyond their constitutional rights, all that they have done since they have been in office. When the general election of 1900 took place the Conservative Government had already been in power for five years, and had begun to tinker with the educational system of the country. The measure they introduced in 1896 was sufficient to indicate their general views on the subject, and any one having a knowledge of their previous record could hardly with any reason entertain a doubt that, if the Government again got a majority in the House of Commons, they would continue the policy they had already begun.

If Governments are to be placed in power to deal only with one subject, or with a few specific questions, the political machinery will be paralysed, and elections will be rendered necessary every few months. The contention of those who think otherwise would, if logically carried out, mean that only those measures placed before the people specifically at the preceding election could be given legal effect. It would, therefore, become necessary to submit the private bills proposed to be carried also to the electorate, as well as the innumerable public measures of secondary importance; and, as it would be impossible at any given date to furnish a list of measures to be submitted to Parliament during the ensuing twelvemonth, the only possible course, to comply with the rule of procedure laid down, would be to refer each one of these measures to the popular vote. What expense, trouble, and agitation that would entail can hardly be imagined. The American Presidential election is regarded by business men in the United States as an almost unmitigated nuisance, but it would be nothing to what we should have in England in the circumstances described. The contention of English Nonconformists in favour of a mandatory system means much more than the system in vogue in countries where the referendum exists. Indeed, the referendum does not necessarily mean that it is necessary for the Government of the country in which it exists to obtain a mandate at all. In the Australian Commonwealth the people are regarded as the arbiters in the event of a dispute between the two Houses, and only in such a case are they appealed to. If the two Houses disagree it is provided in the Constitution that the Governor-General may dissolve both Chambers, and if the new Houses disagree, then they must hold a joint sitting, and by their united voice decide the point at issue. In the United States the only referendum in force is the system of amending the State Constitutions, which is generally carried out by electing a Convention for that specific purpose, and sometimes, though not always, referring the conclusions of the Commission to the people for their assent. In ordinary legislation

a mandate or referendum is unknown. It must be admitted that the respective parties generally adopt fairly complete programmes prior to the elections, with which the electors are made acquainted, but they are seldom carried out in their entirety. For instance, during Mr. Cleveland's last term of office the Democratic party were pledged to a scheme of tariff reform, but the measure that eventually emerged was so unlike what the people had been led to expect that the President would not sign it, and allowed it to become law, as provided by the Constitution, after the lapse of ten days. In Switzerland any 50,000 citizens have the right to demand a direct popular vote on any question of constitutional reform. But this certainly does not amount to a mandatory system, and even the reference of political questions to the electorate is limited.

My main contention, however, is that it is not customary for British Governments to obtain a mandate before proceeding with legislative business. Supporters of the theory have apparently a strong pillar to uphold their case in the circumstances attending the return of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1892. The electors had then before them what was known as the Newcastle programme, and as they gave the party in favour of it a majority, presumably they agreed with that programme. But will any one assert that it was carried out? We are still without payment of members, registration reform, disestablishment of the Welsh and Scotch Churches, temperance reform, and numerous other measures which were promised. Their failure was admittedly partly due to the obstructive tactics of the House of Lords, but it was caused also in part by other fortuitous circumstances over which they had no control, and their own conduct. If you proceed upon the assumption of the necessity of a mandate, you cannot excuse any Government which fails to carry out a mandate which it has received. Blame must be apportioned equally between a Government which does more than it is authorised to do and one which does less than it undertakes to do. If this case of 1892 was an instance of a mandate having been given by the country, it has already been discredited by the members of Mr. Gladstone's Government of that period. Many Liberal leaders declared after the fall of the Government that it would be a mistake to offer a cut and dried programme to the electorate on future occasions, as circumstances cropped up which made it physically impossible to carry many items into effect. They are certainly putting their opinions in this respect in practice. Lord Rosebery has formulated a policy, putting efficiency at the top, and naming temperance and housing reform as important features of it, but nobody knows what sort of Acts he would ask Parliament to pass if the country let him have his way. Earl Spencer, in replying to a Nonconformist deputation not very long ago, declined to give education the first place in the programme, although he said it would form a prominent part of Liberal policy. Suppose a general election

took place now, and the Liberal party were returned to power, what would they have received a mandate for? Free Trade perhaps. But it is clear that if their mandate were for Free Trade it could not justify them in undertaking educational reform, which is just what the passive resister wants. This is an application to the Liberal party of the argument used against the present Government, that they were sent back to power in 1900 solely to settle up the South African war. But supposing the Liberal party received a majority at the next election on the question of education, we should still be as much in the dark as to their intentions as the nation was as to the educational intentions of the present Government in 1900. They have produced no definite scheme: we only know the outlines of their ideas. I consider this is all we can reasonably expect. If we are going to have rigid schemes submitted to the people, it is evident that to be consistent every amendment, as well as every bill, must be submitted to the electorate before receiving the force of law. This is the very height of absurdity, and no Government would be possible under such conditions.

One strong objection may be raised to the foregoing argument. It is recognised as part of our polity that some measures must receive popular approval before they can be incorporated in our political system. I may point out, however, that such ratification is only invoked in the case of an Act which would effect alterations in our Constitution. When a Redistribution Bill is passed, for example, an immediate appeal is made to the country. Such has long been the custom in our countries. In the United States and the Commonwealth of Australia the ordinary legislature has no power whatever to alter the fundamental laws, which are regulated by a higher authority. In the British Islands there is no higher authority, for the simple reason that Parliament is in theory actually the nation itself. As in practice the whole nation cannot be present, constitutional changes are generally sanctioned or otherwise by the people, through the instrumentality of a dissolution. No statute dealing with education could possibly change our electoral or constitutional machinery. Therefore on this ground the demand for a popular vote before the enactment of laws on the subject has no rational basis.

A further argument which might be urged in support of resistance to the law is the right which we have been told is inherent in all peoples of revolting against a tyrannical government. This was one of the favourite arguments used by Jefferson Davis to justify the attempted secession of the Southern States from the American Union in 1861. Far be it from me to challenge such a plea; in fact I admit its great value straight away. There is of course an initial difficulty in considering this point. The question arises, Is

passive resistance rebellion? Well, I suppose resistance is equivalent to revolt, and revolt to rebellion, or practically so, and passive resistance must therefore be passive revolt or passive rebellion. The two terms seem to contradict one another, but so do the original words, and I rather imagine that leaders of the movement are sometimes a trifle self-contradictory. At any rate we will agree that the admission of the right of rebellion against a tyrannical Government involves the right of passive resistance against a tyrannical Government. But this is not a recognition of the justice of the cause of the passive resisters. It is what they must prove. If they can bring evidence to show that they are the victims of a tyrannical Government, then we must admit that, under the principle just conceded, they are right in pursuing their present course. But can they prove that? This question seems to be effectually answered when it is remembered that the tenure of power of their oppressors practically rests with them; that within a year or two at most they will have the opportunity of entrusting the destinies of the country to a new set of rulers, who could reverse the policy which is now found to be so obnoxious; and also by the instances I have previously given to show that Nonconformists, as well as other creeds, benefit by the present law. Next I should like to point out to the malcontents that this is a democratic country, where the maxim "Government by the consent of the governed" is the guiding principle of our political system. But in the most democratic country in the world you will never—at least, I venture to prophecy not within the life of any one now living—secure for any law, however just and beneficent, which may be passed the unanimous consent of the people. The government of the country must be carried on in accordance with the will of the majority; it may be an overwhelming majority or a small majority, but it must be by a majority. Even the greatest reforms this nation has known have had some opponents. The Reform Bill of 1832 may be taken as an instance. If ever there was a unanimous nation, that nation was England at the period mentioned. Practically the whole country demanded reform. Yet there were a few who objected to it—mainly at the King's palace and in the House of Lords. Now if the passive resisters are right in their methods, it is obvious that this minority against the Reform Bill in 1832 would have been justified in using similar methods as those used by the passive resisters, to prevent as far as they could the execution of the law. I cannot see any difference in the position of the two sets of dissentients. The passive resisters to-day think they have a grievance; the noble lords of that day thought they had a grievance. The only difference is the subject of complaint. The majority of the nation do not believe in passive resistance, or they would resort to it. In Hampden's time, as has been shown, he was supported by the nation,

for the great majority of people followed his example and adopted his methods. There is no evidence of anything of the sort taking place now.

I have admitted the right of a people to revolt against a tyrannical Government and I hope I have shown that the merits of the case on which the passive resisters base their action do not justify revolt, passive or otherwise, and that the English system of government is not tyrannical, and cannot be so long as we have a House of Commons elected on a popular franchise and a Government responsible to it. I do not think the English people have a right to say that government by majority is tyrannical; nor do I think that any people have reason to make such an assertion. Wherever it is practised to-day—in the United States, the French Republic, the Swiss Confederation, the Commonwealth of Australia, and the Dominion of Canada, as well as in other self-governing colonies of the British Empire—it is not too much to say that it has been proved to be a blessing to the human race. It is not an ideal system, but it is the best obtainable. The ideal would, of course, involve the contentment of every one, and I am afraid its attainment is a long way off. That the minority has rights I am willing to admit, though some of the present passive resisters ignored this fact when their brethren in Ulster were making it a plea against the Home Rule Bill of 1893. But, unless those rights are really imperilled, there is no justification for insurrection, passive or otherwise. The war of 1861–5 was certainly not a war against a majority: it was a war of several detached majorities against one aggregate majority. I do not think instances of tyranny by a majority over a minority are common. In democratic countries there is always free and full discussion before any legislative measure takes the form of a law, and in such discussion the minority can lay their case before the whole people, whose instincts generally lead them to a decision in accordance with justice and fair play, and which will tend to secure the greatest good for the greatest number. Those who say they have a right to resist the Government, either passively or actively, every time they consider they have a grievance, will evidently never rest satisfied under any Government—democratic, aristocratic, or autocratic. All of us, I daresay, have grievances of some kind or other against the law, but no one except a passive resister would think of breaking it for such a trivial cause as that under notice.

I will give an instance of what I mean by quoting my own case. Until last July I was unable to get a vote owing to the terms of the registration law relating to length of residence. I was strongly opposed to the South African War, which I believed to be unnecessary and unjust. It is evident, therefore, that I had a double grievance. I had to pay taxes without representation and I had to contribute to the support of a war which I regarded as iniquitous.


Suppose I had acted on the doctrines of the passive resisters, what should I have done? I should have refused to pay taxation, I should have bought no more tobacco, drunk no more tea or sugar, and, while the corn duty was imposed, I should have eaten no bread. What a sorry plight I should have been in! Who would have suffered most if I had acted in this way—the Government or myself? I don't think there is much doubt as to the answer. In connection with this point one other matter occurs to me. We are in the midst of a great fiscal discussion, and some one may say, on being made acquainted with the dicta I have laid down: You are making a mistake in assuming that the consumer pays the taxes on tea, sugar, corn, and tobacco. Well, I may have made a mistake in regard to corn and sugar, but even Mr. Chamberlain admits, I think, that the consumer pays on tea, and as to tobacco, I think I am justified in asserting that the consumer pays in that case also. In Jersey, where no duty is imposed, tobacco can be obtained at 4*d.* for which 10½*d.* has to be paid in Great Britain. The cheapest tobacco in this country, except perhaps the home-grown Irish brand, which I have not sampled, is 4*d.* an ounce, or 4*s.* a pound. But men in the Navy get tobacco at 1*s.* a pound, and if outsiders can get some of their friends to smuggle some out, which, I fear, is frequently done, they can obtain it at a slightly increased price. So I think it is evident that, in the case of tobacco at any rate, the consumer does pay the tax. Therefore my argument holds good. And if I had refused to buy tobacco on account of my principles I should have lost one of my chief comforts and the Government would not even have been alarmed. So it is in the case of the passive resisters.

Does passive resistance pay? I hope a sufficient answer has been furnished in the foregoing pages, but I will proceed to illustrate my negative reply in another way. When a revolt breaks out those with whom it originates expect some benefit to result from it. But what can be got from this passive resistance? In the nature of things it could not be successful unless it were practised by a majority of the people, and, as we know, the resisters form only a very small minority. The passive resisters have to pay the rate in spite of all their protests, and I believe they have to pay the legal expenses as well. Thus they are worse off than I should have been if I had refused to buy any tobacco, because I should by this means have escaped payment of the duty, but they not only do not evade payment of the rates, they have an extra amount to pay as well, while their families are put to considerable difficulty and trouble. Those associated with the movement might have some plausible excuse for their conduct if they could show that it was effective; if they could do what the Irish people did when tithes were levied while the Irish State Church was still in existence. The farmers



from whom the tithes were demanded resisted passively and actively, though the passive resistance was different from that of the English Nonconformists of to-day, and it was very effective indeed. The forces sent by the Government to seize the cattle of those who refused to pay were resisted, with the result that there was much bloodshed. When, after all this trouble, the cattle were captured, they had to be sold, and here the great difficulty manifested itself. In many cases, when the beasts were put up at auction sales, there were no bidders except the farmer who owned the cattle, and, as a consequence, he got his property back at a purely nominal price. These methods were profitable to those who practised them, since they were thus enabled to escape payment of tithes altogether. But there was an even more gratifying result afterwards. The two Houses of Parliament appointed Commissions to inquire into the whole subject, who reported that a complete extinction of the tithe system was demanded. Lord Althorp's Government took the matter up in 1832, and, although the matter was not finally dealt with then, it may fairly be said that the Irish people themselves rendered the tithe system unworkable. We see no such fruits of the passive resisters' methods to-day. There is an even greater difference than this fact between the two cases. The Irish State Church was practically a foreign institution, five-sixths of the population being Roman Catholics. Hence almost the whole nation were against this system. This is not so with the Education Act of 1902, and any attempt to draw a parallel must be abortive. I have tried to show that, on principle, the passive resistance movement has absolutely no justification in the circumstances of to-day, and the argument that, from the point of view of self-interest, the game is not worth the candle is also, I think, conclusive.

I have advanced several arguments against the passive resistance movement, each of which, taken alone, appears to me to condemn it. The first is that the grievances the people suffer are not sufficiently great to justify the action they are taking. As has been shown, they have the opportunity under the Act to benefit as much as any other creed does. The action of the County Councils may have secured the advantages in the cases mentioned; if so, this only proves that the real power is in the hands of these bodies, and, as the public elect them, all that is necessary is to see that men of the right opinions are returned at the elections. It is impossible to give religious teaching in the schools that will satisfy everybody, and the only remedy would seem to be to leave this form of education entirely to the parents of the children, the Churches and Sunday Schools. Assuming for the sake of argument that the Act is as bad as its most bitter opponents say it is, the parallel attempted to be drawn between the passive resistance movement and the action of John Hampden fails, because the latter resisted taxes



illegally levied, while the former are resisting a law enacted in accordance with the Constitution. Moreover, nearly the whole nation supported Hampden, whereas few favour the passive resisters' methods. The plea that the Government should not have passed the Education Act as they did not receive a mandate to do so breaks down because it is opposed to the theory and practice of the British Constitution. It would be impracticable to place Governments in power to deal with only one subject ; the system would be unworkable. If the people are dissatisfied with a Government's conduct they can eject it from office at the general election. The argument that the right of revolt against tyrannical government is inherent in all peoples is not applicable to this case, as a Government based on the votes of the majority of the nation cannot well be tyrannical, and there is bound to be a certain number of dissentients, no matter what law may be passed. The same authority which placed this Government in power can displace it. If the theory of passive resistance were carried to its logical termination, it would mean the cessation of all government and the creation of a state of anarchy. Finally, no benefit can be derived from passive resistance; it has not even the excuse of utility. Thus its last line of defence is beaten down.

I wish to observe in conclusion that I am a Nonconformist and am as anxious as any one can be to see a national system of education, free from sectarian control, established. Religious tests for teachers or students of training colleges are obnoxious and ought to be abolished. It is only right, too, that the education of the nation's children should be governed by the nation and not by any creed, sect, or party. The only way to abolish religious tests and to stop acrimonious theological discussion would seem to be a national system of purely secular education. This would also render possible full popular control. But none of these objects can be attained by the policy of passive resistance. The most sensible plan is to make the best of a bad job, and pay the rates, while resolving to so exercise the rights of citizenship as to secure the redress of the evils at present existing at the earliest possible moment, and obtain the minimum of evil and the maximum of good from things as they are.

F. W. H. REED.

JAN.

## THE LAND OF MAZZINI AND GARIBALDI.

### I.

AFTER a prolonged time of strange coolness on the part of this country towards Italy, whose revival as a united nationality had been greeted in the early sixties with such glowing enthusiasm, the visit of King Victor Emmanuel III. and Queen Helena has apparently brought about a new turn towards the old feelings. Into the motives of this change I will not enter here. As a matter of fact, speaking from the point of view of general principles, this restoration of closer friendly relations may certainly be looked upon as useful to English interests in Mediterranean quarters.

Those who remember the rightly more than royal reception given by the London masses, in 1864, to the Liberator of the Two Sicilies and the virtual founder of Italian unity, often wondered, in later years, to find the interest in the newly-created nation gradually diminishing in this country. The first rift in the lute of harmony occurred immediately after that visit of Garibaldi, which closed so disastrously. In consequence of reclamations made by Napoleon III., Gladstone, after a confidential meeting with Lord Shaftesbury and other men of position and influence, practically compelled Garibaldi to leave England without his having fulfilled the promise to visit a number of other large towns. This the Italian leader felt so deeply that even many years afterwards, when he wrote his Memoirs, he did not even with a single word speak of his visit to England.

The interview of Gladstone with Garibaldi had taken place at midnight. Early next morning, when, in accordance with his wish, I had gone with my wife to Stafford House to take him, in the Duke of Sutherland's carriage, to my house, and then to the houses of Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, whom he had not known before, he made to me the first communication of what had happened late in the night before.

I had been in intimate correspondence and intercourse with him since the successful rising in Sicily. Of his various later enterprises he had always given me beforehand confidential intimation, sometimes by special messenger. When he landed, in 1864, in the Isle of Wight, I saw him there, before he came to London, at the house

of Mr. Seely, M.P., as the chosen speaker of a mass meeting of London Germans, in whose name I afterwards presented an address to him. On the occasion of this interview at Brooke House, I may say, I prevented him from committing himself against the rights of German nationality in Schleswig-Holstein. Some of those who had invited him to England actually had done so with the secret object of launching him into an expedition against Austria (then still a member of the German Confederation) in the direction of the Tirol, whilst Austrian troops were engaged in the North. I explained to Garibaldi the real state of things. When we parted, he gave me a distinct and satisfactory pledge. In the answer to the speech I had to address to him a few days later in London, at the head of the deputation in question, he then actually took sides with our own cause. On a previous occasion, in 1862, I had equally induced him to desist from a plan formed by a section of the "Party of Action," which would have again alienated German sympathies from the Italian cause.

All this, provable by documentary evidence, I only mention to show why Garibaldi informed me first about that nocturnal interview with Gladstone. I at once passed the sad news on to a number of Liberal leaders, among them to our friend James Stansfeld. There followed a series of demonstrations of working men, and a deputation to Gladstone to express public indignation. Next day, in order to retrieve his terribly shaken popularity, Gladstone made, in the House of Commons, the famous speech in which for the first time he declared for the necessity of Suffrage Reform. "In my opinion," he said, "agitation by the working classes is a thing not to be waited for, not to be made a condition previous to any Parliamentary movement; but, on the contrary, it is a thing to be deprecated, and, if possible, anticipated and prevented by wise and providing measures," because in railway language "the danger signal is turned on."

In fact, that danger signal had been turned on himself. Soon the great Suffrage Reform movement, officered by Mr. Edmund Beales, who had also taken the chair at the indignation meeting against the treatment of Garibaldi, shook England, and especially London, during two years. So Garibaldi's virtual expulsion finally came home upon the governing classes themselves, who had so long been an exclusive oligarchy.

In Italy, Garibaldi's enforced departure created a most painful impression. Feelings quite cooled down towards England. Then followed, in the early eighties, the Tunis affair, when Garibaldi became perfectly enraged against France, as numerous utterances and writings of his prove. In those days, Italians vainly hoped to have England, the great naval and Mediterranean Power, as a support against the French conquest of an ancient Carthaginian port from which Italy could be threatened in the South, whilst from Toulon

she might be gripped at the same time, as between a pair of tongs.

Cairoli, when coming to London as an ex-Minister, expressed to me, in presence of Professor Vitale de Tivoli, his deep grief at having been thus victimised by the French Government. England's neglect of Italian distress in the Tunis question no doubt added to the temporary coolness between the two countries. When Gladstone, under the guise of "Outidanos"—a disguise afterwards lifted by the publishers of the Review in which his article had appeared—bitterly attacked Crispi, who had continued the Triple Alliance policy, Italian feeling necessarily became once more doubtful as regards England.

## II.

These are now things of the past, but not to be forgotten as serious facts in contemporary history. To-day Italy is again spoken of in this country in high terms. And right glad must have been those who know how her unity was really brought about, when finding her described as "the land of Mazzini and Garibaldi."

It was the *Pall Mall Gazette* which used that correct term. Few are still living who can testify to Mazzini's not merely theoretical influence but practical action. Only recently he has been depicted by one who evidently is not aware of the origin of that Sicilian rising of 1860, which culminated in Italian unity, as a noble dreamer, as a "seer and saint" of European Revolution, whose acts, however, were "writ in water"!

The Roman Republic of 1849, at whose head Mazzini stood as its leading Triumvir, of itself disproves that slighting description of his character. Palmerston, of all men, bore witness, in Parliament, to the fact of "Rome having never been better governed than under that Republic." This promising Commonwealth, which might have become the basis of Italian unity, was destroyed by fraud and force through an army sent out under Louis Bonaparte's Presidency of the second French Republic, with the approval of Royalists and Papist clericals. Their typical Ultramontane representative, M. de Montalembert, praised this murderous intervention in 1849 as the forerunner of an *expedition à l'intérieur*—that is, of a similar deed in France itself. The midnight surprise of December 2, 1851, fulfilled that prediction, the streets of Paris being made into shambles.

It is easy to sneer at men of action, who had been at the head of a popular and national movement, as mere "dreamers," when they have thus been dealt with by perjured princely usurpers. But how if it were shown that Mazzini, the so-called dreamer, had organised the Sicilian rising, which was only officered and led to final victory by Garibaldi six weeks after continued struggles?

That it was so, is a certain fact, to which I, having been initiated into the earliest conception of the plan, can fully testify. Truly,

the *Pall Mall Gazette* rightly spoke of Italy as "the land of Mazzini and Garibaldi"; for, without the former, Italy as a national Power would not exist to-day. No wonder that when a monument to Mazzini was proposed by Crispi, as Premier, in Parliament, even the King offered a subscription of 100,000 lire. Was that monument meant for a mere dreamer?

It is as if it had happened yesterday, so clearly do I remember all the details of the early communications made to me by Mazzini about the preparations for the Sicilian rising in 1860, and of the interview in his humble room—at which I was present—with the young leader who had come over to England from his island-home for personal consultation with the former head of the Roman Republic.

Already in December 1858, Mazzini had made to me a remarkable statement as to the forthcoming war of Louis Napoleon against Austria. It was before the famous New Year's remark of the French Emperor to Herr von Hübner, the Austrian ambassador. In the house of Mr. Craufurd—in presence of Aurelio Saffi, his former co-Triumvir—Mazzini actually detailed to me the plan of a Bonapartist campaign, of which nobody knew anything at that time; whole Europe being afterwards taken by surprise. He foretold me that only the conquest of Lombardy would be the object of the war, and that peace would be concluded at once if Austria yielded after a first defeat. All this came true.

Whilst Garibaldi, in 1858, being approached by Cavour, had conditionally accepted the offer to range a number of revolutionary forces under the Sardinian banner, Mazzini, fearing a dangerous compact between Louis Napoleon and the Czar, protested against the enterprise. The manifesto issued by him was signed by many of the most prominent Democratic exiles. Among them were Aurelio Saffi, Campanella, Quadrio, Crispi (the late Premier), Alberto Mario, Rosolino Pilo, Filippo de Boni, Vitale de Tivoli, C. Venturi, and others.

When, however, the war was suddenly broken off and peace concluded at Villafranca, Mazzini changed his tactics. He now tried to extend the national movement towards Central and Southern Italy. The parole he gave out was: "*Al Centro, al Centro, mirando al Sud!*" ("To the centre of the country; with the South as our aim!") Not being on good terms with Garibaldi, he addressed a public letter to the King—rather to the wonder of many of his friends. He offered, for the sake of the fatherland, to make common cause with the Monarchy for the establishment of national unity. "When the deed is done," he wrote, "I am ready to go back into exile, and to die there with the Republican principles of my youth."

At the time he wrote this he was secretly at Florence. I knew of his whereabouts; but I confess that I also was much astonished at that letter, which he had written entirely on his own behalf. When he

came back to London, he showed me the documentary evidence of the confidential relations he had entered into at Florence with Ricasoli.

Besides this public letter to Victor Emmanuel, Mazzini had made a secret offer to the King to revolutionise the South—an attempt which he declared to be easy. The King was not to be publicly answerable for it, but only to give his tacit consent, and to let Garibaldi confidentially know about it either through Ricasoli or through Farini. These were then the two chief moderate Liberal leaders. In Mazzini's proposal it was added that if Austria were to interfere by force of arms, Victor Emmanuel should openly support the planned insurrection in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. This move had, however, no result.

Once more Mazzoni resolved upon a fresh attempt. The following is, in a condensed form, the communication he made to me :

“Victor Emmanuel was to be left now wholly out of the affair, lest Cavour, and through him Louis Napoleon, should get wind of the plan. Garibaldi, as general of the Volunteers under the Sardinian banner, was suddenly to give the order for starting towards the Centre and the South. At Naples, and more so even in Sicily, preparations for a rising had in the meantime been made. *Garibaldi accepted.* But though he promised to keep silence, Garibaldi thought he might as well inform the King, whose own dynastic interest and aggrandisement were involved in the expedition, and with whom he was on the best terms. Unfortunately *the King told Cavour. Cavour informed Napoleon.* A thundering despatch from the Tuileries was the result. Garibaldi on the point of issuing the order for the forward march, received a counter-order from the King, and had to give up the expedition. On November 1859, he resigned his command. So nothing was done.”

It will easily be imagined how disappointed, nay, furiously indignant, Mazzini and those who had acted with him were at this issue. Garibaldi, no doubt, had done what he did simply from trustful over-confidence in the King. Moreover, he had had no knowledge of the previous, though fruitless, secret proposal made to Victor Emmanuel by Mazzini himself. Yet Garibaldi was for some time charged by the Mazzinian section of the Party of Action with incomprehensible faithlessness. The two great leaders became thereby still more estranged.

### III.

Again, Mazzini, the alleged dreamer, set anew to work. Leaving Garibaldi for the nonce out of the scheme, he endeavoured to organise a rising—this time not from the land side towards Naples, but in Sicily—through a naval expedition. Into the preparations for that venture Garibaldi was not to be initiated, lest there should be another breach of confidence.

There was, indeed, danger in delay as regards the foundation of Italian unity. The French Emperor had never wished to establish that unity when he declared war against Austria. The old traditional maxim at Paris had always been to have France powerfully united and centralised, ready for attack, but to keep neighbouring States in a state of dissension, or at most of loose federation, so as to enable France to have herself continually a hand in their affairs. There is on record a curious early public intimation from the Elysée Palace concerning a coming French policy in Italian affairs. It dates back to January 2, 1852—that is, a few weeks after Louis Bonaparte's criminal State stroke. It was published at that time by the *Kölnische Zeitung*. In it, the war against Austria; the aggrandisement of France by Savoy and Nice; the indemnification of Sardinia by Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, Modena, and Lucca—but by nothing more!—were literally predicted.

When Austria, in 1859, was defeated, the French Emperor tried to introduce Prince Napoleon, who shortly before the war had married Victor Emanuel's daughter, as King in Tuscany. In the Neapolitan Kingdom Prince Murat was to be installed. Whole Italy was to be made into a Confederation under the honorary presidency of the Pope. And the French Emperor was to be virtually Over-lord of Italy through his military occupation of the States of the Church.

In the case of Tuscany, this idea of establishing vassal States under a French Lord Paramount was at once foiled in the first flush and hurricane of the Italian national movement. At Naples, however, emissaries from Paris were most active. Their task was to make use of the hatred against Bourbon despotism for the benefit of the Muratist cause. This was well known to all true Italian patriots, moderate Constitutional, as well as Democratic.

Cavour, who in name as well as in language and feeling, was more French than typically Italian, and who was bound by engagements to the Government at Paris, felt a dislike to the Southerners in the two Sicilies. He believed them to be either inclined to Bourbonism or to Republicanism. He imagined that it would be impossible to rule them from the North. He held them even to be an undesirable element in a Constitutional Monarchy, and to be by race and by temperament impossible of amalgamation with the North. For these reasons he cared little about the intrigues of French agents in the South. Mazzini had better judgment and higher aims.

#### IV.

Several months before the insurrection began in Sicily, in 1860, I was present at confidential discussions in Mazzini's poor dwelling. Only a small circle of his intimate friends or fellow-workers in



England had received information about what was coming. Among them was the common friend Louis-Bonaparte. He, in 1849, had nearly sacrificed his whole power for the cause of the Roman Republic, and thus became its chief. After his unsuccessful attempt at a third republic Louis Bonaparte, he remained secreted at Paris during a whole winter in a narrow and low air room of a friend's house, where he a day long, nearly perished in the ceiling. Finally he succeeded in making his escape in disguise to England. I, thinking it better not to go that had been assigned to me, was cast into prison in violation of the law of nations as a suspected sympathiser with Louis-Bonaparte's movement: my quality as a German diplomatic agent at Paris being generally disregarded.

It is a singular circumstance, but as is usual with such a character, easily subjected to a fit of despondency from large and long deferred, Louis-Bonaparte one day despondently said to me:

"The thing in Sicily is a long time in coming: Will it ever come?"

I answered that I had full hope from what I had heard. Soon afterwards the world was startled by the revolutionary outbreak at Palermo.

I had met the young Sicilian leader in Mazzini's room. He was surrounded with the habit of tall build, fair-skinned, with auburn hair, reminding me more of the Normans than of the Greeks, Italians or Spaniards, who all had alternately held sway in his native island. He and he spoke rather broadly, using some provincial Italian words according to a frequent Italian custom. Now and then therefore I missed understanding a word. On his part Mazzini, as if to take his own English case, occasionally let himself go, at least in pronunciation, for instance, saying *stare* instead of "stay," after the manner of his own Genoese countrymen.

Sicily, in 1848, had struck out for entire independence. This separatist tendency was still so much to be feared that native Sicilians had in 1861, to be put in the foreground as helpers in the organisation of the rising for Italian unity. It was Rosolino Pilo, Crispi, and Currao, all three bailing from the island, who were put to that task. "If Sicily," Mazzini said, "aims at special self-government, at State sovereignty within a confederated Italy, as she did in 1848, she will prove a hindrance, and not a help, to the national cause." Hence the necessity for native Sicilian captaincy in the first stage of the insurrection.

When preparations had been made so far, Garibaldi, of course, was informed and approached. Six weeks, however, passed before he made up his mind to head the movement. Then only he landed at Marsala with the Thousand. In the *Recollections of My Life* (*Memorie Autobiografiche*) he himself says:

"Rosolino Pilo and Corrao were on the point of going to Sicily. Knowing the disposition of the man [Cavour] who ruled over the fate of North Italy, and having not yet shaken off the scepticism into which the recent events of the last months of 1859 had cast me, I discounselled action if there were not more positive news concerning the insurrection. I threw the ice of the man of ripe years upon the ardent and powerful resolution of youth. (*Gettavo il mio ghiaccio da uomo maturo nella fervida, potente risoluzione di volontà giovanili.*) But it was written in the Book of Fate that icy coldness and dogmatic pedantry in vain put obstacles into the path of the victorious march of the Italian cause. I had advised not to do anything. Yet, by God! it was done, and a gleam of hopeful news announced that the rising in Sicily was not spent. I had advised not to act. But must not the Italian be where the Italian fights for the national cause against tyranny?"

This testimony of Garibaldi sufficiently disposes of wrong legends as to the origin and organisation of the movement. Even as late as March 15, 1860, he had written to Rosolino Pilo, when that leader and Corrao were already in Sicily at the head of the armed insurrection: "At the present moment *I hold a revolutionary rising in no part of Italy to be advisable, except if a striking probability of success should show itself.*"

Again, Rosolino Pilo sent a special messenger to Garibaldi in April. But the answer the famed leader of the Red Shirts at first gave, standing with arms akimbo and eyes looking down to the ground, was: "But France? But Cavour?"

Thus a month and a half elapsed before Garibaldi arrived in Sicily with his Legion. "Meanwhile the Government of Cavour began to spread that network of intriguing snares and of miserable malicious opposition which persecuted our expedition down to the last."<sup>1</sup> These are Garibaldi's own words. I will not go into this much further. There is plenty of evidence to the same effect, both by Garibaldi and others. Cavour did nothing but confiscate the arms and money destined for the rising.

Popular sentiment, it need scarcely be said, was so much on the side of the Sicilian insurrection and of the necessary, though somewhat late, captaincy by Garibaldi, that the Government of Cavour could not dare openly to oppose the starting of the expedition. Yet it was only in two rotten ships and with a small supply of arms that the glorious venture was undertaken.

The means for the original rising under Rosolino Pilo had been collected through a few intimate friends of Mazzini in England and Scotland. Among them, foremost, was Mr. John McAdam, of Glasgow, a simple but useful and enthusiastic man of the people, who was also a common friend of Louis Blanc and myself. Louis Blanc, it is true, was not, like Ledru-Rollin, made aware of the

<sup>1</sup> "Intanto il governo di Cavour cominciava a gettare quella rete d'insidie e di miserabile contrarietà che perseguirono la nostra spedizione sino all'ultimo."—*Memorie Autobiografiche*, p. 335.

preparations for the Sicilian movement. He and Mazzini had for years become estranged. It is often asserted that the expedition had been largely supported by England. The plain fact, however, is that the pecuniary means for an enterprise, which had to be organised in secret, came from an extremely small group of men who could be fully trusted.

Cavour's belief, nay hope, actually was that Garibaldi, who started with such scanty means, would come to grief in mid-sea, perhaps be captured by a French cruiser. The same malicious opinion was held by Farini, Cavour's agent, of whom Garibaldi also speaks in indignant terms. *Questo pazzo!* ("that madman") Cavour called Garibaldi in private. When the crafty statesman saw what progress the insurrection made, he cunningly wrote a few lines with an eye to future possibilities. Yet, even after Sicily had been conquered, the King was induced by Cavour to write a letter to Garibaldi, ordering him not to cross the Straits. No doubt that was what Napoleon III., too, insisted on in his dealings with the Government of Victor Emanuel. Fortunately, the intention of the French Emperor to prevent the Liberator from going over to the mainland was foiled by the interposition of the English fleet.

Cavour's intrigues continued nevertheless. His object was, to deprive Garibaldi of the Dictatorship, and in this intrigue his emissary, Farini, was most active. There was at the time even an ugly rumour of a plot for an attempt upon Garibaldi's life. Finally, Garibaldi had to lay down the Dictatorship. After having eaten a breakfast in a stable, he, with a few lire in his pocket, returned to his island home.

Can it be wondered at that the alleged "madman" afterwards often gave vent to his contempt for Cavour by speaking of him in private as *questa canaglia?* When, in 1864, I took Garibaldi from Stafford House, in the Duke of Sutherland's carriage, to my own house, and thence to Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, he also expressed to me, on our way, when I spoke of this matter, the strongest indignation against Cavour. In his face much sadness at these recollections depicted itself.

What followed at the visit to Ledru-Rollin was significant in this connection. Garibaldi had never met the two eminent French leaders before. At Stafford House he had rather been kept in a "charmed circle" of the aristocracy, and he had found an almost insuperable difficulty in getting out of it so as to be able to see exiled leaders of European Democracy. When I went to the Duke's mansion, he expressed a wish to come to my house, and the carriage was ordered. To my surprise I found that some of those around him did not appear quite to like his going away without an escort of their own. However, he rose resolutely with an "*andiamo!*" quickly offering the arm to my wife—that poor arm which a few

days later was falsely asserted to have been in such a state as to have necessitated his sudden departure from England.

Now when we came to Ledru-Rollin's house, which, like Louis Blanc's, was not far from my own, Mrs. Ledru-Rollin, with that directness of speech which is the great privilege of ladies, asked Garibaldi point-blank :

"Are you still a Republican?"

"Certainly!" he answered.

Then, in a few words, he said that if the moment came for renewing a movement for the establishment of a Commonwealth in Italy, he thought a Dictator would have to be appointed by way of temporary transition, so as to ensure success. The remark looked like a remembrance of 1860.

On the occasion of this visit, Ledru-Rollin referred to a certain connection between our past. Garibaldi had defended the Roman Republic against the French army. Ledru-Rollin had become an exile through the failure of his endeavour to stop the lawless aggression against a sister Republic. I had suffered, in the manner before mentioned, an imprisonment of two months and a half for the same reason. "Thus," the ex-member of the French Government of 1848 said to Garibaldi, "there is, in truth, a special bond between all three of us."

After this, Garibaldi's health was drunk in wine from Ledru-Rollin's own vineyards in France. "The Future of the Democratic Cause in Europe" was coupled with the toast, to which the virtual founder of Italian unity heartily responded.

## V.

In 1860 Garibaldi had certainly started for Sicily with the programme—"Italy and Victor Emanuel!" On the testimony of Mazzini I have it, however, that the movement was to be continued up to, and into, Rome for the overthrow of the temporal dominion of the Pope, and that then a Constituent Assembly was to be convoked there for the expression of the will of the nation. Venice was to be left out of the plan for the nonce, unless the force of circumstances compelled action there.

A number of men on Garibaldi's staff were reckoned to be won to that scheme. Garibaldi himself was said to have consented.

In his *Memoirs* Garibaldi acknowledges Rosolino Pilo and Corrao as "the two heroic sons of Sicily, the true forerunners of the Thousand." Pilo had headed the rising on the understanding that "the question of a Republic should not be raised at the insurrection." Mazzini and his closer adherents were content with this. Whilst Garibaldi started with the parole: "Italy and Victor Emanuel!" it was yet agreed that the campaign should go on until Rome had been conquered, and that then a National Assembly

should meet for the framing of a Constitution. Without doubt, the Liberal, Monarchical, and the Republican parties would each have tried to carry the day.

There has been much debate and dissension in later years about these previous agreements or conditions. However, the interference of the Piedmontese Government at the Volturno prevented, at any rate, the original scheme of continued action up to Rome being carried out. As to the statement made to me by Mazzini, it seems to be fully supported by the fact of Garibaldi, when resigning the Dictatorship, having offered the lieutenantancy of it to Aurelio Saffi. He was Mazzini's intimate friend and whilom co-Triumvir, and he remained at the head of the Republican party down to his death.

I give these explanations impartially as the friend of both Mazzini and Garibaldi. Trusted by both, and generally initiated beforehand into their several enterprises, I had, in such cases, to withhold knowledge alternately from one or the other. Hence Mazzini, in one of these instances, exclaimed afterwards with a degree of disappointment, yet still good-humouredly : " Ah ! *your* Garibaldi ! "

Often it has been my endeavour to bring about better relations between the two. But in my house, in presence of others, Mazzini, rather contrary to his habit, once impetuously exclaimed : " Garibaldi is the arm of Italy, but I am her brain." This was perfectly true ; but it need not have been said—at least, not by Mazzini.

With both I have been at one in the main ; but from both I have now and then differed. My wish, in this present description, has been to mete out justice to each of them. When Garibaldi had his triumphal entry into London, he made a noble-minded declaration which puts matters in their true light. He gave a toast in these words :

" I am about to make a declaration which I ought to have made long ago. There is a man amongst us here who has rendered the greatest services to our country and to the cause of freedom. When I was a youth, having naught but aspirations towards the good, I sought for one able to act as the guide and counsellor of my young years. I sought such a man, even as he who is athirst seeketh the spring. I found the man. He alone watched when all around him slept ; he alone fed the sacred flame. He has ever remained my friend ; ever as full of love for his country and of devotion to the cause of liberty. This man is JOSEPH MAZZINI. To my Friend and Teacher ! "

The truth as to the Sicilian rising, without which there would have been no Italian unity, is this. Unless Garibaldi had come, tardily though it was done, the insurrection, in which Rosolino Pilo fell by a bullet in battle, would in all likelihood not have achieved final success. Garibaldi alone could have led it to a triumphal achievement. But without Mazzini the insurrection would not have taken place at all. To him belongs the merit of having first planned it ; and that remains his glory.

KARL BLIND.

## ESOTERIC LAW.

THERE are few more puzzling experiences than that through which a person passes on being inducted into a knowledge of the practice of law, after acquiring some acquaintance with its theory from books. The embryo lawyer assumes that an elementary knowledge of the principles of the law of property will enable one to draft a conveyance—without dreaming of the hidden pitfalls that grin insidiously around, and compel the initiated to resort to the magic spells of the wizards who alone can charm the dragons that lurk unseen in such innocent phrases as “*survivor*” and “*unmarried.*” The tyro fancies that because recent text-books are of no authority it is of no use quoting them in court, and taxes judicial patience by a tedious citation of cases instead of referring to standard treatises, where they have all been carefully analysed. He imagines that it is possible for a lawyer to say a plain thing in a plain way, and that it is merely because of custom and training if that is not always done—as it admittedly is not.

In point of fact, however, it is impossible for a lawyer, however anxious (as a mere matter of style) to do so, to say a plain thing in a plain way. And the reason is twofold. First, there is the exaggerated value attached to precedents; second, the artificial atmosphere of the profession.

It is not too much to say that it is eminently unsafe to draft the simplest business document without skilled assistance. And the skilled assistant will in all probability find it necessary, except in the case of a bill of exchange (where the less said the better), to inlay the expression of intention in a kind of fossil-bed of legal jargon, utterly foreign to the conceptions of every-day intercourse between ordinary people.

The primary reason for this is, that simple language has often been held, in some case which has unfortunately happened to be reported, not to mean what it does: so that, ever after, people have to go on talking nonsense in order to be understood. And this compels a resort to collections of recognised forms (well known by all lawyers in practice, but a *terra incognita* to the academic student), from which the conveyancer departs at his proper peril. Given the existence of these styles—and where styles exist they are of the essence of law—it is further plain that the danger of departing from their terms tends to stereotype them. Those whose busi-

ness it is to assign irrefragable reasons for a variation will not indulge in changes for the mere sake of bringing legal phraseology into harmony with common language. Consequently, ancient expressions remain embedded in the composition, which cannot be tampered with without risk of touching a vital place. When the layman realises that it is with a distinct consciousness of danger that a lawyer substitutes "does" for "doth" in a conveyance, it will be apparent to him that it is as impossible to translate a legal document into current phrase, as to satisfy a Mahometan that the Koran can exist in any language but the Arabic.

The practitioner thus moves among a maze of intricate inanity, which hampers every step. It is so supremely aloof from intelligibility, that the consequences of any independent action must be the subject of prolonged and careful consideration. It is like being in a room full of machinery which an unwary pressure of a stud or a lever may start. It is impossible to move freely. Thought and initiative are paralysed and choked by the over-mastering necessity for caution in the presence of the chaotic.

In this way the ghost of some departed, and (to use a New Englander's daring expression) third-rate, judge frightens the conveyancer from the path of literary rectitude, and sets a freakish, antic will-o'-the-wisp to lure him among the bogs and morasses of the trackless waste, where he will wander enchanted till it becomes his natural element.

In fact, the reverence for cases decided after argument in court has, under any aspect, become an anachronism. In the long run, the best law will be recognised as the best, however enunciated, by the silk robe on the Bench or by the black coat at the desk. And, on the whole, the black coat is in the most advantageous position nowadays. "The true modern university," Carlyle said, "is a library of books." So the method of oral debate in court is, as a means of arriving at a rule of law, immensely inferior to the unhurried sifting which a critical investigation can give to the question. Moreover, the writer is a specialist; the judge, as a rule, is not. Consequently we are drifting into a habit of relying on text-books as authorities. And we are doing it in a haphazard and unsatisfactory way, as must always be the case when theory and practice diverge.

Lawyers cling to the crabbed forms which bad precedents necessitate. Their meaning, though already obscure, is discoverable. It can be dragged to light if it is wanted. And the opinion seems to be held that, if plain language were resorted to, it would never be certain what construction would be put upon it. A more melancholy indictment of the Bench—and a more unjustified one—than this it would be difficult to conceive. Naturally, so long at the Bench is obliged to assume that the framer of a document did *not* mean to

use plain language, it will be in the highest degree unsafe to resort to it. But there is no reason why, under saner circumstances, it should be any more difficult to interpret straightforward phrases than awkward ones. However much one may refine formulæ, there is always an ever-opening, infinite vista of possibilities of their being misinterpreted. And these possibilities that the language used may fail to express the intention are not smaller, but greater, the more artificial the language with which the draftsman has to work. The attempt to arrive, by mechanical means, at a degree of assurance which shall dispense with the necessity for the exercise of the moral faculty of insight defeats its own ends. Technical distortions of language, wooden rules of interpretation, are so many attempts to provide the arid intellect with water in convenient sieves, and to build enduring structures on the sand. There is always plenty of scope for failing to express one's exact intention, and none the less when it is expressed in unnatural instead of natural language.

The second branch of the subject is more difficult to deal with. Here we are on delicate ground. But it cannot be denied that a good part of the law is contained in the unwritten and very fluctuating impressions which obtain among lawyers as a class, and in which the public have no share. *Per contra*, it is true, a large portion of the law which really and actually governs the conduct of English people is nowhere to be found in books, but is a simple deduction from the observed practice of juries. But two blacks do not make a white. "The general opinion of the profession" is, in too many cases, substituted for the consensus of the general opinion of the nation. Accordingly, an intimate acquaintance with the specific atmosphere of current legal thought, which can only be gained by continual personal intercourse with the leaders of the legal world, is an indispensable condition of obtaining more than a surface knowledge of the law. And only a few professed lawyers can participate in this.

All professions tend to be esoteric. The musician's does. Intellectual gratification in recondite proprieties is substituted for pure delight in melody and harmony. Or we are bidden, as by the late Sir John Stainer, to realise the charm of enjoying five tunes at once! The divine is not to be outdone, and replaces the infinite and subtle simplicities of religion by a careful collection of intellectual propositions—all of which the uninstructed layman must accept, or perish uncomfortably; just as the plain person who relishes a tune for the tune's sake is branded as no musician in the virtuoso's eyes, because he cannot rise to the level of a mental acrobat, with five balls in the air at one moment.

But the more closely professions keep in touch with the average laymen the better for them and the public. It is the duty of any moderately civilised State to have a plain and adequate system of



law. So much is admitted on all hands. And many people, realising that we in England have not such a system, propose to remedy matters by what they call "codifying the law." It is the merest delusion that by any such quasi-mechanical process any good can be done. The tree which is pruned will grow again, and all the more luxuriantly. The root of the evil, which is the limitation of all real knowledge of the law to a professional caste, would not be touched for an instant by such a measure. The code would provide one more big statute, in wrangling over the clauses of which the ingenuity of the old spirit could disport itself in its accustomed fashion. This is said to be the case abroad, where codes are general, and precedents unauthoritative. Much more certainly would it be so here.

No such Morrison's pill will do. The only remedy lies in the recognition of the simple truth that law, to be of any value, must lie in the consciousness of the people. It may be latent; but it must be there. At present all the law by which an ordinary Briton practically regulates his conduct is the simple (but insufficient) rule—to do like other people and not to quarrel with the police. The incessant activity of modern legislation is greatly to blame for this. So is the neglect, during the past century, of juristic science in England; a neglect which unfortunately led to the general acceptance of the one theory of law which we did formulate—Austin's. This was the theory which, for a king above the law, substituted a Parliament above the law, and has rendered it nearly impossible for an English lawyer to comprehend the true nature of law at all.

If there is to be any hope for the future of English law, it must, like the Roman, come out of the colleges of the pontiffs, and take its place in the minds of the general public. Then there will lie before it the prospect of as beneficent and splendid a development as that which made, from the crude customs of a Latian village, the flexible jurisprudence of an empire. The circumstances of the time seem to suggest that such a hope, though faint, may not be without some promise of fulfilment. Facts have a remarkable way of showing themselves inconsistent with anomalies. And the facts of empire, and extended dominion, may prove fatal to many British institutions sooner than we think. Among them, this notion of a law which is summed up in the one command, "Do whatever Parliament says you must," will probably be doomed to extinction. The real law of England—the sense of justice which lies at the heart of its people—will then be worked out in all its impressive possibilities.

Lord Romilly saw, thirty years ago and more, that the narrowness and professionalism of the present system was a serious danger. When giving evidence before the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the working of the judicial institutions of the country, this eminent judge strongly expressed an opinion that the lay peers

should exercise their prerogative of participating in the judicial decisions of the House of Lords when sitting as a court of final appeal. Such a proposal would appear to the ordinary publicist the wild and belated project of a mere reactionary, to be received with a pitying smile. But to Romilly it seemed that some such practice would "keep the law sweet"—would infuse a breath of the healthy atmosphere of lay opinion into the artificial environment of the barristers's chambers and the solicitor's office, and would bring law into harmony with the things of everyday life.

There is danger, of course, that reform would mean anarchy. If unskillfully effected, the business of bringing law into line with general opinion might have disastrous consequences. It might lead to the substitution for settled rule of the idiosyncrasies of the occupants of the bench for the time being. But, even so, it would be a gain to have it openly recognised that judicial idiosyncrasies are a most important factor in jurisprudence. So they are at present, only they are ignored and veiled, as inconsistent with theory. It would surely be an advantage that they should be universally acknowledged and reckoned with. But, after all, there is no need for apprehension on this score. "The opinion of the profession" is quite sufficient, as things are, to limit the operation of this factor in the matters with which that opinion condescends to concern itself. The opinion of the realm would be equally adequate to the duty of restraining it in a wider sphere.

But it would hardly be so if the judges remained as now, lawyers, supported in their peculiar ideas by a powerful professional feeling, Lord Romilly's instinct was not at fault in asserting the necessity for non-professional exponents of the law. So long as the law is made by persons in whom the esoteric spirit is ineradicably settled it is useless to expect improved conditions. Legislation will be futile—argument nugatory. The dead weight of tradition and training will overcome all attacks. The one remedy which is not revolutionary is the appointment of lay judges, empowered to decide according to good conscience and equity. Coupled with this would be the admission to practise before them of persons who had not been brought in contact with the prejudices of the legal profession as at present constituted.

Consider for a moment what the duties of a judge are. First and foremost there is the ascertainment of fact from conflicting evidence. One of our greatest jurists has declared that there are not more than three persons in England capable of doing this. Certainly there is very little in the training of a lawyer which equips him for it. Any shrewd business man is at least as likely to be right, in drawing conclusions of this kind, as a lawyer steeped in the atmosphere of an artificial world. Next, there is the power of arriving at correct inferences from proved facts, in relation to which faculty

the same remarks may be made. By a right exercise of these qualifications, nine out of any ten cases which come into court might be decided: The further quality of applying the right rule of law to the ascertained facts only comes into play in 10 per cent. of litigated matters. And if we once concede that law is the general consciousness of a binding rule, the best person to discover the right rule to be applied in any particular case will be a scientific lawyer, who makes it his duty to bring such rules to light, as a doctor searches for a germ or a surgeon for a bullet. The last person to discover it will be a technical lawyer, living in an artificial world of legal formulæ.

It is not necessary that the judge of the facts and judge of the law should be the same person. The two functions require essentially different qualifications—combined, no doubt, in rare individuals—and it is not business-like, or sensible, to unite them. Nevertheless, it is essential that the magistrate who expounds the law should hear the case and see the witnesses. Cases vary so infinitely in their nature that the decision may turn on some apparently trivial circumstance; and the judge may be even unconscious of the extent to which it has weighed with him, or of its very existence. No one would willingly consult a medical man by post. Consequently, the custom of referring legal points to a university professor (as in Germany), or to a jurisconsult (as at Rome), seems inadvisable. And as the work of arriving at facts is on the whole inferior and less delicate work than that of discovering the proper way of dealing with the facts when found, the last ought to be the province of the magistrate who presides at the trial, and not of a referee or assessor. Ascertainment of the facts, then, by an associate or junior judge specially qualified for such work, ought to be the rule; followed by a determination of any legal principle arising in the case by the presiding magistrate, who should be selected, to begin with, from the ranks of the lay world. The only requirements need be that the chosen judges should be sensible and impartial, and gifted with that power of sympathy without which there can be no penetration into the true bearings of a case, so as to extract from the general body of law the adequate rule for its decision. It may seem inappropriate in the extreme to talk about sympathy in connection with law. But it was this quality of imaginative penetration which was the characteristic excellence of the great Papinian, the type and model of all scientific lawyers, whose decisions at once commanded the universal respect of a world by their intrinsic merit.

It would probably be found convenient to appoint the judges of fact from among the class of persons conversant with the matters coming into question in each case—a sort of assessors, or decently-paid and well-selected jurymen. Neither they nor the judges of law should have passed through the status of advocates. The duty of

an advocate is to persuade ; and, although a personal experience of the business is valuable as a means of insight into the methods of advocacy and of estimating them at their due weight, it is not essential. It disposes one, which is a far more than an equivalent drawback, to regard all cases as equally meritorious ; and this produces a kind of apathetic impartiality—an excellent quality where the law is to be ascertained by a mechanical comparison of authorities in the light of professional opinion, but absolutely inconsistent with the initiative and insight which must be necessary for the interpretation of the popular conscience.

Let the country, then, rid itself of esoteric doctrine in law. The age of the Glossators, with their tedious comparison of multitudes of texts, gave way, in the fulness of time, to the vivifying days of the Humanists. In like manner, sooner or later, must disappear the system of enthroned unintelligibility which dominates, like an incubus, the life of the country. Let us do what can be done to make the change as little violent as possible. This will best be brought about by utilising and modifying the existing system, otherwise revolution will have to be faced. Let the country, therefore, create a court consisting not only of the acutest and keenest but, above all, the best and most sympathetic of the people, free from technical prepossessions as from prejudice and partiality. Let them be entirely detached from the bias of professionalism—the less law they know the better. We are not able to emancipate ourselves from constitutional nightmares, and to select the best and wisest of our race to govern the State. But the next best thing is to set the best and wisest amongst us to do right and justice, from the point of view not of the engrossing clerk but of the plain citizen. And this is feasible—and should be done.

T. BATY.

## BYZANTINE GREECE.—I.

THE period of more than a century which separated Alaric's invasion from the accession of Justinian was not prolific of events on the soil of Greece. But those which occurred there tended yet further to accelerate the decay of the old classic life. Scarcely had the country begun to recover from the long-felt ravages of the Goths, than the Vandals, who had now established themselves in Africa, plundered the west and south-west coasts of Greece from Epiros to Cape Matapan. But at this crisis the Free Laconian town of Kainépolis showed such a Spartan spirit that the Vandal King Genseric was obliged to retire with considerable loss. He revenged himself by ravaging the beautiful island of Zante, and by throwing into the Ionian Sea the mangled bodies of 500 of its inhabitants. Nikópolis was held as a hostage by the Vandals till peace was concluded between them and the Eastern Empire, when their raids ceased. Seven years afterwards, in 482, the Ostrogoths under Theodoric devastated Lárissa and the rich plain of Thessaly. In 517 a more serious, because permanent enemy, appeared for the first time in the annals of Greece. The Bulgarians had already caused such alarm to the statesmen of Constantinople that they had strengthened the defences of that city, and it was probably at this time that the fortifications of Mégara were restored. On their first inroad, however, the Bulgarians penetrated no further into Greece than Thermopylæ and the south of Epiros. But they carried off many captives, and, to complete the woes of the Greeks, one of those severe earthquakes to which that country is liable laid Corinth in ruins.

The final separation of the Eastern and Western Empires tended to identify the interests of the Greeks with those of the Eastern Emperors, to make Greek the language of the Court, and to encourage the Greek nationality. But from that period down to the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the Imperial city grew more and more in importance at the expense of the old home of the Hellenes, and Greece became more and more provincial. But it seems an exaggeration to say with Finlay that during those eight centuries "no Athenian citizen gained a place of honour in the annals of the Empire." To Athens, at least, belongs the honour of having produced the Empress Eudokía, wife of Theodosius II., whose acts of

financial justice to her native land she may have prompted, such as that which, in 435, reduced the tribute of the dwellers in Greece by two-thirds, while she is said to have founded twelve churches in her native city, among them the quaint little Kapnikarcea, so conspicuous a feature of modern Athens, if we may trust the belief embodied in the inscription inside. The daughter of an Athenian professor, Leóntius, celebrated alike for her beauty and accomplishments, she went to Constantinople to appeal against an unjust decision which had enriched her brothers but had left her almost penniless. She lost her case, but she won the favour of Pulcheria, the masterful sister of Theodosius, and was appointed one of her maids of honour. She used this favourable position to the best advantage, gained the heart of the young Emperor, who was seven years her junior in age and many more in knowledge of the world, and had no scruples about exchanging paganism and the name of Athenais for Christianity and the baptismal title of Eudokía. She showed her Christian charity by forgiving and promoting her brothers; she kept up her literary accomplishments by turning part of the Old Testament into Greek verse; but she was accused of ambition and infidelity, the latter charge being substantiated by a superb apple, which the Emperor had presented to his wife, which she in turn had sent to her lover, and he, like an idiot, had placed on the Emperor's table! She died in exile at Jerusalem, a striking example of the vicissitudes of human fortunes. Yet even in the time of her power, she could not, perhaps would not, prevent her husband's persecution of the religion which she had abjured. His orders to the provincial authorities to destroy the temples or to consecrate them to Christian worship were not always carried out, it is true. But the pictures of Polgnyótus, which Pausanias had seen in the Stoa Poikéleá at Athens, excited the covetousness of an Imperial governor, and the gold and ivory statue of Athená by Phidias vanished from the Parthenon for ever;<sup>1</sup> the temple of Zeus at Olympia was destroyed by an earthquake or by Christian bigotry, the shrine of Asklepios on the slope of the Akropolis was pulled down, while the heathen divinities became gradually assimilated with the Christian saints, in whom they finally merged. Thus Hélios, the sun-god, was converted into Elias, whose name is so prominent all over the map of modern Greece; the wine-god Diónysos became a reformed character in the person of St. Dionysios, and the temples of Theseus and Zeus Olympos at Athens were dedicated to St. George and St. John. By a still more striking transformation the Parthenon was consecrated as a church of the Virgin during the sixth century, and was thenceforth regarded as the Cathedral of Athens. The growth of Christianity is observable, too, from the lists of Greek

<sup>1</sup> Hertzberg thinks it was the bronze statue of Athená Prómachos which was carried off. But Gregorius' view, that given in the text, seems more probable.

sees represented at the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, while the importance of Corinth as the seat of the Metropolitan of Achaia is shown by the synod which was held there to settle a point of Church discipline in 419. In spite, however of its political separation from Rome, we find Greece making appeals to the Pope when grave theological questions arose. At this period the Archbishop of Salonika was regarded as the official head of all the Greek provinces in Europe, yet when he seemed to the orthodox Epirotes to be affected with heresy, they sent in their adhesion to Rome.

Theodosius II. was not content with the destruction of temples; he desired the final disappearance of such vestiges of municipal freedom as Constantine had spared. In the same spirit of uniformity in which he codified the law, he swept away the remains of Lycurgus' system at Sparta and the Court of Areopagos. Yet, as institutions usually survive their practical utility in a conservative country, we are not surprised to find the name of an *Epónymos* Archon as late as 485. And the University of Athens still lived on, fighting the now hopeless battle of the old religion with all the zeal of the latest Neo-Platonic school of philosophy. The endowments of that school and the patriotism of rich Athenians, like Theagénes, one of the two last Archons, and known as the wealthiest Greek of his day, made up for the withdrawal of Imperial subsidies, and the bitter tongue of Synésios could still complain of the airs which those who had studied at Athens gave themselves ever afterwards. "They regard themselves," wrote the philosopher, "as demi-gods and the rest of mankind as donkeys." But the university received a severe blow when, in 425, Theodosius enlarged and enriched the University of Constantinople with a number of new professorial chairs. If his institution of fifteen professors of the Greek language and literature gave that tongue an official position in what had hitherto been mainly a Latin city, it also attracted the best talent—men like Jacobus, the famous physician of the Emperor Leo the Great—from Greece to Constantinople, which thus acted as a magnet to the aspiring provincials, just as Paris acts to the rest of France. The last great figure of the Athenian University, Próklos, whose commentaries on Plato are still extant, was engaged in demonstrating by the purity of his life and the mysticism of his doctrine that a pagan could be no less moral and more intellectual than a Christian. The old gods, deposed from their thrones, seemed to favour their last champion; so, when the statue of Athene<sup>1</sup> was removed from the Akropolis, the goddess appeared to the philosopher in a dream and told him that henceforth his house would be her home. The famous Boethius, whose *Consolation of Philosophy* was translated by our King Alfred, is thought to have studied at Athens in the last years of Próklos, and earlier in the fifth century the charming Hypatia, whom Kingsley

<sup>1</sup> Whether Párthenos or Prómachos, is uncertain. See above.

has immortalised for English readers, may be numbered among the ladies who at that time sought higher education at Athens and softened by their presence the rough manners of the masculine students. But, with the death of Próklos, the cause of polytheism and the prosperity of the university declined yet more. The shrewd young Greeks saw that there was no longer a career for pagans; even the rich benefactor of Athens, Theagénes, was converted to Christianity. Justinian dealt the university its death-blow in 529 by decreeing that no one should teach philosophy at Athens, and by confiscating the endowments of the Platonic school. Seven philosophers, of whom the most celebrated was Simplíkios, the Aristotelian commentator, resolved to seek under the benevolent despotism of Chosroës, King of Persia, that freedom of speech which was denied to them by Justinian. They believed at a distance that the barbarian monarch had realised the ideal of Plato—a philosopher on the throne; they went to his court and were speedily disillusioned. Home-sick and heart-broken, they begged their new patron to let them return to die in Greece. Chosroës, who was at the time engaged in negotiating a treaty of peace with Justinian, inserted a clause allowing the unhappy seven “to pass the rest of their days without persecution in their native land,” and Simplíkios was thus enabled, in the obscurity of private life, to compose those commentaries which are still studied by disciples of Aristotle. Thus perished the University of Athens, and with it paganism vanished from Greece, save where, in the mountains of Laconia, it lingered on till beyond the middle of the ninth century. The ancient name of “Hellenes” was now exclusively applied to the remnant which still adhered to the old religion; all the subjects of Justinian were collectively described as “Romans,” while those who inhabited Greece came gradually to be specified as “Helladikoi.”<sup>1</sup>

The reign of Justinian marked the annihilation of the ancient life in other ways than these. He disbanded the provincial militia, to which we have several times alluded, and which down to his time furnished a guard for the Pass of Thermopylæ. This garrison proved, however, unable to keep out the Huns and Slavs who invaded Greece in 539, and, like the Persians of old, marched through the Pass of Anopœa into the rear of the defenders. The ravages of these barbarians, who devastated Central Greece and penetrated as far as the Isthmus, led Justinian to repair the fortifications of Thermopylæ, where he placed a regular force of 2,000 men, maintained out of the revenues of Greece. He also re-fortified the Isthmus, and put such important positions as Lárissa, Phársalos, Corinth, Thebes, and Athens, with the Akropolis, in a state of proper defence. But these military measures involved a large expenditure, which Jus-

<sup>1</sup> Papatregóroulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*, ii., 20-28. Constantine Paphrogenitus, writing in the tenth century, calls the Peloponnesian Greeks *Τραικoi*, because Ἕλληνας would have still meant Ἰδοῖατες. *Ib. d.*, 610.



tinian met by appropriating the municipal funds. The effect of this measure was to deprive the municipal doctors and teachers of their means of livelihood, to stop the municipal grants to theatres and other entertainments, to make the repair of public buildings and the maintenance of roads—the greatest of all needs in a country with the geographical configuration of Greece—most difficult. The old Greek life had centred in the municipality, so that from this blow it never recovered; fortunately, the Church was now sufficiently well organised to take its place, and henceforth that institution became the depository of the national traditions, the mainstay in each successive century of the national existence. Yet another loss to Greece was that of the monuments, which were taken to Constantinople to make good the ravages of the great conflagration, caused by the *Nika* sedition. The present church of Sta. Sophia, which Justinian raised out of the ashes of the second, was adorned with pillars from Athens as well as marble from the Greek quarries, and thus once again, as St. Jerome had said, other cities were “stripped naked” to clothe Constantinople. Earthquakes, which shook Patras, Corinth, and Naupaktos to their foundations, completed the destruction of much that was valuable, and the bubonic plague swept over the country, recalling those terrors of which Thucydides and Lucretius had left such a striking description in their accounts of the pestilence at Athens in the days of Periklês. The King of the Ostrogoths, Totila, after twice taking Rome, sent a fleet to harry Corfû and the opposite coast of Epiros, plundered Nikopolis and the ancient shrine of Dodona. It was in consequence of this and similar raids that the Corfiotes finally abandoned their old city and took refuge in the present citadel, called later on in the tenth century from its twain peaks (*Κορυφοί*) Corfû, instead of Corcyra. The Bulgarians, a few years later, made a fresh raid as far as Thermopylæ, where they were stopped by the new fortifications. In short, the ambitious foreign policy of Justinian, the powers of nature, and the increasing boldness of the barbarians, contrived to make this period fatal to Greece. Yet the Emperor bestowed one signal benefit upon that country. By the importation of silkworms he gave the Greeks the monopoly, so far as Christendom was concerned, of a valuable manufacture, which was not infringed till the Norman invasion six centuries later.

The history of Greece becomes very obscure after the death of Justinian, and the historian must be content to piece together from the Byzantine writers such stray allusions as those chroniclers of court scandals make to the neglected fatherland of the Greeks. The salient fact of this period is the recurrence of the Slav invasions of Justinian's time. We learn that in 578 or 581 an army of 100,000 Slavonians “ravaged Hellas” and Thessaly<sup>1</sup>; in 589, under the

<sup>1</sup> Menander, pp. 327, 404. John of Ephesus, vi., 30.

Emperor Maurice, the Avars, according to the contemporary historian, Evágrios, "conquered all Greece, destroying and burning everything."<sup>1</sup> This passage has given rise to a famous controversy, which at one time convulsed not only the learned, but the diplomatic world. In 1830 a German scholar, Professor Fallmerayer, published the first volume of a *History of the Peninsula Morea during the Middle Ages*, in which he advanced the astounding theory that the inhabitants of modern Greece have "not a single drop of genuine Greek blood in their veins." "The Greek race in Europe," he wrote, "has been rooted out. A double layer of the dust and ashes of two new and distinct human species covers the graves of that ancient people. A tempest, such as has seldom arisen in human history, has scattered a new race, allied to the great Slav family, over the whole surface of the Balkan peninsula from the Danube to the inmost recesses of the Peloponnesos. And a second, perhaps no less important revolution, the Albanian immigration into Greece, has completed the work of destruction." The former of these two foreign settlements in the Peloponnesos, that of the Slavs and Avars, was supposed by Fallmerayer to have taken place as the result of the above-mentioned invasion of 589, and his supposition received plausible confirmation from a mediæval document. The Patriarch Nicholas, writing towards the end of the eleventh century to the Emperor Aléxios I. Comnenós, alludes to the repulse of the Avars from before the walls of Patras in 807, and adds that they "had held possession of the Peloponnesos for 218 years (*i.e.*, from 589), and had so completely separated it from the Byzantine Empire that no Byzantine official dared to set his foot in it."<sup>2</sup> A similar statement from the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*—a late and almost worthless compilation—was also unearthed by the zealous Fallmerayer, who accordingly believed that he had proved the existence of a permanent settlement of the Peloponnesos by the Slavs and Avars between 589 and 807, "in complete independence of the Byzantine governors of the coast." It was in the coast-towns alone and in a few other strongholds, such as Mt. Taygetos, that he would allow of any survival of the old Greek race, and he triumphantly pointed to the famous name of "Navarino" as containing a fresh proof of an Avar settlement, while in many places he found Slavonic names, corresponding to those of Russian villages. Another evidence of this early Slavonic settlement seemed to be provided by the remark of the very late Byzantine writer, Phrantzês, that his native city of Monemvasia on the south-east coast, which used to supply our ancestors' cellars with malmsey, was separated from the diocese of Corinth and raised to the rank of a metropolitan see about this identical time, presumably because many Greeks had taken refuge there from the Slavs, and were cut off from Corinth. Finally, a nun, who composed an account of the

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Eccles.*, vi., 10.

<sup>2</sup> Leunclavius, *Jus Græco-Romanum*, i., 278.

pilgrimage of St. Willibald, the Anglo-Saxon Bishop of Eichstätt in 723, stated that he "crossed to Monemvasía in the Slavonian land," an expression which Fallmerayer hailed as a proof that at that period the Peloponnesos was known by that name. It need not be said that Fallmerayer's theory was as flattering to Pan Slavism as it was unpleasant to Philhellenes. But it is no longer accepted in its full extent. No one who has been in Greece can fail to have been struck by the similarity between the character of the modern and the ancient Greeks. Many an island has its "Odysseus of many wiles"; every morning and evening the Athenians are anxious to hear "some new thing"; and the comedies of Aristophanes contain many personal traits which fit the subjects of King George. Nor does even the vulgar language contain any considerable Slavonic element. As for the example of Navarino, that place is now known to have been founded by people from Navarre far later than the days of the Avars, and thus received the name of "Castel des Navarrois," corrupted into "Navarino." Moreover, the contemporary historian, Theophylact Simokátta, makes no mention of the invasion of 589, though he minutely describes the wars of that period. Yet, as we shall see later, there is no doubt that at one time there was a great Slavonic immigration into Greece, but it took place about 746, instead of in 589, and the incoming Slavs, so far from annihilating the Greeks, were gradually assimilated by that persistent race, as has happened to conquering peoples elsewhere.

But Fallmerayer was not content with wiping out the Greeks from the Peloponnesos. He next propounded the amazing statement that the history of Athens was a blank for four centuries after the time of Justinian, and explained this strange phenomenon by a Slavonic inundation in that Emperor's reign. In consequence of this invasion, the Athenians were said to have fled to Salamis, where they remained for 400 years, while their city was abandoned to olive groves and utterly neglected. These "facts," which the learned German had culled from the chronicle of the Anargyri Monastery, which, however, distinctly says "three years," and not 400, and refers to Albanians, not Slavs, have since been disproved, not only by the obviously modern date of that compilation, which is now assigned to the nineteenth century, and which refers to the temporary abandonment of Athens after its capture by Nicrosini in 1687, but by the allusions which may be found to events at Athens during this period of supposed desertion. Thus, we hear of an heretical bishop being sent there towards the end of the sixth century, and we have the seal of the orthodox divine who was Bishop of Athens a hundred years later. An eloquent appeal was

<sup>1</sup> Hopf in Ersch u. Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyklopädic*, part 85, p. 108 *et seq.* Paparregópoulos, *op. cit.*, iii., 224-327. It is certain, however, that Zymalás, writing to Crusius in the sixth century, says that "Athens remained desolate for about 300 years."

made by a Byzantine historian to the city to put on mourning for the Emperor Maurice, who died in 602, and sixty years later another Emperor, Constans II., landed at the Piræus on his way to Sicily, spent the winter at Athens, and collected there a considerable force of soldiers. Even some few traces of culture may be found there in the century which followed Justinian's closing of the university. St. Gislennus, who went as a missionary to Hainault, and a learned doctor, named Stephen, were both born at Athens, and the former is stated to have studied there. Finally, in the middle of the eighth century, the famous Empress Irene first saw the light in the city, which had already given one consort to an Emperor of the East. Thus, if comparatively obscure, Athens was not a mere collection of ruins in an olive grove, but a city of living men and women.

The attacks of the Slavs and of the newly-founded Arabian power marked the course of the seventh century. In 623 the Slavs made an incursion into Crete, and that island, of which we have heard little under the Imperial rule, was also visited by the Arabs in 651 and 674. But though the Cretans were forced to pay tribute to the Caliph, Moawyah, they were treated with kindness by the politic conqueror. About the same time as this second Arab invasion, and while the main Arab force was besieging Constantinople, a body of Slavs seized the opportunity to settle in the rich plain of Thessaly, and it is from one of their tribes that the present town of Velesino, so often mentioned in the war of 1897, received its name. Yet this tribe soon became so friendly that it assisted the Greeks in the defence of Salonika against a Slavonic army—a further proof of the readiness with which the Slavs adopted the Greek point of view. It is clear also that the command of the Imperial troops in Greece was regarded as an important post, for we find it entrusted to Leóntios, who made himself Emperor. The Greek islands were still used as places of detention for prisoners of position. Thus Naxos was chosen as the temporary exile of Pope Martin I. by the Emperor Constans II., and the future Emperor Philippicus was banished to Kephallenia.

A new era opened for the Empire with the accession of Leo the Isaurian in 716. In the first place, that sovereign completed the reform of the system of provincial administration, which had lasted more or less continuously since the time of Constantine. In place of the old provincial divisions, the Empire was now parcelled out into military districts, called Themes—a name originally applied to a regiment and then to the place at which the regiment was quartered. The choice of such a title indicates the essentially military character of the new arrangement, which implied the maintenance of a small division of troops in each district as a necessary defence against the Avars, Slavs, and Arabs, whose

depredations had menaced provinces seldom exposed to attack in the old times. Six out of the twenty-eight Themes comprised what is now Greece. The Peloponnesos, with its capital of Corinth, formed one; Central Greece, including Eubœa, formed another, under the name of Hellas, but its capital was Thebes, not Athens; Nikópolis, which comprised Ætolia, and Akarnania, and Kephallenia (the latter created a separate Theme later on, and including all the Ionian Islands) were two more; the Ægean Sea, popularly known as the Dodekanesos, or "twelve islands," composed one of the Asian Themes, and Thessaly was a part of the Theme of Macedonia. Both the military and civil authority in each Theme was vested in the hands of a Commander, known as *strategós*, except in the case of the Ægean islands, where the post was filled by an Admiral, called *drungarios*. Under the *strategós* were the *protonotários* or "judge," who was a judicial and administrative authority, and two military personages.<sup>1</sup> So far as Greece is concerned, the eclipse of Athens by Thebes, perhaps owing to the silk industry for which the latter city was famous in the Middle Ages, is a very noticeable feature of the new administration.

Another reform of Leo the Isaurian aroused the intense indignation of the inhabitants of Greece. We have seen that the spread of Christianity in that country had been facilitated by the assimilation of pagan forms of worship in the new ritual. It was natural that a race, which had been accustomed for centuries to connect art with religion and to seek the noblest statuary in the temples of the gods, should have regarded with peculiar favour the practice of hanging pictures in churches. When therefore Leo, whose Armenian origin perhaps made him personally unsympathetic to the Greeks, issued an edict against image-worship, his orders met with the most bigoted resistance in Greece. It may be that a more searching census for the purposes of the revenue had already rendered him unpopular; but to those who know how strong is the influence of the Church in the East, and what fierce disputes an ecclesiastical question kindles there, the edict of the Emperor will seem ample ground for the Greek rising of 727. An eruption at the volcanic island of Santorin was interpreted as a sign of divine displeasure at the doings of the iconoclast sovereign; while Pope Gregory II. addressed two violent missives to the Emperor, and probably encouraged the agitation in Greece, which still acknowledged him as spiritual head of the Church. The "Helladikoi," as they were now called, and the seamen of the Cyclades fitted out a fleet under the leadership of a certain Stephen; and, with the co-operation of Agallianós, one of the Imperial military officials, set up an orthodox Emperor, named Kosmas, and boldly set sail for Constantinople—a proof of the

<sup>1</sup> One of these, the *κλεισουράρχης*, was so called because he watched "the mountain peaks," like the Turkish *derben-aga*.

resources of Greece at this period. But the result of this naval undertaking was very different from that which Greece had equipped on behalf of Constantine. A battle was fought under the walls of the capital between the two fleets. The Emperor Leo, availing himself of the terrible invention of the Greek fire, which had been used with such deadly effect in the recent Saracen siege of Constantinople, annihilated his opponents' vessels. Agallianos, seeing that was lost, leaped into the sea; Stephen and Kosmas fell by the axe of the executioner. We are not told what punishment was meted out to the Greeks, but, in consequence of the strong attitude of opposition which the Papacy had taken up to the Emperor, Leo in 732 deprived the Pope of all jurisdiction over Greece, and placed that country under the ecclesiastical authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The next important event in the history of Greece was the great plague, which broke out at Monemvasia in 746 and spread all over the Empire. The political consequences of this visitation were far-reaching. For not only was the population of Greece diminished by the increased mortality there, but it was further lessened by emigration to Constantinople, where there were openings for plasterers and other skilled workmen, and where great numbers had died of the epidemic. The place of these emigrants in the Peloponnesos was taken by Slav colonists, and this is the true explanation of the Slavonic colonisation, which Fallmerayer placed so much earlier. In the celebrated words of the Imperial author, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, "All the open country was Slavonised and became barbarous, when the plague was devouring the whole world."<sup>1</sup> It seems from the phrase "open country," that such Greeks as remained behind crowded into the towns, and that the rural districts were thus left free for the Slavs to occupy. And this is confirmed by the *Epitome of Strabo's Geography*, compiled apparently about the end of the tenth century, which states that at that time "All Epeiros and a large part of Hellas and the Peloponnesos were inhabited by Scythian Slavs."<sup>2</sup> The memory of this Slavonic occupation has been preserved by the Slavonic names of places, which Colonel Leake was the first to notice. That the Slavs excited the alarm of the Byzantine government is clear from the fact that in 783 Staurákios was despatched by the Empress Irene to crush their efforts at independence. The Empress was actuated by love of Greece as well as by motives of policy, for she was a native of Athens, like her predecessor, Eudokia. At the age of seventeen she had been selected by the Emperor Constantine Coprónymos as the wife of his son, Leo IV., and the premature death of her husband left her the real mistress of the Empire, which she governed, first as Regent for her son and

<sup>1</sup> *De Thematibus*, ii., 53. Ἐσλαβισθῆ δὲ πᾶσα ἡ χιώρα καὶ γέγονε βάρβαρος, ὅτε ὀλομικὸς θάνατος πᾶσαν βόσκειτο τὴν οἰκουμένην.

<sup>2</sup> *Paparrégopoulos*, *op. cit.*, iii., 465.

then as sole ruler, for over twenty years. One of the earliest acts of her Regency was to send the expedition against the Slavs. Those Thessaly and Central Greece were forced to pay tribute; those in the Peloponnesos yielded a rich booty to the Byzantine commander. But the Slavs were not permanently subdued, as was soon evident. Irene, for the greater security of her throne, had banished her five brothers-in-law to Athens, which was, of course, devoted to her, and was at that time governed by one of her kinsmen. But the five prisoners managed to communicate with Akáneir, a Slav chieftain who lived at Velestino, and a plot was formed for the elevation of them to the throne. The plans of the conspirators fell into the hands of Irene's friends, and the prisoners were removed to a safer place. Irene, however, was dethroned a little later by Nicephorus, and banished to Mitylene, where she died. In spite of her appalling treatment of her son, whom she had dethroned and blinded in order to gratify her greed of power, she was canonised as a saint by the Greek Church, which could excuse any crime in one who had restored the worship of images, to which, as an Athenian, she was naturally devoted. Tradition states that she showed her piety and patriotism by the foundation of several churches at Athens. Some of her foundations disappeared in the storm and stress of the War of Independence; others were removed to make way for the uninteresting streets of the modern German town; but the Church of the Panagia Gorgópiko, or old Metropolis, which still stands, is ascribed to her, and the ruins of the monastery which she built and where she at one time lived strew the beautiful island of Prinkipo. Even with her death her native city did not lose its connection with the Byzantine Court. Among her surviving relatives at Athens was a beautiful niece, Theophanó, who was married to a man of position there. Nicephorus, anxious, no doubt, like all usurpers, to connect his family with that of the Sovereign whom he had deposed, resolved that the fair Athenian should become the consort of his son, Staurákios. He accordingly snatched her from the arms of her husband and brought her to Constantinople, where her second marriage took place. But this third Athenian Empress did not long enjoy the reward of her infidelity to her first husband. Staurákios survived his father's death at the hands of the Bulgarians a very few months, and his consort, like Eudokia and Irene, ended her life in a monastery.

The Slavs of the Peloponnesos believed that their chance of obtaining independence had come during the troubled reign of Nicephorus, when the Saracens under Haroun Al Rashid and the growing power of the Bulgarians menaced the Byzantine Empire. They accordingly rose, and, after plundering the houses of their Greek neighbours, laid siege in 807 to the fortress of Patras, which was the principal stronghold of the old inhabitants in the north-west

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of the country. The Slavs blockaded the city from the land side, while a Saracen fleet prevented the introduction of supplies by sea. The besieged, knowing that the fate of Hellenism in the Peloponnesos depended on their efforts, held out against these odds in the hope that they would thus give the Imperial commander at Corinth time to relieve them. At last, when all hope of deliverance seemed to have disappeared, they sent out a horseman to one of the hills in the direction of Corinth to see if the longed for army of relief was in sight. His orders were to gallop back as soon as he caught a glimpse of the approaching Imperialists and to lower the flag which he carried, so that his comrades in Patras might have the glad news at once. But his eyes in vain searched the road along the Gulf of Corinth for the gleam of weapons or the dust that would announce the march of soldiers. Sadly he turned his horse towards Patras, when, at a spot where he was in full view of the walls, his steed stumbled and the flag fell. The besieged, believing that help was at hand, were inspired with fresh courage, and, sallying from the gates, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Slavs, which was followed up after the arrival of the relieving force three days later by the restoration of the Imperial authority along the west coast. At that age so great a victory was naturally ascribed to superhuman aid. St. Andrew, the patron-saint of Patras, who, as we have seen, was believed to have suffered martyrdom there, and whose relics were then preserved there, had caused the scout's horse to stumble and had been seen on a milk-white steed leading the citizens in their successful onslaught on the Slavs.<sup>1</sup> The gratitude, or policy, of the government showed itself in the dedication of the spoil and captives to the service of the church of St. Andrew, and the Slavonic peasants of the neighbourhood became its tenants and paid it a yearly rent. The Archbishop of Patras, who had hitherto been dependent upon Corinth, was raised by Nicephorus to the rank of a Metropolitan, and Methóne, Koróne and Lacedæmon, were placed under his immediate jurisdiction. The political object and result of this step, which was ratified by later Emperors, was to hellenise the vanquished Slavs by means of the Greek clergy. Moreover, the policy of Nicephorus in organising Greek military colonies round the Slav settlements in Greece, tended to check Slavonic raids. Public lands were bestowed on these colonists whose establishment contributed much to the ultimate fusion of the two races.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the defeat of the Slavs before Patras and the wise measures of Nikephóros prevented the Peloponnesos from becoming a Slavonic State, like Servia or Bulgaria, and from that date the tide, which had at one time threatened to submerge the Greek nationality there, began to ebb. Of this phenomenon we shall be able to watch the progress.

<sup>1</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Paparrégoulos, op. cit.*, iii., 603.



A generation elapsed without a renewal of the Slav agitation in the Peloponnesos; but about 849 a fresh rising took place. On this occasion the appearance of a Byzantine commander in the field soon caused the collapse of the rebels. Two Slavonic tribes, however, the Melings and Ezerits, which inhabited the slopes to the west, and the plain to the east of Mount Taygetos, were enabled by the strength of their geographical position to make terms with the Byzantine government, and agreed to pay a small tribute which was assessed according to their respective means.<sup>1</sup> The Church continued the work of the soldiers by building monasteries in the Slavonic districts, and from the middle of the ninth century the Greek element began to recover lost ground. Nearly all the Slavs and the last of the Hellenic pagans in the south of Taygetos were then converted, and the adoption of Christianity by the Bulgarians cannot have failed to affect the Slavonic settlers in the Byzantine Empire. Of the revived prosperity of Greece we have two remarkable proofs. In 823 that country raised a fleet of 350 sail for the purpose of intervening in the civil war then raging between the Emperor Michael the Stammerer and a Slavonic usurper, and this implies the possession of considerable resources. Still more striking is the story of the rich widow, Danielis of Patras. About the time of the Byzantine expedition against the Slavs of Taygetos, the future Emperor, Basil I., then chief groom in the service of a prominent courtier, was at Patras in attendance on his master, who had been sent there on political business. One day, as the comely groom was entering the church of St. Andrew, a monk stopped him and told him that he should become Emperor. Shortly afterwards he fell ill of a fever, which, by detaining him at Patras after his master's departure, proved to be a blessing in disguise. Moved by philanthropy or the prophecy of the monk, Danielis took the sick groom into her house, bade him be a brother to her son, and, when he had recovered from his illness, provided him with a train of thirty slaves to accompany him to Constantinople, and loaded him with costly presents. When, in 867, the monk's forecast was fulfilled, and Basil mounted the Imperial throne, he did not forget his benefactress. He not only promoted her son to a high position in his court, but invited the aged lady to Constantinople. In spite of her age and infirmities, Danielis travelled in a litter, accompanied by 300 slaves, who took in turns the duty of carrying their mistress. As a gift to the Emperor, she brought 500 more, as well as 100 maidens, chosen for their skill in embroidery, 100 purple garments, 300 linen robes, and 100 more of such fine material that each piece could easily be packed away in a hollow cane. Every kind of gold and silver vessel completed the list of presents, which would not have disgraced a brother sovereign. When she arrived, she was lodged like a

<sup>1</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Ibid.*, §50.

queen and addressed as "mother" by her grateful *protégé*. Basil's gratitude was rewarded by fresh favours. Danielis called for a notary and made over to the Emperor and her own son a part of her landed estates in the Peloponnesos. Finding that Basil had tried to atone for the murder of his predecessor, which had given him the throne, by the erection of a church, she had a huge carpet manufactured by her own workmen to cover the splendid mosaic floor. Once again, on the death of her favourite, she journeyed to Constantinople to greet his son and successor. Her own son was by that time dead, so she devised the whole of her property to the young Emperor Leo VI. At her request, a high official was sent to the Peloponnesos to prepare an inventory of her effects. Even in these days a sovereign would rejoice at such a windfall. Her loose cash, her gold and silver plate, her bronze ornaments, her wardrobe, and her flocks and herds represented a princely fortune. As for her slaves, they were so numerous that the Emperor, in the embarrassment of his riches, emancipated 3000 of them and sent them as colonists to Apulia, then part of the Byzantine Empire. Eighty farms formed the real property of this ninth century millionairess, whose story throws light on the position of the Peloponnesian landed class, or *archontes*, at that period. Danielis was, doubtless, exceptionally rich, and Patras was then, as now, the chief commercial town in the Peloponnesos. But the existence of such an enormous fortune as hers presupposes a high degree of civilisation, in which many others must have participated. Even learning was still cultivated in Greece, for the distinguished mathematician Leo, who was one of the ornaments of the Byzantine Court, is expressly stated to have studied rhetoric, philosophy and science under a famous teacher, Michael Psellós, who lectured at a college in the island of Andros, where his pupil's name is not yet forgotten.<sup>1</sup>

But while the Greeks had thus triumphed in the Peloponnesos, they had lost ground elsewhere. Availing themselves of the disorders in the Byzantine Empire, when the Greek ships were all engaged in the civil war of 823, a body of Saracens, who had emigrated from the south of Spain to Alexandria, descended on Crete, at that time recovering from the effects of an earthquake, but still possessing thirty cities. Landing at Suda Bay, they found the islanders mostly favourable, or at any rate indifferent, to a change of masters. Reinforced by a further batch of their countrymen, the Saracens resolved to settle there. A Cretan monk is said to have shown them a strong position where they could pitch their camp; so they burnt their ships and established themselves at the spot indicated, the site of the present town of Candia, which derives its Venetian name from the Chandak or "ditch" surrounding it. The conquest of the island was soon accomplished—a clear proof of the islanders' apathy

<sup>1</sup> Papparezópoulos, *op cit.*, iii., 723.

when we remember the heroic defence of the Cretans in more recent times. Religious toleration reconciled many to the sway of the Saracens, in the course of years a number of the Christians embraced the creed of their conquerors, helping to man their fleets and sharing the profits of that nefarious traffic in slaves of which Crete, as in former days Delos, became the centre. One district, which we may identify with Sphakia, was permitted to enjoy autonomy. For Greece the rule of the Saracens in Crete was a serious misfortune. Cretan corsairs ably led by Christian renegades, in quest of booty and slaves, ravaged the Cyclades and the Ionian Islands, and menaced the coast towns of the mainland, whither the terrified inhabitants of Ægina and similarly exposed spots migrated in the hope of safety. The efforts of the Byzantine government to recover "the great Greek island," which was now a terror to the whole Levant, were for more than a century unsuccessful, and during 138 years Crete remained in the possession of the Saracens. Occasionally their fleet was annihilated, as in the reign of Basil I., when the Byzantine admiral, hearing that they meditated a descent upon the west coast of Greece, conveyed his ships across the Isthmus in the night by means of the old tram-road, or *diolkos*, which had been used by the contemporaries of Thucydides, and has even now not entirely disappeared. By this brilliant device he took the enemy by surprise in the Gulf of Corinth, and destroyed their vessels. But new fleets arose as if by magic, and Basil was obliged to strengthen the garrisons of the Peloponnesos. His successor, aroused to action by their daring attacks upon Demetrias and Salonika, both flourishing cities which they devastated and plundered, equipped a naval expedition, to which the Greek Themes contributed ships and men, with the object of recapturing Crete. But neither that nor the subsequent armada despatched by the Imperial author, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, was destined to succeed. At last, in 961, the redoubtable commander, Nikephoros Phokas restored Crete to the Byzantine Empire. But even at that early period, Candia began to establish the reputation which it so nobly increased during the Turkish seige seven centuries later. Its strong fortifications for seven long months resisted the Byzantine general; but he patiently waited for a favourable moment, and at last took the place by storm. The most drastic measures were adopted for the complete reduction of the island. The broad brick walls of Candia were pulled down; a new fortress called Témenos was erected on the height of Rhoka some miles inland, to over-awe the inhabitants. Some of the Saracens emigrated, others sank into a state of serfdom. As usual the missionary followed the Byzantine arms, and the island attracted many Greek and Armenian Christians; the name of the latter still lingers in the Cretan villages of Armenia, among the former were some distinguished Byzantine families, whose descendants furnished leaders

to the insurrection later on. In the conversion of the Cretan apostates back to Christianity, an Armenian monk called Nikon, and nicknamed "Repent Ye" from the frequency of that phrase in his sermons, found a fine field for his labours. The Christian churches, for which Crete had once been famous, rose again, and the reconquest of the island gave to Nikephoros Phokas the Imperial diadem, and to Nikon the more lasting dignity of a saint. But, in spite of his efforts, not a few Arabs retained their religion, and the Cretan Mussulmen of Awári are still reckoned as their descendants.

W. MILLER.

## THE SOCIAL SIDE OF IRISH CHARACTER.

IRELAND looms so large in the eyes of the world just now that the social characteristics of its people have an additional interest. The Irish nature is eminently social. This may in part be owing to instinct of race, and in part to the influence of circumstances. Ireland is a small country, and for generations it was thickly populated. Of late years the population has diminished, but Irish character is the growth of centuries. Living thus in close companionship, it can be seen that not only would the social qualities become active, but the exercise of them would become a necessity of life. Accordingly, Irish character is abhorrent of seclusion, of isolation, and of solitude. It opens, expands, and grows in the communion and crowd of numbers; it droops, desponds, and withers in loneliness, or amidst a few. In good or evil, in gaiety or grief, in kindness or in wrath, the Irishman longs for fellowship. In the hour of injury he calls for condolers in his wrongs; in the hour of success, he calls for congratulations on his triumph. In adversity he yearns for sympathy; in prosperity he draws together sharers of his plenty. In marriage he cannot dispense with the wedding gathering; and he would be grieved to anticipate other than a crowd at his funeral. Among his fellows, the Irishman must live; among them also he would die. Living or dying, his heart answers to that divine announcement, "It is not good for man to live alone."

In speaking of Irish social character we will, first, trace it in its emotions; and, secondly, in its activities.

The first position, therefore, is the social character of the Irish in its emotions.

We may distinguish the love of kindred as one of the most powerful among these emotions. This with the Irish is tender, strong, far-reaching. No one that knows Irish character or Irish life has failed to observe in both the energy of the home affections. Warm and refined among the rich, they almost deepen into passion among the poor. In the barest cabin no suffering, no affliction, no struggle for existence hardens or enfeebles the instinctive inspiration of domestic attachment. In circumstances wherein it might seem that humanity itself would die, these attachments in the Irish nature preserve their vigour; for often, when the faith and hope of earth are

lost in misery, and clouds are so thick upon the ways of Providence that the spirit is almost ready to perish in despair, love in the father's and mother's heart is yet a light from heaven that brightens affection with divine trust. Rarely have Irish fathers and mothers been wanting in that love. Much and often it has been their need. Children never give back love equal to the measure of it which they receive; but compared with other nations Irish children are not those that give back the least. And among the Irish how constant and how enduring is kindred love! The Irish parent claims by affection, as the Roman parent claimed by law, a perpetual ownership in his child; and the Irish child willingly allows the claim, which the Roman child soon learned to evade. An Irish emigrant in America, who is or might be himself a grandfather, will bow to the demands of his father or mother in Ireland; and exacting, even unreasonable, as these parental demands often are, children thousands of miles away as obediently regard them as they did the commands which ruled their infancy. Whatever else they may be, the Irish are loyal to those whom they left at home. The images of those far off come into their dreams, and into their daily fancies. In the crowds of England, in the wilds of America, in toil and exile through the world, thoughts of kindred arise at the turn of every recollection.

Love of country in the Irish is not less than love of kindred. The feeling of country has to the Irish, as it has scarcely to any other people, the strength of an affection. It seems compounded of many loves—of the domestic love, which is born at home, and of which home itself is born, and of the passionate love, which enraptures the heart of youth and of maiden. Like every deep and genuine affection, it is not clamorous or arrogant, and does not readily expose itself. To no people is praise of their country more dear than it is to the Irish; but it is only dear to them as it comes from the heart, and their own instincts tell them when it is the heart that speaks. No people love to talk of their country more than the Irish; but they will not confidently do so with strangers; they will only do so when they are sure of sympathy, and that is hardly sure to them but from each other. They will not submit to the risk of mockery or indifference that which is to them so cherished. The uneducated especially, doubting their ability of language to do justice to their feeling, are careful that the beloved island shall not suffer from their infirmity. This ideal lives ever in the Irish mind; it is steeped in the endearment of the heart, and shines in the light of the Irish imagination. Wherever the Irish go, they bear this within them; and sometimes it is that alone which hinders exile from being a hapless wilderness. From few countries do so many of its inhabitants emigrate as from Ireland, and emigrate with no expectation to return; but so far as he is loyally Irish, that country

is dear to him in every fortune; he never scorns and he never forgets it.

As the Irish disposition is quick to do kindness, it is quick equally to feel kindness. Gratitude is therefore a characteristic feeling of the Irish nature. It is as strong as it is sensitive, as permanent as it is fervid. Even a trifle is often greatly esteemed and long remembered. Ordinary goodness, even simple justice to a servant, dependent, or tenant, has not unfrequently been repaid with the devotion of a life, or even with the sacrifice of life itself. Domestic history in Ireland is full of such instances. In that history a Caleb Balderstone would be no singular or imaginary character. Characters as droll, as faithful, as quick to invent for the honour of the family, ready also to suffer for it, the domestic history of Ireland has had in plenty, and of both sexes. It is not in the domestic sphere alone, or in merely personal relations, that the Irish are of ardent gratitude. They are as much so in national concerns. In truth, for those whom they regard as benefactors they are prepared to undergo any toil, to bear any suffering, and to feel all that the most loyal affection can inspire. Catholics as the people in the mass are, religion has not hindered them from giving love and honour to such Protestants as evinced earnest sympathy in their affairs.

In whatever character you find the sentiment of gratitude, you will be sure to find that of reverence; for both sentiments imply the same moral and sympathetic susceptibility of nature. Gratitude is *heart* active in memory; reverence is *heart* active in faith and in imagination. Reverence is as noticeable in the social character of the Irish as it is in their religious character. Indeed, the religious element is traceable in many of their social forms. Most of the salutations among the peasantry include a prayer or a blessing. It must not be said that these are mere words, without soul or meaning. However frequently repeated, they are never void of living import. It is in the spirit of reverence that the Irish are loyal to tradition and the past. Hence their homage to persons in whom tradition and the past are represented.

We will now turn to the Irish social character in some of its activities.

The activity of the social sentiment we observe among the Irish peculiarly in their hospitality. Hardly is there an occasion among them which deeply moves the heart that is not celebrated with a gathering of guests. Thus it is at weddings, at christenings, and at funerals. So it is if the member of a family is about to leave it, with the prospect of a long or final separation; so it is on the return or visit of such as had been formerly inmates of the household. Not only is the friend of bygone years received with collective welcome, but let him give his name, his word, his sign to a stranger, that stranger will, in like manner, be received. The Irish delight to give

to entertainment the gladness of a feast. A cordial joy of soul flows into mood and manner, and all they say and do has a festive spirit. Whenever the Irishman calls his friends together in order to have a pleasant time, all his nature seems to say, "Rejoice with me." He is every inch a host, and every inch a generous and merry one. It is not merely that he does his best, and gives his best, but he is happy in the doing and the giving. He is not only happy in himself, he communicates also his happiness to others. Herein is a gracious charm, which can add sweetness to the humblest fare, without which the most costly luxury is tasteless and unseasoned.

"The hospitality of other countries," says Curran, "is a matter of necessity or convention—in savage nations of the first, in polished of the latter; but the hospitality of an Irishman is not the running account of posted and ledgered courtesies, as in other countries; it springs, like all his qualities, his faults, his virtues, directly from his heart. The heart of an Irishman is by nature bold, and he confides; it is tender, and he loves; it is generous, and he gives; it is social, and he is hospitable."

The Irish character is kindly and pitiful by nature. As is well known its compassion is not local, but human. It makes no question of creed or country. It has no hesitation because of unfamiliar hue on the stranger's face, or of foreign accent on his tongue. So far as look or language speaks a fellow-creature's want, the Irish heart is quick to understand the speech, and the Irish hand, if means it has, is prompt to relieve the want.

Again: The transition is direct from the activity of sentiment to the activity of passion; and this brings us to the consideration of the internal divisions and antagonisms in the social life of Ireland.

In early times the Irish had been for ages divided among themselves; and when, at length, there came assailants from without, want of union was want of strength. Originally broken up into small princedoms and chieftaincies, they maintained from generation to generation the strifes which thus originated. The modern factions which grew out of them were constantly changing their names; but just in the degree that the cause was mythical or unknown, the hatred was fierce and real. But fighting, when not seriously envenomed, has, with the Irish, its comic as well as its tragic aspect; and aristocratic fighting has it as well as vulgar fighting. In proof of this, one has only to read Sir Jonah Barrington's chapter on "Duelling." These heroes of the pistol there chronicled were as cool with reference to their own lives, as they were indifferent to the lives of others. A hero with extremely slender legs had one of them broken by the ball of his antagonist; he held up the shivered limb, declared that he would never fight another challenge with such an opponent; "because," said he, "the man who could hit that, could hit anything." A person in one of Carleton's stories says of his father and himself: "It plazed God to



bring us through many hairbreadth escapes with our craniums uncracked; and when we consider that he, on taking a retrogradation of his past life, can indulge in the pleasing recollection of having broken two skulls, and myself one, without either of us getting a fracture in return, I think we have both reason to be thankful." The makers and administrators of the law were as given to fighting as the people. Legislators fought, judges fought, sheriffs fought, barristers fought, magistrates fought, and from such the people had not only example, but direct encouragement. Here is an instance. Colonel L—— was a man of rank, and one of the justices of the peace for the County of —— . Upon a certain fine morning Larry Doolin, bandaged about the head, called on his honour, and demanded a warrant against Paddy O'Rourke, to the illegal use of whose blackthorn Larry charged the fractures on the palace of his brain. "Larry, my boy," said his honour, "I didn't expect this of you. I'm ashamed of you, Larry. You are both neighbours' children. The decent fathers to both of you are my tenants, and decenter men there are not in the whole barony. Upon my conscience, I'd think it an eternal dishonour to give a warrant against either of you. But I'll tell you what I'll do for you. I've as fine a coach-house as you'll find in the county. I'll send word to Pat to meet you there, say this day week. Fight it out as decent boys ought to do. My man and myself will see fair play. Shake hands, then, in peace and quietness, and be good fellows to the end of your lives."

The Irish are not less given to intellectual contention. No legislature in the world has ever exhibited such brilliant gladiatorship as Grattan's Parliament. What masters of invective its members were!

The Irish temper goes easily into argument, but it does not so easily restrain itself within the bounds of logic. This tendency and its defect Carleton observes with acute perception, and puts into humorous illustration in a dispute between two hedge-schoolmasters in the administration of a Ribbonman's oath. "I'll read you that part of the oath," says one, "which binds us all." "I condemn that," observed the other master; "I condemn it as being too latitudinarian in the principle and containing a paradox; besides, 'tis bad grammar." "You're rather early in the morning with your bad grammar," replied the other; "I'll grant the paradox, but I'll stand up for the grammar of it." "Faith, if you rise to stand up for *that*," replied his friend, "and dosen't choose to sit down till you prove it to be good grammar, you'll be a standing joke all your life." "I believe it's pretty conspicuous in the parish that I have often, in our disputations about grammar, left you without a leg to stand upon at all," replied the other. "I would be glad to know," this other inquired; "by what beautiful invention a man could


contrive to strike another in his absence? Have you good grammar for that?" "And did you never hear of detraction?" replied his opponent. "Does that confound you? Where's your logic and grammar to meet proper ratiocination like what I'm displaying?" "Bedad, replied the other, "you may have had logic and grammar, but I'll take my oath it must have been in your younger years, for both have been absent ever since I knew you. They didn't like, you see, to be keeping bad company." "Why, you poor cratur," said his antagonist, "if I let myself out I could make a hare of you." "And an ass of yourself," retorted the other.

The Irishman's readiness for a fight, mentally or bodily, or his joyfulness in either, cannot be doubted. Much on this has been said in satire and sung in song. Yet not alone in sport must we speak of Irish courage. It is noted in deeds sublimely brave. In stern trial such courage has been equal to those supreme hours which try the souls of heroes—on field or sea, in camp or fortress, in every rank from the leader crowned with glory to the soldier or sailor without a name.

The activity of the social imagination among the Irish in wit and humour is worthy of notice. A nation is entitled to the credit of wit when it has produced a great many individuals eminent for wit; a nation is entitled to the credit of wit when the spirit of wit enters into common life and into ordinary intercourse. In both these respects the Irish are entitled to the credit of wit. Among the individuals whom the Irish celebrate most for their wit were Swift, Sheridan, and Curran. The wit of Swift was fierce and sarcastic. Inflamed by political passion it became terrible invective. The wit of Sheridan sparkles through his dramas, and sparkles so constantly and so brilliantly as to become almost an excess of light. In society his wit was sportive, and was usually in spirit or in fact a practical joke. The wit of Philip Curran, like his eloquence, was ideal. As his eloquence was the ideal of fancy, intellect, and passion, his wit was the ideal of fancy, intellect, and oddity. The wit of these famous men has become literary, and may be read in books, or it has become traditional in famous sayings. The marked passages in books which might be quoted are hackneyed; so are most of the sayings; both the passages and sayings are almost worn out. Social wit especially is peculiarly difficult to illustrate. So much depends upon utterance, upon circumstances, upon the grouping of persons, upon contrasts of character, which no description can impart, that often the very endeavour to exemplify social wit destroys it. Social wit is a subtle essence, which you cannot condense; an ethereal thing, which you can neither localize nor fix. Sir Jonah Barrington lived in Ireland in the most witty period; yet, among the characters whom he celebrates the most amusing is Sir Boyle Roche, and he

celebrates him only for his blunders. He was a man, however, of brilliant blunders. His blunders were good, and his correction of them was still better. On such occasions he was doubly witty. He was witty in the original mistake; he was still more witty in the subsequent amendment; and he was sure, by an increase of absurdity, to fix attention on the point which most deserved it. We are all familiar with his famous address to the House of Commons. "Are we to beggar ourselves for fear of vexing posterity? Now, I would ask honourable gentlemen, and this still more honourable House, why we should put ourselves out of our way to do anything for posterity, for what has posterity done for us?" Explaining this he said: "By posterity I do not at all mean our ancestors, but those who are to come immediately after them." "Mr. Speaker," said he on another occasion, "if those French villains should invade us, sir, 'tis on *that very table*, may be, these honourable members might see their own destinies lying in heaps atop of one another. Here, perhaps, sir, the murderous ruffians would break in, cut us to mincemeat, and throw our bleeding heads upon that table to stare us in the face." But there are many who contend with Steele that that peculiar form of mental confusion called "a bull" is not confined to Irishmen. When Steele was asked how it happened that his countrymen made so many bulls, he replied, "It is the effect of climate, sir. If an Englishman were born in Ireland, he would make as many!"

Broad humour, as is well known, is not characteristic of the Irish. They have, indeed, broad humour, because they have all sorts of humour; but the humour the most peculiarly their own is keen, quiet, sarcastic, suggestive, in which the word has always meaning more than meets the ear. Irish humour is direct, individual, and imaginative. It does not deal merely in extravagance and exaggeration; it does not deal in cant words or phrases; it does not become suggestive of laughter from mere accident or repetition. It may be broad and wild, but it is so by inward ideas, and not by outward excess. In Irish humour the substance changes as the form changes, and in every new instance of the ludicrous there is a new mood of mind. That which is most popular is luxuriant, hilarious, sometimes riotous in mirth; sometimes on the verge of poetry; often there is satiric meaning in its drollery, and a sharp sting in its assumed simplicity; always, it is full of life. Humour in the mirthful Irishman is genial and exuberant. It diffuses itself through his whole nature. It is not an effort, but an inspiration. It is vivid, rapid, careless. It illuminates his face, moulds his gestures, hangs around him in his costume, lurks in the turn of his lip, in the twinkle of his eye. This geniality of temperament has been to the Irish for many ills of life a wonderful compensation. Sad as their circumstances have been, they have manfully sustained themselves



against fate. They have never allowed distress to drive them to despair ; but, in patience and perseverance, they have still outlived misfortune. They could joke over their potatoes, and sweeten the big ones with the little ones ; and when blight left neither the big nor the little ones, multitudes encountered famine and death resignedly.

Pathos and humour have a common source in the centre of strong feeling. The same sensibility which brightens the eye with laughter in one moment, fills it with tears in another. It is by the same sympathy of life that we weep with those who weep, and that we rejoice with those who do rejoice. Melancholy and mirth, grief and gladness, are the offspring of *heart* ; and wherever there is much heart, there will be much of mirth and melancholy. The heart which is most alive to the holiday of pleasure, is also most alive to the visitation of distress. The element of *heart* enters largely into Irish nature, and this nature shows that the tragic in life has not been less in its experience than the comic. We might say, more has the tragic been in it ; for the history of Ireland has been a history of sadness ; and all this bitterness of historic experience has not been without effect on Irish character. For the native Irish character is not the thing of levity which it seems in its gayer moments. It does not always caper for want of thought, but often because of thought—of thought which it cannot silence ; and the loud laugh does not so frequently bespeak the vacant as it does the burdened mind. This is human nature, is it not ? Character which has been formed in an atmosphere of melancholy will be the most subject to boisterous merriment. This too is Irish nature ; and, accordingly, the spirit of melancholy is ever in the centre, let what may be on the surface. It is no wonder, therefore, that music should have attained so much excellence in Ireland. For music is peculiarly the art of the subjected and the unhappy. Music has indeed sounds for mirth and gladness ; but its inmost secrets are hidden in the heart of sorrow—its deepest mysteries are reached only by the serious and meditative spirit. So it is with Irish music ; and herein is the secret of its depth, its tenderness, its beauty, and its strength. And Irish eloquence, like Irish music, has much of its character from that law of human experience which connects intensity with adversity—to which we must also add the ardour, the enthusiasm, and the impulsive sensibility of the Irish temperament.

ROBERT M. SILLARD.

## WOMEN AND THE SWEATING SYSTEM.

"We have been taught a religion of pure mercy, which we must either now finally betray, or learn to defend by fulfilling."—RUSKIN.

LORD MACAULAY, in one of his best-known essays, depicts the British public as taking periodical fits of morality. And he goes on to show that we wake up once in six or seven years to realise the gravity and importance of certain questions, and after a great deal of noise and fuss we fix on one particular scapegoat, who, we consider, should suffer for the sins of the whole country, and this business satisfactorily settled our virtue goes quietly to sleep again for seven years more. These words give a very true description of the general attitude of the public in regard to most of our industrial questions, and particularly so in reference to what is commonly known as the sweating system. The country has had several periodical fits of righteous indignation over the abominations which have been exposed from time to time. Of course we have had royal commissions and select committees, and select committees and royal commissions, but so far very little of a practical nature has been done to ameliorate the condition of those most concerned, the unfortunate victims of the sweating system.

Mr. John A. Hobson, in his book, *Problems of Poverty*, devotes one chapter entirely to discussing the industrial condition of women workers, and he says that, "The evils of 'sweating' press more heavily on women workers than on men. It is not merely that women as 'the weaker sex' suffer more under the same burden, but that their industrial burden is absolutely heavier than that of men." Of late years it has seemed to be gradually dawning upon us that industrial questions may possibly be at the bottom of many of the moral problems we have been trying so hard to solve in other directions; and it is just probable that the contemplation of the evils caused by the sweating system may be of as much real importance to the nation at large as the temperance and social purity questions. And now, in this year of grace 1903, just glance at the deplorable state of those worst paid of our women, the home-workers.

The final report of the conference called by the Women's Industrial Council some time ago is now published, and shows a very lamentable condition of affairs. To me, it seems of no use detailing all the hardships and miseries with which these women are surrounded; such a course generally has the effect of making sensitive people think that the only way of doing any practical work in lessening the sum of human misery is by committing suicide, but, happily, the mood passes, and then we are full of pity for those whose condition in life compels them to look upon this world as being nothing better than a "world of massacre, murder, and wrong." The report in question furnishes facts which show that about 400 home-workers were personally visited, and these followed thirty-five different trades. It would do a great deal of good to women in general if it could only be realised that each of those recorded cases, in a few bare words, gives the life-history of a woman, and those dependent on her. As regards wages, the following statement speaks for itself. Out of 389, 249 earn under, and 140 over, 1s. 6d. per day. The hours worked are frequently over ten, and very often go up to fifteen or sixteen. Perhaps it may be as well to make the fact plain, that these hours represent only a part of the woman's working day, for she is usually cook and housekeeper besides, and, in most cases, has also to take her work to and from the factory or workshop. The sweating system is mainly carried on in what is commonly known as the unprotected trades, that is, where no law enforces proper sanitary arrangements or limits the hours of labour. Under this heading come dressmaking, millinery, mantle-making, upholstery, rope-making, box-making, shirt-making, umbrella-making, brush-making, book-binding, fur-sewing, and corset-making. These trades are carried on either entirely at home, or partly at home, and partly at a small factory. And, of course, practically speaking, the Factory Acts do not touch them. In the same category of unprotected trades, may be included laundry-work, shop-assistants, and the waiters in restaurants and public-houses. With such hard work and low pay, can we wonder that the conditions of the so-called homes are untidy and dirty, and that the workers so often suffer in health and spirits? Can we reasonably expect them to show any interest or energy for anything beyond the dreary round of their daily tasks? The more the horrors of the sweating system are ventilated, the more firmly is the truth of Dean Swift's remark driven home, that, considering our religion is based on the union of divinity, with humanity, it is wonderful how little of either there is in it. What a bitter libel on our boasted Christianity it is to find that even the production of our Bibles is the work of the sweater. It appears that some of our missionary Bible societies purchase their Bibles from firms who work on the sweating system. According to one account, the latest disclosure comes from Glasgow, where women produce

Bibles at wages ranging from 4s. to 10s. a week. They secure a "living wage" for the privilege of spreading among the heathen the knowledge of the "living truth." The charges usually thrown by ultra-refined people at the poor souls who labour under the claws of the sweating system are lack of cleanliness in house and person, intemperance, thriftlessness, and immorality. It is no use denying the fact that in the main these charges are true. Indeed, it would be very strange if they were not. Surely it must be an easy matter to keep clean when everything is close at hand to encourage cleanliness of home and person, where there are plenty of spare hours to spend in company with soap and water, and, moreover, when the day's work is nothing more serious than giving and receiving calls. But it throws a totally different light on the subject when people have no time even for necessary ablutions, and when the miserable earnings are needed for food and fuel. If some of the fine ladies who shudder in disgust at the dirty habits of the poor were obliged to carry pails of water up three or four flights of stairs after working twelve or fourteen hours, perhaps their ideas of personal cleanliness would be greatly modified. They would not be so fond of quoting the proverb that cleanliness is next to godliness, their toilettes would not be so dainty, nor their hands so white. Then, again, when a young woman has been working all day at trades like match-box-making, fur-sewing, or dressmaking, it is not altogether an unnatural feeling that she should find it more congenial to go out in search of fun and amusement than to stay at home to indulge in further drudgery in the shape of housework. The charges of thriftlessness and intemperance are not so easy to fathom. In the first place, it is cruel mockery to talk about thrift to women who cannot earn a wage to keep themselves respectable, much less save out of it. And, in the second place, they have no time to spend, nor money to waste, in drunkenness, all their energies are needed to gain a bare livelihood. As for the charges of immorality, those who work under the sweating system are not generally troubled about the respectabilities and conventionalities of life. They sin mostly through sheer ignorance, and it is only repeating a truism to say that as much dense ignorance can be found in civilised England to-day as in India or China. The modern industrial position of women in our large towns is well summed up by Robert Blatchford, the author of *Merrie England* :

" Some sell their lives for bread ;  
 Some sell their souls for gold ;  
 Some seek the river bed ;  
 Some seek the workhouse mould.

" Such is proud England's sway,  
 Where wealth may work its will,  
 White flesh is cheap to-day,  
 White souls are cheaper still."

It is only quoting another platitude to say that we live in a world of glaring contrasts. There are millionaires at one end of the social scale, and women literally starving at the other. Some one naturally asks, "what remedy can be suggested, and how can the condition of things be altered for the better?" I cannot say, but this I know; something practical is sorely needed, and until the physical cravings are satisfied there can be no real hope of effecting any solid improvement in the morals. To again repeat the words of Mr. Hobson: "We cannot go to the lowest of our slum population and teach them to be clean, thrifty, industrious, steady, moral, intellectual, and religious, until we have first taught them how to secure for themselves the industrial conditions of healthy physical life. Our poorest classes have neither the time, the energy, or the desire to be clean, thrifty, intellectual, moral, or religious." What they do need is better food and plenty of it, regular wages, shorter hours of labour, more amusements and recreations, in short, more humane treatment. And until these lower desires are satisfied, it will be in vain that ministers of religion and other well-meaning people appeal to the higher. This has been proved over and over again. According to Mr. Gibbins, in his *English Social Reformers*, when Robert Owen went to the New Lanark Mills he soon found that his efforts to improve the minds and morals of his workpeople were quite unavailing until the conditions of work were arranged in a more humane manner. The physical wants needed as much improvement and attention as the mental and moral. The only reasonable hope that can be held out to those who suffer most under our modern sweating system is that Government may be induced to interfere. No help can be expected from the employers, because, as a rule, employers of labour show a marked tendency to employ those who are willing to accept the lowest price for their labour. This being the case, it stands to reason that the industrial position of women will never be changed for the better unless some outside agency steps in. Right and justice for women should be demanded for their own sakes, independent of sex. They are a sufficient plea. The resolute suppression of sweating is, I believe, only possible by insisting on an Act of Parliament fixing a minimum wage and a maximum working week for all classes of adult woman labour. Organisation of the lower class of women workers will, no doubt, be a most difficult and uphill task, even with the protection afforded by Government. Of societies for women there is no end, but the poor victim of the sweater is not regarded as being of sufficient importance in either the political, economic, or religious world to rivet the attention of the modern Mrs. Jellabys. In the old days the Mrs. Jellabys of that period could find plenty of pity for the hardships of adult slaves in the West Indian plantations, and they did not so much as know anything about the child slavery that was



going on year after year in their own country. And to-day the descendants of Dickens' noted character have plenty of compassion for their unfortunate sisters in India, China, Africa, or any other place which is far enough away, while their equally unfortunate sisters toiling day after day in loathsome slums are passed over with comparative indifference. And then, too, what is to be the future of the children of these over-worked and badly paid women? Are we to go on generation after generation producing that creature whose very appearance is a mockery to our much-vaunted civilisation, the gutter-child of our city streets?

"Is it right that while we range with science, glorying in the time,  
City children soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime?"

Of course people will say that these are the words of a poet, and that, like poetry in general, they are more or less visionary; but it very often happens that those who are onlookers at the battle of life see far more than those who are actually engaged in the strife. Then, there is yet another view of the question. Women's industrial position seems to be getting lower even outside the sweating trades. Somehow it has come to pass that 10s. a week is looked upon as a respectable and altogether ample wage for a woman. Now, for the sake of argument, what can a woman do with only 10s. a week, especially, as often happens, when she is obliged to live in lodgings and keep herself healthy and comfortably clad? Why should there be such a marked difference in the treatment of boy apprentices and girl apprentices? Just put the cases side by side and compare them. A boy goes to his trade, and, as a rule, commences at once to receive a salary. He generally gets an advance each year until the end of his apprenticeship. When he is a fully fledged artisan he will receive from 30s. to 40s. a week of fifty-four hours. And now mark the difference. A girl goes to her trade, say dressmaking, millinery, or confectionery, and works the first eighteen months for nothing. Then she goes for another twelve months as an improver, at 2s. 6d. a week, and when she is "out of her time" receives from 8s. to 10s. a week for from sixty to eighty hours. Why should there be this distinction in the payment of the sexes for the same services rendered to the community? If an employer pays a young woman 10s. for the same amount and quality of work for which he would pay a man £1, he is clearly defrauding the woman of 10s. a week. All the excuses an employer can bring forward fail to show the practice in any other light, and this is being done every day by so-called Christian men. In considering the glaring evils of women's present industrial position there may be found plenty of scope for all that education and legislation can do, and it is to be hoped that as the question is being continually brought before the public,

it will not again be allowed to sink into oblivion without anything practical being done in the way of remedy. Surely there is not a man who need be ashamed of helping to better the condition of those who labour under the sweating system!

The sooner men as a class realise the truth of Tennyson's words, that

“The woman's cause is man's:  
They rise or sink together,  
Dwarfed or god-like, bond or free”—

the sooner will be brought about that “betterment of society” which all true lovers of humanity desire to see.

PRISCILLA E. MOULDER.

JAN.

FROM GOETHE'S "WILHELM  
MEISTER."

OH, let me shine whilst with the living ;  
Take not my snow-white garb away :  
I hurry from the earth fruit-giving,  
And down to this strong fort I stray.

And here a moment's rest I find me ;  
Then next a fair view gleams beneath :  
I leave my mortal robes behind me,  
My girdle and my maiden wreath.

And in these forms so heav'nly glowing  
Nor man nor maid can be descried,  
And never robe nor garment flowing  
There veils the body glorified.

I live, may be, by cares unworried,  
Yet I by carking pain was stung ;  
My youth to age too soon was hurried,  
Oh, make me ever once more young.

WILLIAM FREDERICK HARVEY.

1904.

## INDEPENDENT SECTION.

*[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of Articles which contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object is to facilitate the expression of opinion by writers of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editor and from each other.]*

REFORM CLUB, PALL MALL, S.W.,  
December 10, 1903.

*To the Editor of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.*

SIR,—I noticed, the other day, a letter addressed to the Press by a politician, and from it I gathered that, while not unmindful of the pain publicity might inflict, the writer felt it his duty to indicate the true and inward significance of the success achieved by Mr. Chamberlain in South Wales, and the precise cause of the enthusiasm which attended that campaign.

This politician was not, I observed, satisfied with giving the actual terms of an accepted resolution. To drive home the imperishable lesson of the fiscal victory so fairly gained, he proceeded to quote the language which he himself employed in its support, and from this I noted that at the conclusion of his speech, drawing himself to his full height and pointing to his illustrious chief, Mr. Chamberlain, he exclaimed, with the pardonable pride of a showman directing attention to his most interesting exhibit, "This, gentlemen, is the foremost man of his race."

Now, sir, I deem the merits of the Imperial fiscal policy, of which Mr. Chamberlain is the only responsible advocate, to be largely overshadowed by the brilliant talents of the man. It would appear that England has nearly made up her mind to follow the man rather than the policy. This is a form of hero-worship which cannot be contemplated with equanimity. If Mr. Chamberlain is to be driven forward from Colonial Preference to British Protection, his triumphal car, in the language of the motorist, will be very apt to "skid," especially when negotiating those parts of the road where the treacherous slime of self-interest is, if concealed, yet ever present.

If Mr. Chamberlain "skids," it means that the Empire will

“skid.” Upon whose shoulders would the blame lie? There is no doubt in my mind that history would trace such a disaster to the inability of the Free Trade or Free Food party to demonstrate the necessity of preserving to England, in the fullest degree practicable, every benefit which she now derives from her monopoly of Free Trade.

The Duke of Devonshire, in saying that imports are receipts and exports the sending out of our very substance, is confusing a “Balance-sheet” with a “Profit and Loss” account. Such an argument can only apply on the assumption that the imports are donations. Again, can any practical value be attached to his advice when he says, “If you retaliate, do it gently”?

I have sufficiently suggested that I am not a “Free-trader” nor a “Free-fooder”; and, on the other hand, I am not a “Protectionist”; but, sir, I claim to be a “PROPORTIONIST.” The inexorable law of proportion should, in my opinion, govern our fiscal policy, and at that moment when this law is disregarded the interests of this country will be jeopardised.

Mr. Chamberlain is widening his platform. The word “Protection” now bears the accent of his approval. I have great faith in the Imperial policy, and wish success to every missionary of Empire, but I see no necessity to join the Protectionist pilgrimage. The value of Protection is to be measured by the balance of national benefit which its application secures, and in no other way. A general system of Protection is not essential to the Imperial fiscal policy, and if, under the guise of protection to the colonies, and the creation thereby of a definite community of interest within the borders of the Empire, Mr. Chamberlain inoculates this country with what, on the present lie of the facts, would be nothing less than the festering pestilence of Protection, his opportunity for the consolidation of the Empire may, perchance, vanish for ever.

England is the natural theatre of the world’s commercial activity, an activity which on its abstract side embraces banking, shipping, and insurance, together with the allied enterprises of mercantile operations, and on its concrete side the various commodities of commerce, which, following the line of least resistance, are attracted to her open market. Who can assess the value which this position confers?

It must be recognised once and for all that the particular argument in favour of any particular industry, however perfectly presented and however inherently sound, can have relevant application to the whole question of our fiscal policy only after its relation and proper proportion to the whole has been accurately determined.

Mr. Chamberlain had a great deal to do with the recent sugar legislation, and I am not going to stop here to inquire as to the propriety of his motives; but, anyhow, if the facts have already

shown or the future should reveal that the increased cost of sugar to England is quite out of proportion to the advantage, actual or potential, gained by a West Indian colony, or by English refiners, that legislation will not have been justified.

Our exports to foreign countries, in actual though possibly not potential value, are greater to-day than our exports to the colonies; nothing must be done, therefore, for the benefit of any particular industry if, as a consequence, our cost of production of manufactures is to be sensibly increased and the opportunities which we now enjoy of foreign trade are to be perceptibly diminished.

I am very conscious of having already trespassed too much on your indulgence, and therefore cannot now discuss the principles underlying my Imperial belief. We are all influenced by the power which national sentiment exerts upon the minds of men in their most practical relations. The fact that preference to our colonies must have as its fundamental basis a moderate tax on food is axiomatic, and it is because of my conviction that the disadvantage of such a tax will be more than compensated by a practical community of interest throughout the Empire that I urge the acceptance of this policy—a policy governed by a proper sense of Imperial proportion.

It is true that Protectionists are not all fools; it is equally true that the greatest statesman is not infallible, and that the "foremost man of his race" is, after all, human.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

J. MALCOLM LYON,

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

## SCIENCE.

RECENT researches on the nature of electricity, taken in conjunction with the discovery of radium, have materially modified our views of both energy and matter, and many attempts are being made to construct a system of philosophy which shall harmonise with modern science. In most speculations of this kind the all-pervading ether plays a prominent part, and the most marvellous properties have been attributed to this as yet hypothetical form of matter. Mr. W. G. Hooper has evidently devoted much time and thought to this subject, and has evolved some interesting theories which he has placed on record under the title of *Aether and Gravitation*.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most important of Mr. Hooper's speculations refer to the properties of ether, which he considers to be atomic, gravitative, possessing density, elasticity, and inertia, and pervading all space. As opposed to the attraction of gravitation, Mr. Hooper considers that light repels, and that this repulsion supplies the force which is necessary to keep the earth from being drawn towards the sun. The revolution of the earth upon its axis is attributed to the circulation of electro-magnetic ether, and the tails of comets are repelled by similar ether which surrounds the sun. Some of the theories propounded are well worthy of consideration, and are evidently the result of a careful study of the subject. We could have wished, however, that the author might have brought some more conclusive evidence than Newton's *Rules of Philosophy*, especially as these rules are not always adhered to in the work. For instance, this is Mr. Hooper's view as to the centre of gravity of the universe: "With a faith that laughs at scientific data, and leaps beyond the narrow bounds of pure reasoning, we affirm that there must even be a centre of gravity to the entire universe." "What can be more fitting, more appropriate, more reasonable than to infer that the centre of gravity of the universe is to be found in that celestial orb or orbs where the throne of God exists and endures, and where ultimately there will be congregated together in perfect felicity the spirits of just men made perfect, not only from our insignificant planet, but all the spirits of all beings from all the planets which in their almost

<sup>1</sup> *Aether and Gravitation*. By W. G. Hooper. London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd. 1908.

infinite number are circled round their central suns by the electromagnetic aether." We would venture to suggest that the change of climate might perhaps interfere with the perfect felicity of some of those spirits, and we think that Mr. A. R. Wallace holds very different views as to the plurality of inhabited planets.

There are few things in connection with the fiscal controversy, which now occupies so large a space in the columns of our daily press, that impress the reader so much as the apparent unreliability of the statistics adduced as evidence by writers on both sides. No sooner is a letter written or a pamphlet published containing one set of figures than a contradiction forthwith appears, accompanied in most cases by quite different figures. When individual manufacturers enter into details of the cost of production similar discrepancies become manifest, indicating that the correct principles of factory book-keeping have yet to be learnt by some manufacturers. How the accounts of a factory should be properly kept is clearly explained in Messrs. Garcke and Fells' *Factory Accounts*,<sup>1</sup> which has just reached its fifth edition. The work is so well known and appreciated that it is not necessary for us to refer to it at length. It is the first, and we may add successful, attempt to place industrial accounts upon a scientific and accurate basis, and it should be in the hands of all factory owners or managers who desire to be up to date. The numerous rulings and forms of entries are practical, and calculated to obtain the maximum of information with a minimum of clerical labour. The authors have wisely omitted the abstract of the Factory and Workshop Acts, the subject being now too extensive to be satisfactorily treated in an appendix. The chapters on "Fire Insurance" and the "Income Tax Acts" are very good summaries of intricate subjects.

An excellent text-book of arithmetic for schools has been issued by the University Tutorial Press, Limited.<sup>2</sup> In it Mr. Workman explains the various rules in the plainest language, and gives numerous examples in each case. Among the problems we are glad to notice that practical subjects predominate, and the addition of examination papers with their answers will assist the student in the application of the knowledge which the book is well calculated to impart.

Mr. G. F. Stout, author of the well-known *Manual of Psychology*, has published a shorter work<sup>3</sup> explaining in concise terms the main features of the science. Mr. A. F. Shand has added a chapter on the psychology of the tender emotions. The work is one that can be recommended to the student as a good introduction to a somewhat modern subject.

<sup>1</sup> *Factory Accounts*. By E. Garcke and J. M. Fells. Fifth Edition. London: Crosby Lockwood & Son. 1902.

<sup>2</sup> *The School Arithmetic*. By W. P. Workman. London: W. B. Clive. 1903.

<sup>3</sup> *The Groundwork of Psychology*. By G. F. Stout. London: W. B. Clive. 1903.



## PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

It was no easy task for Mr. Hudson to attempt to give an account, however incomplete, of *Rousseau* and his philosophy in one small volume, for popular reading.<sup>1</sup> The space, which might be adequate enough for an essay, is far too limited for a biography and a review of a series of the most important writings which appeared in the eighteenth century. We could have wished that Mr. Hudson had devoted far less space to the biographical details, they occupy nearly one half the book, and many of them would be better forgotten, especially as in spite of Mr. Hudson's careful investigation we are by no means convinced that they can all be relied upon. Rousseau was an enigma, it is confessed, but he himself is largely responsible for it, and it is still impossible to separate the truth from the fiction in his own account of his life. It is with his writings that the present generation is most concerned; and Mr. Hudson's account and analysis of his most important works are deserving of considerable praise; here in a short compass is presented not only a useful summary but a criticism distinguished by insight and judgment. Rousseau was an impulsive being, we might almost say he was an impulse in human form; intellectually a kind of elemental force, stirring and even inspiring a somewhat cold and heartless generation. Extreme and even extravagant as no doubt he often was, he presented life in new and fruitful aspects, and brought back something of nature and passion into religion and politics. His theories matter little, it was the current which he set in motion which has won him more than fame; for his ideas have borne fruit and influenced every generation since he wrote. Very clearly is the source of this influence brought out in Mr. Hudson's last chapter on "Rousseau as epoch-maker."

In addition to the principal works of *St. Anselm*<sup>2</sup> as set forth on the title page, Mr. Norton's volume of translations contains an introduction and reproductions of the opinions of leading philosophers and writers from Descartes and Spinoza to Lotze and Prof. R. Flint on the ontological argument, which cannot fail to be of service to students who wish to understand the religious philosophy of the great archbishop. The *Cur Deus Homo* is the work of Anselm's which is most frequently read, though for the philosophical reader the others included in this volume are of deeper interest.

<sup>1</sup> *Rousseau and Naturalism in Life and Thought*. By William Henry Hudson. (The World's Epoch-Makers.) Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Anselm, Prologium, Monologium*. An Appendix on behalf of the Fool. By Gaunilon; and *Cur Deus Homo*. Translated by Sidney Norton Deane, B.A. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

We have long been familiar with Dr. Carus as an ardent expounder of Buddhism, and now we are indebted to him for a translation of the famous Tào Teh King, of Lao-Tze, to which he gives the title of *The Canon of Reason and Virtue*.<sup>1</sup> As we have no knowledge of the original, we can only judge of this translation by comparison, and we do not find it differs in any important feature from that of Legge in the Sacred Books of the East, with the exception that Dr. Carus translates some few terms in a way which suggest the West rather than the East. Thus the first sentence Legge renders "The Tào that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tào," while Dr. Carus gives us "The reason that can be reasoned is not the eternal reason." Again in the same first chapter, Legge writes: "where the Mystery is the deepest is the gate of all that is subtle and wonderful," while Carus says; "of all spirituality it is the door." Such terms as "eternal reason" and "spirituality," seem to us too suggestive of modern ideas. Apart from this criticism the translation appears to be an admirable one—the book is clearly printed and well set up, and in paper covers can be had for the trifling sum of 25 cents. The "Open Court" is entitled to our thanks for bringing this famous work within the reach of every one who wishes to get a first-hand knowledge of the teaching of the old Chinese philosopher.

Dr. Carus also sends us a copy of his Buddhist story *Karma*,<sup>2</sup> which we learn from the publisher's advertisement has had some curious literary adventures, having through its wanderings in various translations been attributed to Tolstoy, and also been taken for an original Buddhist document. The form, the story, is Dr. Carus's, the spirit, the ethics, are those of Buddhism, tinged a little, perhaps, by the author's prepossessions. Still it has earned its popularity. The present edition is a very neat one, and contains a reproduction in black and white of the illustrations by a Japanese artist, which appeared in colours in a Japanese edition.

*The Beggar or the Soldier*<sup>3</sup> is not, as we should be led to expect by the title, a discussion of the relative merits of Buddhism and Mahomedanism, but a brief compilation, a very brief one, of an account of the lives and teaching of both their foundera. It is interesting as coming from an intelligent observer of both religions in active operation.

Dr. Alexander Robertson has written several books bearing on the religious aspect of Italy, and in the one now under our con-

<sup>1</sup> *The Canon of Reason and Virtue*. Lao-Tze's Tào Teh King. Translated from the Chinese by Dr. Paul Carus. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *Karma: a Story of Buddhist Ethics*. By Paul Carus. Illustrated by Kwason Suzuki. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *The Beggar or the Soldier—Gautama or Mahomet?* By Henry Buckle, Burmah Commission (retired). Clifton: J. Baker & Son. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.

sideration<sup>1</sup> he aims to show to the English public what they may expect from a religious system entirely grounded on worldly interests and political ambition. He approached his subject with this question: "Does the Catholic Church make the life fuller, richer, stronger, nobler, happier, more beautiful, more hopeful, more God-like?" And the pith and marrow of his answer is that it makes life poorer, emptier, weaker, meaner, gloomier, less human, less hopeful, less divine. Dr. Robertson states that Italy "considers the Church purely and merely as a political conspiracy," and forcibly asks that, in return for the many things which Italy has learned and taken from England, England should now learn from Italy the only possible attitude to be adopted towards the Vatican. This book is divided into twelve chapters, and it is somewhat difficult to say which is the most interesting, because each one deals with a special feature of great interest, yet chapters sixth and twelfth have a political importance. In the former we have a vivid picture of Rome political, a strong contrast between the misery and wretchedness of Papal Italy and the present prosperity and grand future of Modern Italy, and in the last chapter we have a forcible and strongly written denunciation of the clerical system of education, in writing which, no doubt, the author was thinking of what was then going on at Westminster in order to foster clerical education in England. Friends and foes of the latter will find in this chapter much food for reflection. There are still many persons alive who, in their youth, must have seen Italy described as a poverty-stricken and priest-ridden country. Well, the picture of Modern Italy, as presented in this book, is highly encouraging both from the economical and political point of view. "I often feel"—writes Dr. Robertson—"and often say that Italy and not England is the land where nowadays one enjoys the fullest religious liberty."

Signor Ulrico Hoepli, the enterprising Milanese publisher, has issued a new edition of the late Senatore Gaetano Negri's *Segni dei Tempi*<sup>2</sup> as a tribute of respect toward the memory of one of the best thinkers of Modern Italy. In no book of his has Senatore Negri shown so powerfully and so richly the depth of his thinking power. He wrote this book upon the text of Matthew xvi., 1-4, and he has clearly set forth what to his mind were the "Signs of the Times." Writing as a freethinker and as a positivist, the author thus describes his own mind: "My *ego* is highly critical, it wants to see into things as they are, and the critical *ego* has not in itself any inborn idea as to the system of the world," and later on he says, "The tendency to criticism, for which knowledge is a fact that subsists by itself, is self-sufficient, and need not rest upon any dogmas of faith,

<sup>1</sup> *The Roman Catholic Church in Italy.* By Alexander Robertson, D.D. London: Morgan and Scott.

<sup>2</sup> *Segni dei Tempi.* By Gaetano Negri. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli. 1903.

is to my idea the intellectual phenomenon which distinguishes modern thought. The separation of knowledge from any premise, which does not spring out directly from the said knowledge, is, to my idea, the greatest sign of our Times." In this splendid book the reader can find an authoritative opinion upon many subjects of universal interest. The third chapter, for instance, deals with Tennyson and Gladstone, the two opposite schools of perceiving and understanding human progress. Quotations from such a book, unless they are lengthy—and this is out of the question here—could not serve to give an idea of the value, importance and merit of the same, yet the following version of a few verses of the poetical composition suggested to the author as he was contemplating at night time the gorgeous St. Peter's at Rome, may be given as a fair example of the author's trend of mind: "No, divine virtue cannot hide itself in the shadow of ritualism. No, the Eternal cannot be shut in in so small a space. I look upon thee—St. Peter's—and, deprived of any power thou seemest to me—whilst thy gilded altars are but a token of human pride. Shall I kneel down in prayer and ask forgiveness, O Popes, O Priests? Ah nay. It was but a fleeting breath of cowardice. Do not tremble, my heart. In the battle with a fallacious God thou art the strongest."

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#### SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

*The Money Problem*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Arthur Kitson, first appeared in the States in 1895, and was written in protest against the new financial departure of the Government. Mr. Cleveland had been elected President upon a Free Trade ticket, and the repeal of the McKinley Tariff Bill was generally anticipated. Instead of this, however, Mr. Cleveland, captured by the financiers, in the teeth of his own party, repealed the Sherman Silver Bill, a repeal which resulted in the creation of a gold standard, which in its turn rendered possible the creation of Combines and Trusts—the new policy familiarly known as "Morganism"—and riveted more closely the chains of Protection. "In addition," writes Mr. Kitson, "to having placed the nation's industries at the mercy of the bankers, another result of this policy was to indefinitely postpone the Free Trade era which was about to dawn upon the United States." It is worth noting, by the way, how we never open a book on economics by American writers, without finding solid arguments against Protection, and this of the country which Mr. Chamberlain is never tired of holding up

<sup>1</sup> *The Money Problem.* By Arthur Kitson. London: Grant Richards. 1906.

to our admiration as the greatest example of Protectionist prosperity. Mr. Chamberlain would doubtless be surprised to learn, for instance, that within the last twenty years the question of Free Trade *v.* Protection has only been submitted to the people of the United States once as a direct issue—unaccompanied by any other disturbing question—with the result that Protection was defeated. At every other Presidential election the issue has been confused with other questions. Mr. Kitson, however, is more concerned with the financial aspect, the theories of value and exchange. Financial crises are in his view periodic and inevitable under the present monetary system. Mr. Kitson shows clearly, as has been shown before, that gold cannot be taken as a permanent unit of value, *i.e.*, of purchasing power. Gold fluctuates like everything else, and what is required is a common denominator—an ideal value, not a material value. Even now token coins, paper money, cheques, &c., are universally employed. The demonetisation of gold would, Mr. Kitson contends, save us from those financial disasters which result from the fluctuations of gold. There is scarcely a more intricate question in economics than this. To Mr. Kitson it is the supreme problem of the hour. It may be so, but involved as all classes, of the population are, it will require, perhaps generations, before the masses understand the very elements of the subject. In presenting it so that all who take the trouble may learn, Mr. Kitson has discharged a difficult task. Like all true reformers, his motive has been altruistic, and his object to benefit the greatest number.

In replying to *Mr. Balfour's Pamphlet*<sup>1</sup> Mr. Harold Cox has had an easy task. In fact, he has made hay of the Prime Minister's treatise. "The pamphlet," says Mr. Cox, "which he has issued to the world as a professed explanation of his opinions is founded entirely upon conjectures and suppositions which have so little relation to the real facts of British life and British commerce, that it is hard to believe that the author is really an inhabitant of this planet and actually the Prime Minister of this country." And when we remember that Mr. Balfour had in his other pocket another pamphlet with another set of opinions, his conduct becomes even more deplorable. From Mr. Chamberlain we do not expect the fine instincts of a gentleman, which would at least keep a man politically honest, but from a man of Mr. Balfour's social position—to say nothing of a Prime Minister—we do look for conduct of a higher moral tone. In his reply Mr. Cox confines himself to proving that Mr. Balfour has made no less than five misstatements of fact—statements not only untrue, not merely inaccuracies of trifling imports, but statements going to the root of his argument, and directly the reverse of the truth. Mr. Chamberlain—that political charlatan—may be

<sup>1</sup> *Mr. Balfour's Pamphlet. A Reply.* By Harold Cox, Secretary of the Cobden Club. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1903.

content to go on repeating the same old falsehoods, which he must now know to be falsehoods, but up to now at any rate Mr. Balfour had a reputation for average political morality, and if as Prime Minister he makes statements, which he now finds to be untrue, he might at least have the courage to withdraw them. Opposed as we are to Mr. Balfour, we cannot but regret that he should have wrecked his political reputation in such a sorry manner. His conduct throughout, towards his Free Trade colleagues, his collusion with Mr. Chamberlain, the betrayal of the trust imposed upon him as Prime Minister—prompted no doubt by his anxiety to save his party—has been too contemptible for words. The consolation is that he will never occupy the same high position again.

*The Trade of the Great Nations*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Mark Warren, is, as the sub-title informs us, an epitome of statistics showing the comparative growth of the foreign trade of the great nations during a quarter of a century, with special reference to the foreign trade of the United Kingdom. Although it is brought right up to date, it was, as the author points out, originally written in May, before Mr. Chamberlain's proposals were placed before the public, and appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for that month. The countries selected by Mr. Warren are of course the United Kingdom, Germany, the United States and France. By means of a diagram he first shows the rise and fall of the total trade of each country for the years 1876 to 1900. The United Kingdom heads the list with 880 million pounds, Germany being second with 580 millions. But even these figures must be accepted with reserve, since each country has its own system of valuation. For instance, in England freight, insurance, and incidental charges are added to the value of imports, thus swelling that amount by 15 to 20 per cent., whilst the United States value the goods at the place of departure. In his diagram of special exports Mr. Warren does not include invisible exports. But even without those he shows that in 1902 the United Kingdom holds the premier place, having displaced the United States, which held the lead in 1898. He is careful to point out that in the case of Germany and the United States their position is not so prosperous as it appears. In Germany it was the result of over production, and in America of its indebtedness. In the remaining diagrams Mr. Warren shows the respective percentage value of the three principal imports and exports, viz., food, raw materials and manufactured goods, for the years 1894-1900; the value of the annual trade per head; and the proportion of the aggregate value of the general trade of each nation. From these figures Mr. Warren maintains that England still holds the predominant position of a manufacturing nation, and will continue to hold it notwithstanding the rapidly increasing formidableness

<sup>1</sup> *The Trade of the Great Nations.* By Mark Warren. London: P. S. King & Son. 1903.

of the competition of other nations. His pamphlet is a complete refutation of Mr. Chamberlain's jeremiad.

The Personal Rights Association has made an excellent start in its publication of a contemplated series of treatises dealing with Economics, Ethics and Politics. The first of the series is now before us, entitled *Short Studies in Economic Subjects*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. J. H. Levy, the editor of the series. The society has certainly chosen the psychological moment for their crusade. It is not their object, it is true, to enter into the controversies of rival political parties, but since we know as a matter of fact that the Tory party as a whole is the enemy of human progress and the supporter of class interests, it is obvious upon which side the weight of their contributions will be thrown. At the same time we venture to differ upon two points. Decentralisation of government there must be, and the opposition of the Society to the municipalisation of certain industrial enterprises appears to us to be mistaken. Another fear expressed, viz., that when the working classes realise that they have the power, they will involve us in all the old evils of class legislation, we believe is unfounded. The working classes so far have not fortunately shown signs of vindictiveness. They are on the whole greater lovers of justice than any other class, and as they become better educated, morally as well as mentally, we believe that when they gain supreme power, they will be guided by their sense of justice, recognising that the good of the unit is bound up with that of the nation. Mr. Levy's first lecture, "Wealth-Knowledge, a Plea for the Study of Economics," is a stimulating piece of work, and especially valuable at the present as showing the gradual escape of trade and commerce from the restrictions of a paternal government.

All students of sociology owe a debt of gratitude to Miss Mary Campbell Smith for her translation of Kant's *Perpetual Peace*,<sup>2</sup> and for her erudite and scholarly introduction equal in length to the Essay itself. Professor Latter supplies the Preface, which was to have been written by the late Professor Ritchie, at whose instigation it was that Miss Smith undertook this work. The translator, says Professor Latter, has shown great skill in manipulating the involutions, parentheses, and prodigious sentences of the original, and her work will have its fitting reward if it succeeds in familiarising the English-speaking student of politics with a political essay of enduring value written by one of the master-thinkers of modern times.

There is probably no other work which has had such a widespread influence in moulding sound Liberal opinions as John Stuart

<sup>1</sup> *Short Studies in Economic Subjects*. By J. H. Levy. London: The Personal Rights Association. P. S. King & Son. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *Perpetual Peace*. A Philosophical Essay. By Immanuel Kant, 1795. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by M. Campbell Smith, M.A. With a Preface by Professor Latter. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1903.

Mill's *On Liberty*,<sup>1</sup> and it has not yet by any means become out of date. The present issue, published by the Rationalist Press Association, which is doing such useful work, contains a short biographical introduction by Mr. W. B. Columbine.

So far as the Shakespeare-Bacon theory rests upon the so-called "Baconian Mint" discovered by Mr. Theobald, it is completely demolished by *The Baconian Mint: Its Claims Examined*,<sup>2</sup> by His Honour Judge Willis. In his *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*, Mr. Theobald has endeavoured to show that the author of the Plays was a great classic, that he was constantly making linguistic experiments and endeavouring to enrich his native language by coining new words, derived chiefly from the Latin. Having ascertained that some two hundred and thirty of those words were to be found in Bacon's works, Mr. Theobald rashly assumed that Bacon wrote the Plays, without taking the trouble to see if the same words did not occur in contemporary writings or existing literature. Judge Willis has performed this task, and has arrived at the conclusion, from a wide examination, that without exception all these words are to be found in works written before either Bacon or Shakespeare wrote a line. Lord Bacon therefore had no mint, and, asserts Judge Willis, "coined" nothing. "I feel certain," he writes "that Lord Bacon did not directly supply any words or ideas to Shakespeare or Marlowe, and that there was no man of his age such a compiler of other men's ideas as Lord Bacon himself. May I say, I none the less admire his writings and reverence his name."

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#### HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE battle of Adowa is so interesting a subject, from the political and military point of view alike, that one is tempted to wonder how it was that English literature had to wait well-nigh seven years before a book was written upon the same in the English language by an English author. The work of F. H. Berkeley<sup>3</sup> which we are now considering, promises to be not only the first, but the best that one can desire as a descriptive narrative of a battle which, from the military point of view, represents the peculiar phenomenon

<sup>1</sup> *On Liberty*. By John Stuart Mill. Issued by the Rationalist Press Association Ltd. London: Watts & Co. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *The Baconian Mint: its Claims Examined*. By William Willis, one of the Masters of the Bench of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Ltd. 1903.

<sup>3</sup> *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik*. By George F. H. Berkeley. Westminster: Constable. 1903.



of a European army annihilated by a native African race, and from the political point of view it shows to what a dangerous path a nation can be led by unrestricted colonial ambition. Italy suffered there a great disaster, but she was not slow in learning the dire lesson thereof. This book opens with a very lucid and interesting description of the events which preceded the fatal campaign of 1895-1896. Of course the description of the battle of Adowa occupies the greater part of the book, and therein Mr. Berkeley shows to the best advantage his military knowledge and his great and sincere sympathy with Italy. We think, however, that he has been exceedingly generous both in excusing Lord Salisbury's indifference to Italy's trouble and difficulties, and in the very mild way he has judged Baratieri's unpardonable blunders and phenomenal incompetence in grasping the magnitude of the task he undertook. "Had General Baratieri," writes Mr. Berkeley, "been able to remain in his fortified position for another week, perhaps even for another day, Menelik might have been compelled to retire; possibly to disband his army, and then in the course of years we should have seen the ancient empire of Ethiopia ruled over by a set of vassal Ras, gradually succumbing to the domination of the Latin civilisation of Italy." The warriors who fought at Adowa won a fresh lease of independence for their race. Whether this is a gain to the world, and whether they or their descendants will take advantage of the chance thus obtained, is a problem for the future. It may, of course, be possible, as a French writer has suggested, that they with their Semitic blood are destined to be the first of the African nations to make a successful revolt against domineering Europe; and if so, there still remains an enormous amount for them to learn. As regards General Baratieri, one can only feel sorry that after so many years of work his name should be in Europe connected almost invariably with the great defeat. Kassala and Coatit are forgotten, Adowa is remembered. It seems a pity, too, that having waited patiently until success was actually in the palm of his hand he should have been persuaded to throw away the fruit of his labour and experience. Many battles have been won or lost on account of a storm, and it seems that Adowa also had its storm, only for the good of the Italians it came too soon. "At nine o'clock on the evening before that fixed by General Baratieri for his fateful advance a storm broke over the heights of Sauria, a storm of which he must have carried the remembrance to his grave, for had it occurred twenty-four hours later the night march would have become impossible, and his name might perhaps never have been connected with a disaster." The author has gathered all information concerning the details from eye-witnesses, and his narrative, besides being most vivid and impressive, may be reckoned to be equally authoritative. In conclusion, this is a book full of

“object-lessons.” Therein one may learn how things can be mismanaged ; how battles, bravely fought, may be lost through blunders at the headquarters ; how a heroic army can fight a lost battle to the bitter end, and—this is more important as an object-lesson—how small details, the mistake of a name, a message not properly worded, a moment of perplexity, and so on, work havoc on the battlefield, and cause disaster.

*Dictionary of Historical Allusions*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Thomas Benfield Harbottle, supplies, at a trifling cost, information which, in many cases, one would have to search for painfully in huge and costly works, such as the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the *Oxford Dictionary*, &c., &c. It is difficult to imagine a more useful book for intelligent readers of the newspapers and magazines. The articles are, as they should be, brief and to the point. Their extent may be seen by enumerating a few of them selected almost at random : “Gavel-kind,” “Mugwumps,” “Nag’s Head Controversy,” “Falk Laws,” “Human Leopards,” “Judicature Acts,” “Majuba Hill,” “Roused Robin,” “Wapentake,” “Winter King.” So far as time has allowed us to test the work, we have found it accurate.

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#### BELLES LETTRES.

*Marie et Marthe*,<sup>2</sup> by M. George Bonnamour, is the story of a hatred, intense and growing, cherished by an elder against a younger sister, fairer, and far better placed in society, than herself. This unnatural hatred dated back to childhood’s days, when the one was petted and the other neglected by a widowed father. Their cousin, Grenoult—a wealthy peasant of that land-grabbing, sensual type which the French Revolution called into being—is found murdered. Suspicion falls on the younger sister, Marie ; she is convicted by a jury of peasants, because she refuses (lest by so doing, she should compromise her reputation) to account for her absence from her sister’s house on the night of the crime. A sentence of five years is passed upon her, but before half that period has elapsed, her sister visits her in prison, and confesses to having committed the crime accidentally, in defence of her honour. But Marie will not

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of Historical Allusions*. By Thomas Benfield Harbottle. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *Marie et Marthe*. Par George Bonnamour. Paris : Librairie Plon.

accept the sacrifice which this public rehabilitation would entail; the gain of her sister's love is to her sufficient reward for the misery of this long incarceration and unmerited disgrace. It is a pathetic story, excellently told.

For some time past "Cuseens" have been substituted for prescribed Latin authors at many public examinations, notably at the London University Matriculation. By assuming the Scylla of getting up special books without due understanding of the principles that underlie the fine art of translation, the candidate is in danger of steering his frail bark against the Charybdis of total ignorance of the literature which an ill-assorted collection of short passages is supposed to represent. *Matriculation Selections from Latin Authors*,<sup>1</sup> by Messrs. A. F. Watt and B. J. Hayes, comprise an introduction relating to Roman history, law, and antiquities; a selection of authors from Aulus Gellius to Ovid; notes, lexicon, a few plans and illustrations. The selections have been chosen with great judgment; but the most admirable feature about this manual (which well reflects the ripe scholarship of its compilers and their long experience as tutors), is the series of English abstracts which connect the extracts from the *Æneid* in such a way as to cover the whole story of that poem.

In *L'Instruction de l'Armée Française de 1815 à 1902*,<sup>2</sup> General Jourdy, an officer of high scientific attainments, traces the successive phases through which military training has passed in France during the last eighty-seven years. He shows us the French Army vegetating from 1813 on the traditions of Condé's time, then re-awakening, in 1830, and continuing under the Second Empire, the spirit and tactics of the African Army which culminated in the disaster of *l'Année terrible*. From that epoch arose a period of feverish activity which resulted in the present organisation which, in the matter of efficiency, leaves scarcely anything further to be desired. "Elle a maintenant trouvé la vraie voie, celles des généreuses aspirations de Jeanne d'Arc, précurseurs de l'ardente tradition républicaine perfectionnée par les conceptions napoléoniennes qui ont renouvelé les méthodes de guerre et d'instruction des armées, à la grande stupéfaction du Vieux Monde. The italics by the way, are General Jourdy's, not ours.

Daniel was a budding poet of fourteen when he fell in love with golden-haired Camille, his senior by two years. Together they devoured the insidious poison of *Manon Lescaut*, and next day, in the silence of the forest, the child-lovers exchange their first kiss. Eleven years later the pair meet in Paris; the one already

<sup>1</sup> *Matriculation Selections from Latin Authors*. By A. F. Watt, M.A., Oxon., and B. J. Hayes, M.A., London and Camb. London: W. B. Clive, University Tutorial Press. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Instruction de l'Armée Française de 1815 à 1902*. Par Général Jourdy. Paris Félix Alcan. 1903.

emancipated from the conventions that safeguard her sex; the other sceptical, selfish, and ambitious of distinction as a writer of the æsthetic school. The greater part of *L'Expérience d'aimer*<sup>1</sup> deals with their sentimental journey through Italy. Claire Albane's style is exquisite, and her psychological insight remarkably keen; but her latest novel is not one which we should like to see in the hands of an innocent girl.

*La Race*,<sup>2</sup> by M. Fernand Dacre, is a brilliant attempt to solve the thorny problem of military conscription. All the lights and shadows of a conscript's life in barracks and under canvas are displayed and commented on by a master hand. The kindly interest taken by Lieutenant Maleschant in the welfare of Pierre Delbard gradually reconciles that ardent Socialist to the exigencies of military discipline. Though the latter deserts under circumstances which eventually acquit him before a court-martial, the sense of degradation latent in that act, when once realised, impels him to throw up a lucrative appointment in Switzerland, in order to return to his regiment. The conclusion of *La Race* is that a strong army renders a country strong, and that the genuine and hearty co-operation of all is requisite to attain this object.

We confess to a sense of misgiving whenever we take up a volume of religious fiction, whether it deals with Christianity from the emotional or the historical point of view. The author may, by temperament or education, be ill-equipped for a task which demands a combination of qualities—including, perhaps above all, self-restraint—rarely to be found in any single writer. This pessimistic attitude is justified by an experience extending over a good many years. The readers of *Après la Neuvième Heure*,<sup>3</sup> by M. M. R. Monlaur, will be neither irritated by controversy, nor shocked by irreverence, or bored by pietistic platitude. The style is excellent, and the theme—the conversion of two Greeks by recent converts from Judaism—is handled with admirable breadth, colour, and reticence.

*Les Hérétiques*,<sup>4</sup> by M. Alphonse Benvenisti, is a glowing picture of sixteenth century France distracted by internecine wars, brutal and devastating, in which religion was little more than a mask for political ends. The Chevalier de Rongières, young, brave and handsome, on finding that the Court of Charles IX. is no place for a Calvinist, conceals his religion, becomes conspicuous for his gallantries, lulls his uneasy conscience for a time by a secret profession of atheism. When called on, by his offended king, to choose between the Bastille or taking the field against his co-religionists, he accepts

<sup>1</sup> *L'Expérience d'aimer*. Par Claire Albane. Paris: Librairie Plon.

<sup>2</sup> *La Race*. Par Fernand Dacre. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1903.

<sup>3</sup> *Après la Neuvième Heure*. Par M. M. R. Monlaur. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1903.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Hérétiques*. Par Alphonse Benvenisti. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1903.

the latter alternative, but deserts at a critical moment, and is taken prisoner. The only wholly sympathetic figure in the story is the great Huguenot surgeon, Ambrose Paré, to whom is addressed the confession written by the Chevalier immediately before his execution. This letter is at once a plea for toleration and a cry of disillusion. "J'ai fait le pénible apprentissage de la basse vilénie, de la platitude hypocrite, de l'égoïsme perfide et cruel des hommes; j'ai assisté tous les jours au répugnant spectacle de leur férocité envers la minorité et la faiblesse, jointe à leur lâcheté devant la puissance."

Invalids purposing to winter in Egypt will find in *Das Winterklima Egypten dargestellt für Aerzte und Kranke*,<sup>1</sup> by Dr. Fr. Engel Bey, abundant information as to the most suitable locality for their particular complaints. It is, however, a book rather for medical men than for patients, and its author, very properly, insists on the advisability of the latter consulting their physicians before undertaking such a journey. Dr. Fr. Engel's acquaintance with the Egyptian climate goes back more than twenty years. The book, which deserves to be translated into English, contains some excellent photographs, a series of meteorological tables, and, last, but not least, a chapter of hints to the intending traveller.

The Vicomte E. M. de Vogüé has, in his time, played many parts: traveller, critic, philosopher, and *ex-diplomat*, he is now one of the leading novelists in France. His latest romance, *Le Maître de la Mer*,<sup>2</sup> has for its theme the conflict between two minds of an entirely opposite order. Captain Louis de Tournoël is ambitious of winning new worlds for his country on the soil of Central Africa, but his object is thwarted by a bureaucracy which, in point of stupidity, challenges comparison with our War Office. The one man living who estimates this intrepid pioneer of civilisation at his true worth is Archibald Robinson, the multi-millionaire President of the "Universal Sea Trust." Each man is the necessary complement of the other; the struggle, however, is long; but, in the end, the Breton capitulates. This result is brought about by the charming Mme. Fianona, who is as tenderly loved by the middle-aged Britisher as she is by the hero of her choice. The moral of the story is that the sword is impotent unless backed by the capitalist.

<sup>1</sup> *Das Winterklima Egypten dargestellt für Aerzte und Kranke.* Von Dr. Fr. Engel Bey. Berlin: Verlag von August Hirschwald. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Maître de la Mer.* Par Vte. E. M. de Vogüé. Paris: Librairie Plon.

## POETRY.

*The Voice of One*<sup>1</sup> is likely to be drowned in the shallow ocean of minor verse. In "The Return of Paris" and "Lucilla," Mr. Henry Allsopp's dramatic skill is more evident than his poetic genius, but passages of genuine poetry are not lacking, *e.g.*, in Oenone's speech to her dying husband :

" I love them all  
As flowers that bloom in night-time love the moon,  
Along whose lurking beams the joyous moths  
Win passage through the meshes of the leaves,  
That now are silent like a clustered swarm  
Of resting bees."

Very musical too is the Song that ends thus :

" Will you remember  
The frost  
That could cruelly seize  
Love that was lost  
In the snwvs of December?  
Remember  
Not these,  
Not these."

In Sweden considerable attention has been devoted, for many years past, to the Romance languages in general, and to Old French in particular, though neither Spanish nor Italian has been neglected. Foremost amongst this distinguished group of scholars stands Professor Edward Lidfors, whose works on Cervantes and *The Cid* have gained for him a European reputation. Of late he has devoted himself to the interpretation of Dante, and the first fruits of these studies now appear in a blank-verse translation of the "Divine Comedy" (*Gudomliga Komedi*),<sup>2</sup> accompanied by an excellent and most illuminative commentary, which, whilst stamped throughout with the hall-mark of critical power and original thought, testifies to his familiarity with the latest researches and speculations of English, American, and Continental Dantists. A rhymed version of Dante's masterpiece appeared in Swedish in 1857. As vast progress has been made during the last fifty years in the study of Dante, it can surprise no one that Lovén's version—excellent, indeed, when we bear in mind the date of its publication—is now

<sup>1</sup> *The Voice of One*. By Henry Allsopp. London: Watts & Co. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *Dantes Gudomliga Komedi*. Översatt af Edvard Lidfors. Stockholm: Fahlcrantz & Co. 1903.

quite antiquated. We can congratulate Sweden on possessing at last a translation of the "Divine Comedy" which at once satisfies the most exacting demands of modern scholarship and the most fastidious taste in literature. In poetical merit it deserves to rank with Hagberg's Shakespeare, though infinitely superior to it in philological accuracy.

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BRITAIN AND THE FAR EASTERN  
QUESTION.

FOR some time past a conflict of great magnitude has been threatening the peace of the world; and indeed, owing to the irreconcilable ambitions of Japan and Russia, war is bound to ensue in the near future.

For good or evil we have in a measure bound our fortunes to those of an Asiatic Empire, and the present conflict presents on that account a very deep interest for the people of Great Britain. The issue of a war between two Powers whose naval forces and financial resources are so nearly matched, it is well-nigh impossible to forecast; but it is open to us to examine what influence over our national interests both possible issues would exercise, and thus to investigate the question whether, in Lord Salisbury's phrase, we have not put our money on the wrong horse.

Let us suppose the war ends in a Japanese victory; what would be the consequences? Japan would practically absorb Korea and a large part of Manchuria, and might conceivably insist on depriving Russia of all her outlets on the Pacific. So far this would not matter much to us either one way or another. But far graver and deeper evils would ensue; we look upon it as a war between Japan and Russia—not so the Chinese, the Burmese, the Persians or the Siamese. To them this is a conflict between white and yellow, between the forces of the West and those of the East, between Europe and Asia. A Japanese victory would send a mighty wave of independence and pride throughout the populations of Asia, a wave of self-confidence, of contempt for their European rulers, which would bear fruits of which no one can foretell the exact consequences.



Furthermore, Japan would receive a great prestige, her influence over the Chinese Empire would become supreme, and no obstacle would lie in the way of the realisation of her racial aspirations.

To any one who has even slightly followed the course of Japanese feeling and policy, there can be no doubt that these ambitions can be summed up in the phrase: "Asia for the Asiatics, under Japanese hegemony." For several years past Japan has been flooding with her agents the remotest parts of Asia, to rouse the sleeping patriotism of the people, and prepare the way for liberation. Asiatic princes and statesmen have been flocking to Tokio; amongst them we might name, besides several Chinese and Korean dignitaries, a deputation from Lhassa, the Siamese Prime Minister, the Persian Grand Vizier, a high priest from Afghanistan, and several Indian Maharajas under British rule.

These men have had long conferences with the Ministers of the Mikado; and the object of these visits, in spite of all official denials, is well known to and in full sympathy with public opinion in Japan.

Men have scoffed at the "yellow peril"; they laughed and shrugged their shoulders when William II. gave utterance to his fears of a future Asiatic invasion. But surely there is nothing impossible in the idea; a federation of Asia under the leadership of Japan is not the dream of European pessimists, but the deliberate end of Japanese statesmanship.

It needs no gift of prophecy to foretell that a Japanese victory over Russia would be an enormous step towards its realisation. But there is yet another and more direct way in which a Russian defeat would adversely affect the interest of Britain.

For long it has been the dream of Russia to swoop down upon the plains of India. There is good reason to believe that she has abandoned that design, she finds it easier to extend herself in Manchuria, where she would have less trouble both in gaining and in retaining her conquests. But if checked in the direction of Manchuria, there is no reason to doubt that she would return to her original purpose.

It might be objected that she would be too severely shattered for any new enterprise, and this is possible. But in that case let us not forget that Germany, not Russia, is at present our great rival. These two forces of Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism are bound to come into collision, and a weak Russia by affording an easy triumph to Germany would very seriously imperil our interests.

Now let us briefly consider the consequences of a Russian victory: The influence of the agents of the Czar over the feeble rulers at Peking would, it is true, be somewhat dangerously increased. But after all Russia has no views, no designs on Southern China, and the valley of the Yang-tse-Kiang which is our natural sphere

of influence. And we must not forget that any Russian attempt to extend her sphere in a southward direction would meet with the most determined opposition on the part of Germany, which has great interests in Shangtung.

The immediate consequence of a Russian victory would be the absorption of Manchuria, its opening up to commerce in the near future ; it might be argued that Russia would annex Korea, and certainly such a step would mean practically the end of Japanese independence. But surely Great Britain and the United States would be strong enough to prevent the enforcement of such drastic terms, and force Russia to allow the Japanese to retain that part of Korea which faces the coast of Japan.

Russia would be far too exhausted by the campaign to be able to oppose such a demand ; nor need it be feared that Germany would give her any support in such opposition. Indeed, only the Kaiser's feigned policy of friendship for Russia would prevent him from lending his active co-operation to any attempt to avoid the permanent weakening of such a useful thorn in the side of Russia as Japan has proved to be in the past.

It may be right or it may be wrong, but it seems to the present writer that we are acting contrary to our best interests in linking our fortunes with those of Japan. The treaty, however, exists, and it would be incompatible with our national honour to repudiate it ; but before we follow the advice of certain editors, and rush blindly in antagonism to the "great white Czar," let us bear in mind the aims and aspirations of the Japanese nation. They are aspirations which can only be realised by our expulsion from India, and however grotesque the idea may at present appear to us, who can tell what may not come within the range of possibilities when Japan acquires the control of the "Empire of the Middle" with its infinite resources in money and in men ?

Our national energies are at present directed towards one great issue ; we are given the most diverse and astounding advice for the maintenance of our power and the preservation of our Empire ; let us not walk with our heads in fiscal clouds, quarrelling between ourselves as to the best cure for imaginary ills, and disregard those grave dangers which threaten our supremacy in the East.

An outbreak in Korea would tax the feeble resources of our Foreign Office to the utmost, and if those resources fail, we will be drawn into the vortex of a great international war ; let us therefore be prudent, put a rein on our jealousy of Russia and our sympathies for Japan, so as not to render the task of restricting the area of the war more difficult for the men who at this crisis have in their hands the guidance of the Empire.

H. J. D. F.

## FORECASTING DANGER.

"There are people who never forecast a danger, but who are rapidly convinced when the forecast becomes a fact, and the danger grips them by the throat."—Mr. CHAMBERLAIN at Leeds, December 17, 1903.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN is too exacting. He twits his opponents with an inability to forecast what he conceives to be the dangers inseparable from the maintenance of a Free Trade policy. But he really should remember that just as it is easier to be a demagogue than a statesman, so is it easier to create real dangers than to forecast imaginary ones. Mr. Chamberlain's critics have something better to do than to tilt at windmills. Let him be patient, and they will forecast dangers enough and to spare, arising, not from a continuance of our present fiscal policy, but from its abandonment. It has truly been said that there is safety in numbers, and thus, amid the multiplicity of dangers in which Mr. Chamberlain's zeal for fiscal reform seems likely to land us, there is a risk of some of those dangers being unnoticed if not overlooked. For example, it seems to us that there is a point in connection with Mr. Chamberlain's reiterated assurance that the imposition of a duty on foreign-grown wheat will not increase the cost of living, that has not received the attention it merits.

What the consumer pays out of his left-hand pocket he will, according to Mr. Chamberlain, find replaced in his right-hand pocket by means of a remission of duty on tea, coffee, tobacco, &c. This statement is evidently based on the theory that the Treasury will receive from the duty on corn at least the equivalent of the duties thus remitted. But will these receipts, *can* they, be maintained? More important still, can the hopes held out by Mr. Chamberlain to the Colonies of a continuance of preferential treatment be fulfilled? We contend that they cannot.

It is, we gather, Mr. Chamberlain's expectation that a duty of 2s. a quarter on foreign-grown corn will suffice to bring into existence a vast Colonial wheat-growing area. Let us assume his expectation to be realised. What then? Inevitably this: that within a very few years the combined home, colonial and foreign supply of wheat will greatly exceed any possible British demand, with the result that, temporarily, prices will fall. What would then happen? For the moment the British consumer might benefit, but only for

the moment, and only very partially, because experience shows us that the price of the loaf rises appreciably with every increase in the price of wheat, but does not fall, or only falls fractionally, with any decline.

But more than this would happen. The price of wheat having fallen, as in such circumstances it must inevitably fall, to a point at which it could not be profitably grown, the Colonial producer, powerfully reinforced by the home agricultural interest, would demand, not merely a preference, but protection pure and simple by the imposition of such a duty on foreign-grown corn as would effectually bar its entrance into this country, and at the same time raise the price of wheat to a level well above the present price at which, be it remembered, we are told that the British farmer cannot sell his wheat at a profit. This would obviously be done by putting a duty of say 12s. 6d. a quarter on foreign-grown corn, or very much the same duty as is now imposed by France. With such a margin in their favour the British farmer and the Colonial producer would be sensible enough not to raise their price above the lowest figure at which the foreign producer could possibly sell, thus ensuring for themselves a monopoly of the British market.

To illustrate our meaning : assume the price of wheat, wherever grown, to have fallen in Great Britain, through excess of supply over demand, to 25s. a quarter, obviously a figure at which no producer could afford to sell ; assume, also, the imposition of a duty of 12s. 6d. on American and Russian wheat ; it is clear that the foreigner, if he is to get back the amount of the tax from the consumer—and he could not, of course, afford to pay it himself—must raise his price by that amount and would, consequently, be obliged to ask 37s. 6d. a quarter. But he could not afford to sell a single quarter of wheat at the price. True, he would recover from the consumer the 12s. 6d. a quarter duty paid at the port of entry, but the net price he would receive for his wheat would still be no more than 25s. per quarter, at which figure he would not only make no profit, but would incur heavy loss.

On the other hand, the Colonial and the British producer, also selling at 37s. 6d. per quarter, and being charged no duty, would net the full amount of the sale price, and would thus be enabled to obtain a figure far in excess of what he can get to-day, and, consequently, would reap, at the expense of the consumer, a handsome and, from the consumer's point of view, a wholly illegitimate profit. And what of the British Treasury ? Deprived of any revenue whatsoever from the importation of foreign wheat, and having, as an offset to the revenue heretofore derived from such a source, remitted duty to an equivalent amount on tea, coffee, and tobacco, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would, in order to balance his Budget, be obliged to reimpose the duty on these commodities.

What, then, would be the position of the consumer? The producer, be he home or colonial, would extract from the working man's left-hand pocket the amount represented by the difference of cost between the Protected loaf and the Free Trade loaf, not to speak of the difference of cost between protected and freely imported meat, butter, cheese, eggs, &c., while from his right-hand pocket the Treasury, reluctantly perhaps, but very firmly, would extract the amount represented by the reimposed duty on tea, coffee, tobacco, &c. Saddled, then, once again with these duties, and with vastly higher prices to pay for everything he consumed, he would find, too late, the worthlessness of Mr. Chamberlain's guarantee that under the new fiscal system no working man's weekly food bill should be greater than it now is. We do not think that when he finds it hits his pocket, the British working man will be disposed to take Protection "lying down."

But there is another, and a more serious, side to the question. We cannot see but that in such an emergency the Government would have to choose between rioting, amounting almost to revolution, at home, and rebellion abroad. For it is not to be assumed that the Colonial any more than the British working man would take what he conceived to be unfair treatment "lying down." If the Government, intimidated by the outcry at home, should abandon its Protective policy in favour of the old policy of Free Trade, the colonist would consider, and with justification, that he was the victim of a gross breach of faith. He could not be expected tamely to submit to the destruction of a great industry which had been created solely on the strength of Mr. Chamberlain's promise of preferential treatment for the Colonies. If that industry should perish as a result of what he would stigmatise as British perfidy, so, too, for aught the colonist cared, might Mr. Chamberlain's dream of a united British Empire. Secession would be in the air; and scarcely veiled rebellion, born of a sense of unfair dealing, would smoulder in the Colonies till finally fanned into flame by the breath of popular resentment. It is, indeed, well, as Mr. Chamberlain says, to look ahead! "Free-Feeders" and Free-Traders, on whom Mr. Chamberlain pours the vials of his contempt, are not the only persons "who never forecast a danger."

We have ventured to point out one danger, at least, that is more than likely to arise from the adoption of his fiscal reform proposals, of the futility and folly of which his working men adherents will be "rapidly convinced when the forecast becomes a fact, and the danger grips them by the throat."

JAMES DOUGLAS HOLMS.

## MR. CHAMBERLAIN, THE DEMAGOGUE.

IN the attempt to reverse the fiscal policy of this country the onus lies upon the advocates of Protection to show that their proposals will effect the objects they have in view.

If the struggle were to be determined on the merits alone, I should have no fear for the result, but so great is Mr. Chamberlain's personality, and so specious is his idea of a self-contained empire united by commercial bonds, that the question must be approached from another aspect.

Never has a policy been subjected to more damaging criticism than that of Mr. Chamberlain's tariff reform.

Mr. Chamberlain commenced his "raging and tearing propaganda" by declaring that he based his whole case upon the figures which had been specially prepared for him. When these were shown to be incorrect, he airily replied that he did not use figures as proofs but only as illustrations of his argument, and that his argument was the principal affair. In his attempt to prove that the trade of the country was going to the dogs, he took the year 1872 for the purpose of his comparison. When it was pointed out to him that this year was highly exceptional and abnormal, he coolly declared that any other year would do as well.

It is a matter of fact that no other year will do as well, and that so far from the trade of the country going to the dogs, it was never more prosperous. In his recent pamphlet Mr. Balfour said: "Judged by all available tests, both the total wealth and the diffused well-being of the country are greater than they have ever been. We are not only rich and prosperous in appearance, but also, I believe, in reality." In his attempt to prove that the working classes were, in fact, better off in Protection days than now, and that the Chartist leaders were opposed to Free Trade, Mr. Chamberlain makes a burlesque of history.

In stating the prices of corn during the period 1840-1850, Mr. Chamberlain sought to show that with the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 there was no fall in prices, but he omitted the fact which vitiated his whole argument that the repeal did not take effect until 1849.

Mr. Chamberlain has spurned the opinions of political economists as persons of no account in practical affairs, and yet he has never hesitated to quote, or rather misquote, their opinions whenever it

suited his purpose. For instance, he stated that John Stuart Mill, Professor Sidgwick, Professor Shield Nicholson, and others were all agreed that the whole of the tax on import is not paid by the consumer except under very exceptional circumstances. Professor Nicholson at once wrote to the *Times* saying that Mr. Chamberlain's statement was entirely misleading, and that all of them had said exactly the opposite. The only economists of any standing whom Mr. Chamberlain can claim in support of his preposterous theories are Professors Ashley and Hewins. The latter has now become Mr. Chamberlain's private tutor in political economy.

Another instance of unscrupulous quotation is from one of Mr. Gladstone's speeches. Mr. Gladstone was advancing the proposition that "the liberation of intercourse," as he preferred to call Free Trade, was one of the conditions of abundant employment. "If you want," said Mr. Gladstone, "to benefit the labouring classes, and to do the maximum of good, it is not enough to operate on the articles consumed by them; you should rather operate on the articles that give them the maximum of employment." In other words, extend the area of trade by removing restrictions on commerce. This sentence Mr. Chamberlain lifted from its context and quoted in support of his proposal to tax food and manufactured articles. A more dishonest abuse of quotation it is impossible to conceive. Mr. Chamberlain had not been diligently studying Gladstone's speeches. He had merely come across the passage in Mr. Morley's *Life of Gladstone!* Mr. Chamberlain has been equally unhappy in his instances of decaying industries. "Sugar is gone," exclaimed Mr. Chamberlain, and yet in September 1901 a single sugar refinery paid in dividends £215,000! According to a statement prepared by the refiners themselves, the quantity of sugar refined in Great Britain has increased from 591,000 tons in 1870 to 640,000 in 1901. Since the Brussels Sugar Convention, sugar has risen 3s. per hundredweight for the lowest priced sugar, and it still remains to be seen how the by no means unimportant subsidiary industries such as jam, confectionery, biscuit, and aerated water, upon which Mr. Chamberlain emptied the vials of his ridicule, will be affected.

"Iron is threatened," bewailed Mr. Chamberlain. The Brailsford letter is a good instance of the sort of evidence upon which Mr. Chamberlain relies. Mr. Brailsford, Chairman of the Ebbw Vale Company, wrote Mr. Chamberlain deploring the decay of the iron and steel trade owing to the dumping of foreign ore. Mr. Chamberlain in forwarding this letter to the *Times* described it as "a practical answer from one of our greatest experts to the extraordinary statements of Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Asquith." "Our greatest expert" in the iron and steel trade turns out to be a "solicitor," who as chairman had in June last reported to his

shareholders that (1) the assets of the Company had doubled since 1892; (2) the output of pig-iron had increased by 42,000 tons and of finished steel by 42,440 tons; (3) the net profits for the ten years up to 1892 had averaged £500 a year and for the eleven years since 1892, £50,000 a year; and (4) wages had increased for the last year by £2000.

In a similar way Mr. Chamberlain has played the part of the Bogy-man in relation to numerous other industries. He has sprung one scare after another. Tin-plates, wool, cotton, cycles, glass, paper, pearl-buttons, jewellery and dolls' eyes are ruined or on the road to ruin. Apparently it is true that pearl-buttons and dolls' eyes have ceased to be manufactured at Birmingham, but in every other trade Mr. Chamberlain has been flatly contradicted by the leading men in their respective trades who have all hastened to indignantly deny that their businesses are affected with senile decay.

In his *role* of foreign historian he is equally at sea. According to him Hanover, which became a province of Prussia in 1866, is still an independent state, and in his eagerness to show the Empire-making attributes of a Zollverein he asserts that the Zollverein created the German Empire, ignorant apparently of the fact that the German Confederation preceded the Customs Union by many years.

To sum up, Mr. Chamberlain has been proved, so far as anything is capable of proof, to be wrong in his figures, or when his figures happen to be correct to be wrong in his deductions therefrom; to be wrong in his general statements and to be wrong in the concrete cases cited in support; to be wrong in his history and with one or two solitary exceptions to be at variance with economic opinion and with the experience of financial statesmen of both political parties. In fact he occupies a position of splendid isolation, and further there is not a single abstract proposition of which he himself has not said exactly opposite in former days and scarcely one which he does not himself contradict in the same speech.

What then remains of his magnificent scheme? Nothing, as Lord Rosebery said, except a personal pledge.

What is such a pledge worth? It can only be gauged from his past political record. What has Mr. Chamberlain promised? What has he performed? What has he failed to perform?

Mr. Chamberlain prefers "a close time" for his Radical days. Circumstances have altered and every man is entitled to change his views. I agree. I am not concerned with the question whether Mr. Chamberlain has acted rightly or wrongly, but with the question whether his political record affords even a moderate hope that his present pledge is likely to be fulfilled.

It is true that circumstances have changed. Since the golden days of Gladstone pre-eminence, class interests have raised their



heads and have largely overridden national interests—a reaction foretold some thirty years since by the late Mr. Herbert Spencer. Mr. Chamberlain's appeal is to class bias, party bias and national bias.

When Mr. Chamberlain emerged from the parochial stage into the public view he was a Republican and he failed in that, for the monarchy has survived to prove itself a more efficient missionary of Empire than Mr. Chamberlain.

In 1870 Mr. Chamberlain advocated a complete system of popular education on unsectarian lines. In 1902 he was a member of the Ministry which gave rate-aid to denominational schools. In 1882 he was responsible for the Electric Lighting Act, which as Sir John Brunner has pointed out put back the trade for twenty years. In 1883 he advocated the compulsory purchase of land for public purposes, not only without compensation but with fines upon the owners for past misuse of their property. The compensation clauses still remain a hindrance to public authorities in carrying out their housing schemes for the poor. He advocated a tax upon unearned increment of land. In 1900 he voted against a motion for taxation of land values.

In 1883, and again in 1885, he was a strong supporter of Betterment. In 1895 he ridiculed the mere idea.

He was responsible for the Bankruptcy Act, 1883, and he is entitled to any credit attaching to this measure. It was, however, a departmental rather than a political bill.

In 1885 he was in favour of manhood suffrage; in 1892 he voted against the abolition of plural voting. In 1885 he advocated payment of members; in 1892 he refrained from voting upon the question. In 1885 he supported Triennial Parliaments; in 1892 he voted against the proposal. In 1885 he declared that the poor paid double their proper proportion of taxation, and proposed graduated taxation; in 1894 he voted against Sir William Harcourt's Finance Bill containing the graduated death duties. In 1885 he was in favour of a free breakfast table for the poor; he now seeks to tax bread, meat, and dairy produce.

In 1885 he was in favour of disestablishment and disendowment; in 1897 he supported a Denominational Schools Bill, and declared disendowment to be altogether iniquitous and unjust. In 1884 he declared that he could not allow those "antiquities," *i.e.* the House of Lords, to control the destinies of a free Empire; in 1895 he maintained "that a second chamber was absolutely necessary to prevent tyranny in legislation."

That he failed to pass his Shipping Bill was his misfortune, but that is no reason why he should now appropriate Plimsoll's "loadline" as his own idea.

His agrarian programme of 1886 was tersely described by Lord

Salisbury as "Three acres and a cow." It is now replaced by "Dear food and two pigs," and we hear no more of the ransom of property. "I was a Home Ruler," he used to boast at this period, "before Mr. Gladstone." He approved of the principle of the first Home Rule Bill, and voted against it. He advocated in turn a scheme of Federation and a scheme modelled upon the Canadian Constitution.

His opportunism was so patent that Mr. Gladstone said of him, "He has trimmed his vessel and he has touched his rudder in such a masterly way, that in whichever direction the winds of heaven may blow, they must fill his sails."

1894 saw the birth of his famous social programme. It consisted of: (1) Better houses for working men; (2) Working men to purchase their own houses; (3) Exclusion of undesirable aliens; (4) Shorter hours in shops; (5) Miners' eight hours' day; (6) Temperance reform; (7) Old-age pensions; (8) Tribunal for settlement of labour disputes; (9) Compensation for injuries to workmen.

Mr. Chamberlain has enjoyed eight years of office; what has he done with them? In 1896 we had the attenuated Conciliation Act. The Small Houses Act appeared in 1899, and there has only been one application under it, and that the case of a workman to whom sufficient funds had been bequeathed. It cannot be contended that either of those Acts are of first-class importance, or reflect any special credit upon their promoter.

After having assisted to defeat Mr. Asquith's Workmen's Compensation Bill, Mr. Chamberlain promised to promote a measure dealing completely with the question to secure for *every man* compensation for *every accident, free from all chances of litigation.*

The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, however, deals only with some accidents, and whilst including some classes of workmen to the number of eight millions, excludes others to the number of five-and-a-half millions. So far from preventing litigation, it has proved a mine of wealth for the lawyers, and has seriously disturbed the normal administration of justice. Numerous eminent English and Scotch judges have declared that it is absolutely impossible to interpret the Act. In the text-books are to be found over four hundred important decisions, and many points still remain doubtful.

And all this from a man who poses as a practical statesman and a business man.

No one has spun more political programmes than Mr. Chamberlain, which he once asserted have such "a happy knack of being carried out." Few politicians have been such dismal failures in constructive statesmanship.

Mr. Chamberlain has recently (October 20, 1903) given us his definition of a statesman. "I say that those only are entitled to the name of statesmen who can foresee what is to happen at all

events in their own world, and can provide for it." At the very time he was conducting his negotiations upon a war footing and talking to Kruger about "squeezed sponges" and "hour-glasses," he was writing to the Secretary of State for War that "he saw no occasion for reinforcements." Although, as he tells us, war was inevitable, he conducted his negotiations upon the assumption that Kruger would not fight, or that if he did the Free State would remain neutral. Under the high-sounding title of "The New Diplomacy," he was playing a mere game of bluff, like the huckster in the market-place. Of his royal progress through South Africa it is too early to speak. He has held out this country as a vast field for British labour. It seems more likely to become a dumping-ground for cheap Chinese.

What possible reliance can be placed upon the promises, the foresight or judgment of a man with such a record as Mr. Chamberlain's? His conception, as I have already stated, of a self-contained empire appeals strongly to all of us, but its attainment lies not through Protection. His assertions that the Empire can only be saved by what Lord Goschen has rightly described as "a gamble with the people's food," and that his tariff proposals will result in higher wages and more employment, are a farrago of nonsense. It is incredible that a man of his intellectual ability can honestly hold such opinions. He is like the company promoter who in his prospectus makes representations reckless, whether they are true or false. Mr. Chamberlain is a great personality. His chief characteristics are audacity and strength of will. He is utterly lacking in sound judgment, foresight, or moral force. Any other public man who had made a tenth of the misstatements or had been reduced to such pitiable shifts would have been permanently discredited in the eyes of the public. It is this personality that will count as much, if not more than, the merits of the case in the present struggle, and it is, therefore, absolutely essential that Mr. Chamberlain's long list of unredeemed pledges should be kept constantly exposed to view, and that he should be shown up in his true colours as a mere political opportunist and a dangerous demagogue.

"That I should purchase place and office," unctuously exclaimed Mr. Chamberlain in 1885, "by the abandonment of the opinions I have expressed, that I should put my principles in my pocket, and that I should consent to an unworthy silence on those matters to which I have professed to attach so great an importance would be a degradation which no honourable man could regard with complacency or satisfaction." Is not Mr. Chamberlain convicted out of his own mouth? "What I have said I have said."

HUGH H. L. BELLOT.

1904.

## PROTECTION AND IMPERIALISM.

CORRECTLY speaking what is called the "Fiscal Question" does not exist. That is to say, there is no reasonable ground for proposing to reverse the fiscal policy, which for the last sixty years or thereabouts has been steadily adhered to by this country with such marvellous and prosperous results. There has always been a group of interested Protectionists who have been opposed to Free Trade, but until the last six months no responsible statesman has dreamed of agitating for a fiscal revolution, any more than any respectable astronomer would have dreamed of reviving the geocentric theory. That there are some people who contend that the earth is the centre of the universe does not create an astronomical question, and the fact that one erratic politician has suddenly thrown aside all his previous convictions, and proposed to return to the dark ages of taxation, does not create a fiscal question.

The grounds upon which it is asserted that it is necessary to abandon our present system of taxation and return to one that has long been discredited in England, are so many, so variable, and so inconsistent that we are compelled to suspect that the real motive for the agitation is concealed, nor shall we attempt to guess what it is. It is locked up in the secret recesses of the breast of the great protagonist.

The reasons offered are many, and vary from week to week. At first we were told that the creation of a system of preferential tariffs between the Mother Country and the Colonies was necessary to bind the Empire together for the future. This necessity, we were informed, was so overwhelming, that though it involved an increase in the cost of living, the sacrifice was one which we were called upon to make, and to which we ought willingly to submit. When it appeared, however, that the nation was not in a mood to accept such a proposal, it was then argued that such an arrangement or re-arrangement of taxation might be made that preferential tariffs of the kind proposed would not involve an actual increase in the total cost of food. This was fallacious enough in itself as was readily shown, and it involved the retention of taxes (or their equivalent) which were put on temporarily for the war, and to the remission of which we were entitled; but the gate on the road to Protection having been once opened fresh proposals poured in like a flood. It was discovered, with an alacrity that is illuminating, that other things beside the Colonies deserved attention. Protective duties upon manufactures were

asked for by those who would not profit by duties on food-stuffs. Then the amazing discovery was made that Protection would raise wages and increase the demand for labour. Without Protection the trade of the country was doomed to ruin, with it an industrial and commercial millennium was in sight. In proof of this it was declared that one trade after another had decayed or was decaying, though with persistent unpardonable wickedness these trades refused to confess it, and demonstrated their prosperity and stability. Fluctuations and shiftings of trade, the unfortunately large number of workers without work, the comparative stagnation of business inevitable and invariable after a great and expensive war, were all brought forward as the injurious results of Free Trade, though other and more direct causes are visible to every intelligent man who has considered the matter. That the absence of taxation causes dearth of employment and poverty, is a proposition so absurd that only those who wish to be deceived can ever pretend to accept it for a moment.

The dearth of employment and poverty are not the consequences of our fiscal policy, as is easily seen from the fact that in other countries where protective duties exist there are a larger proportion of workers idle and the general condition of the people is worse than in England.

England has one supreme advantage over countries in which Protection exists in the supply of cheap food and raw or half-manufactured materials of every kind. To raise the cost of these would restrict business, reduce employment, and increase poverty. Protective duties on manufactured goods would have the same result; if imports decreased, which is what is aimed at, the volume of trade with other countries would diminish; and though more articles might be made here for the home market, the increased cost would again limit the demand, and the expected increase would soon disappear. All this has been proved so often and so completely during the last half year that we need not reproduce the proofs, though the argument itself, without detailed demonstration, is irrefutable.

If prices are raised and trade restricted the effect on manufactures and commerce would be disastrous. Nor would the decrease be counterbalanced by increased exports to our own Colonies, for they show no signs of being willing to welcome an increase of English manufactures; whatever they may wish for on our part they flatly refuse to remove the tariff wall against England; though they would not be unwilling to increase it against other nations. Whether this is a shortsighted or unpatriotic policy or not on the part of the Colonies we will not say, but if Mr. Chamberlain is right it shows little love for the Empire, and at least it excludes the prospect of any great increase of trade between us and them. The Colonies are really languishing for the want of population and the idle thousands at home are only workers in the wrong place.

We all admit that it is desirable that manufactures should be encouraged, that business should be increased, that if possible work should be found for the unemployed, and wages raised. But though Mr. Chamberlain promises us all these things if his proposals are adopted, there is no ground whatever for attaching the slightest value to his promises. He has no power to fulfil them and can give us no guarantee that they will be fulfilled. All experience points the other way.

And there is another effect which working men ought to take into consideration. If food-stuffs and articles in general use were subject to taxation the cost of living would be considerably increased, and though farmers and some manufacturers might make more profits, the raising of wages in proportion would depend upon the will of the employers. It is seldom that an employer raises wages out of good-will to his men, and so the men would be more at the mercy of the employers than ever. And if there were no more demand for labour than at present it is not likely that wages would rise. So that though the employer might be richer the working man would find himself the poorer by the whole of the increase in the cost of living.

We are sometimes asked if all the nations which adhere to Protection are fools, and do we suppose that we alone are gifted with wisdom? There is no need to suppose that other nations are fools or that we are incurably stupid because we will not do, in this matter, as they do. There are many other very important matters in which we pursue a different policy from them. They may be wise for themselves in adhering to Protection, though we doubt it, and we believe if any one of them were to follow our example and adopt Free Trade it would be followed by an immense increase in their prosperity. Their increase of trade would at once be very great, and as they would then be able to compete with us in the open markets of the world it would probably be to our cost. Indeed, at first sight it would appear that we ought to fear such a policy far more than the one they at present pursue, for they would then in their manufactures and cost of living share the advantage of cheapness with us; but as this cheapness would, at the same time, increase the purchasing power of money, it would create a general increased demand for food and goods of all kinds and a consequent wider prosperity. What is constantly overlooked in current discussions is that Free Trade is a benefit to Free Traders, and Protection is a disadvantage to the Protectionists, on the whole, though individuals here and there may benefit by the latter.

We said there is no fiscal question. There is only a personal question. The question is Mr. Chamberlain. What is to be done with him?—a politician of “domineering and ambitious temper,” as the late Mr. Herbert Spencer called him, who is a danger to the

country. He may be a dreamer, perhaps he was infected by Mr. Cecil Rhodes, and he may see dazzling visions of Empire which are hidden from common eyes. Utopian dreams are a harmless amusement, but if it is attempted to base practical politics upon them then they become a peril. But we have never regarded Mr. Chamberlain as a dreamer, and we acquit him of Utopianism. He has some practical object in view we may be sure, and the most apparent object is permanently to establish a Tory Government of a somewhat despotic character, and to supply them by taxation with the command of unlimited funds. And this is a real danger. The funds would be misapplied or wasted and a settled Tory Government, under Mr. Chamberlain's leadership, would be a menace to the liberty of the people. The iniquity of the sectarian Education Act would be a trifle to the iniquities which would be perpetrated within the next generation.

The whole character of the danger is revealed in Mr. Chamberlain's boast, "I am an Imperialist." We do not doubt it for a moment, and this is the thing which ought to arouse the most strenuous opposition, not only of all Liberals but of all Constitutionalists. We are threatened not only with Protection but militarism and the despotism of a party, a Cabinet, a man, for neither the Tory Cabinet nor the Conservative party appear to have backbone enough to resist Mr. Chamberlain's domineering temper. Behind Protection there is Imperialism, and behind Imperialism there is militarism.

A few years ago we had in England come to look upon war, at the best, as sometimes a painful necessity, never to be entered upon except as a last resort, and to be avoided if possible by every honourable means in our power; a sad and costly duty when unavoidable, which could bring no worthy honour or glory even to the conquering Power. But recent events, inglorious enough in truth, have revived the old feeling—the lower feeling—the desire of conquest and aggrandisement; of a scarcely veiled hatred on the part of some foreign nations, and a boastful use of the word "Imperial"—a word entirely foreign to our Constitution, and hitherto only used in connection with certain liquid measures. Mr. Chamberlain boasts that he is an "Imperialist," our country and its dependencies and possessions are spoken of as "the Empire," everything has become "Imperial," even to the Parliament, which is a democratic and anti-Imperial body.

An "Imperial" Government is an arbitrary, autocratic Government, of which in England we have known nothing for centuries, and which we would not tolerate. Frederick the Great, Peter the Great, Napoleon Buonaparte were Imperialists, as are the present Emperor of Russia and the German Emperor. "Despite names and constitutional formulas, German government is a government by the sword."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Review*, October 1903, p. 408.

But the State in which we live is a Kingdom, and not an Empire (except the word is used in a very loose fashion. Our form of Government is Constitutional and not Imperial; our Sovereign is King (and not Emperor) of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; our Colonies, though not independent of the Crown, are self-governing and are part of the kingdom.

There is one exception which proves the rule: her late Majesty, advised by Mr. Disraeli, added to her Constitutional title, Queen of the United Kingdom, &c., that of "Empress of India." This was so far accurate and constitutional because India is a conquered country, and is under arbitrary or Imperial rule. Mr. Disraeli knew what he was about when he limited the Imperial sovereignty to India.

Arbitrary rule necessarily rests upon force and must be backed up by the sword, so India is still occupied by "Imperial" troops; but we do not occupy Canada, Australia, or New Zealand. We want no Imperialism or Imperial methods in the United Kingdom. There is only one method of government recognised by our Constitution and that is the will of the people as expressed by their representatives in Parliament and carried into effect with the consent of the Crown. Freedom and self-government are our inalienable rights, and these are not only consistent with a natural and laudable patriotism, but are its best incentives. If we love England with a true and lofty love, it is because it is a land of liberty; a growth of the military and Imperial spirit would inevitably be followed by some interference with our liberties, for, as we see by continental examples, where the military rule is most pronounced the liberty of the people is most curtailed. A free people must resist the military and aggressive spirit if they would preserve their freedom; Imperialism and Protection would inevitably be followed by proposals, and perhaps something more than proposals, for compulsory military service. A man who declares himself an Imperialist is out of place in free England: he should take himself to some country under Imperial government which would afford him a better and more fitting field for the exercise of his talents.

It is a matter to be regretted that some Liberals, not wishing to be out of the fashion, should have yielded to the tendency of the time so far as to call themselves Imperialists. They do not mean it; what they mean is that they love England and care for her interests quite as much as Mr. Chamberlain, if not more, and certainly in a wiser fashion. But "Liberal Imperialist" is a contradiction in terms, for arbitrary government and freedom cannot co-exist. Let them call themselves loyal Englanders, or submit even to be called "Little Englanders," rather than be indebted to Mr. Chamberlain for an inappropriate title. Let us heap deserved derision upon Mr. Chamberlain and his bastard "Imperialism," rather than allow



ourselves to be carried to destruction out of mere fear of his bitter tongue.

Mr. Chamberlain, we say, is the question. It is he, more than any particular policy, who for the present needs to be opposed. Everything else for the moment must be put on one side. All must unite in this one movement to save the prosperity, the liberty, the sanity of the kingdom. The amendment or repeal of the Education Act, questions arising out of the late war, Home Rule, the temperance question, labour questions, and everything which at other times would demand the consideration of the electorate; all can wait—but Mr. Chamberlain cannot wait and we cannot wait until he is defeated and silenced. The Liberals, the Liberal Unionists, the Nonconformists, the Temperance party, the Labour party, all have one clear duty before them, and that is to put aside for the present their special objects and any differences which exist between them and prevent the success of Mr. Chamberlain's schemes by defeating his supporters at the polls. When that is done other things can be attended to. If that is not done then we may be sure that none of the reforms they desire will be accomplished in this generation.

It is the business of a leader to lead. Where are the leaders? Are they going to take it lying down, or will they learn from Mr. Chamberlain in this case the usefulness of hitting back and hitting their hardest? It is by no means enough to be content with well-reasoned discourses on political economy, or with the exposure of some incorrect statement or confused statistics. What is needed is a vigorous and unmerciful exposure of Mr. Chamberlain and his ends and aims. In such a case as this conventions should be thrown to the winds, as he himself has thrown them, and he must be met on his own ground, answered in his own style, and overthrown by his own methods.

It is the duty of the Liberals to lead in this matter, but who will lead the Liberals? If leaders will come forward they will not lack enthusiastic support. They must make their personalities felt, for at this moment the old Liberal motto must be reversed, and we want men not measures. The measure of success which Mr. Chamberlain has up to the present attained in the propagation of his policy is simply due not to the merits of his cause, but to his energy, which can only be called extraordinary in comparison with the lack of it on the part of the Opposition. The Opposition is lamentably tame, and more energy has been shown by the Duke of Devonshire, Sir John Gorst, and Mr. Winston Churchill than by any leader on the Liberal side. If the Liberals do not wake up then they will be to blame for all the evil that will follow if Mr. Chamberlain succeeds.

A LOYAL LIBERAL.

1904.

## PROTECTION AND THE PROLETARIAT.

THE sequences of events and exigencies in party politics are generally uncertain, as they are always bewildering. Only recently the populace of these realms was greatly agitated to the rant of patriotism and prejudice, and, needless to say, responded noisily. But the subsequent unmasking of military blundering and plundering did grievous injury to the cause of privilege, and the shibboleths of slaughter are now inoperative and inefficient. The wordy conjurations of the political phraseologers were ranted violently, but the answering yells of the multitudes had subsided, and even the belated echoes were scarcely responsive. The bathos of popular applause had changed to murmurs of dissatisfaction and complaint. The party wire-pullers became apprehensive of an impending catastrophe at the polling booths. To save the situation something had to be done, and that speedily.

Then came the opportunity of the master magician. The recanting Radical championed the cause of monopoly, and rose buoyant on the backwash of class aggrandisement. The nimble-witted protagonist of privilege was resourceful in the arts of casuistry and cunning. The new apocalypse of Protection was a certain method to engage the attention of the electorate, and erase from recollection the hateful memories of the Transvaal tragedy. And the populace are proverbially volatile in their political extravagances. No one can now determine what may be the ultimate results of the later evangel. It may prove even more destructive and discreditable, in the final adjustment of affairs, than the marauding atrocities and sectarian subsidies whose unsavoury particulars the mask of Protection is clearly designed to confuse and obliterate when exoneration became absolutely impossible. The advocacy of Protection is seemingly in favour with certain sections of the community, but it is not so certain that they will give effective utterance to their inclinations through the medium of the ballot box. It yet remains to be seen if the more intelligent portion of the populace will again intrust their future economic problems to the management and manipulation of factionaries who have, in times innumerable and at every opportunity, deceived them so shamefully and so thoroughly.

The appeal for Protection is directed, not to the intelligence, but to the prejudices of the working and wage-earning classes. The

political proselytisers are trading on the popular ignorance of economic science, and, as they have been wonderfully successful in other directions, there is no guarantee that the proletariat will be anything less amenable to flattery and fiction in this particular instance. Before finally submitting their future fate and fortunes to the beguiling influences of blandishment and bribery, however, it may be well for all those who are dependent upon the labour of hands and brains for supplying their necessities, to give some extended and searching inquiry into the ulterior meaning of this prophetic panacea for trade depression, as well as for industrial disorganisation and commercial catastrophe. And when they have mastered the details, if that be possible, it will be interesting to learn where they have finally discovered the sources of all those benefits which are to bless the burdens of the toiling masses. Having so often before been beguiled of their heritage by the plausibility of political professions, they have no reliable security of now obtaining possession by the imposition of tariffs that may prove more hostile to their actual interests than any article or art of foreign importation. Should their headlong haste in supporting the meretricious presentment of economic shams and traditions precipitate their future conditions of existence into a deeper slough of slavery and misery than even now obtains, they will find great difficulties in retrieving the errors of misdirected energies and miscalculated results. The chains of bondage are easily riveted, but it takes many hard knocks to again release the captive. Mistakes are easily made, and sometimes the growing prosperity of a people may be sacrificed in the endeavour to secure their rectification and redress. When the path of progress is deserted for the glittering mirage of imperial follies and expansion, the hope of humanity is speedily swamped and extinguished amid the wild commotions of blustering ambitions and insatiable avarice.

That our present fiscal system is so perfect as to be entirely beyond the possibilities and the needs of improvement will be asserted by no intelligent and well-informed individual. That the only practical means of readjustment and reform must be sought through the medium of tariff imposts is neither so perceptible nor alluring as to be unconditionally admitted without an effort at criticism and examination. That the imposition of a heavy protective or prohibitive tariff on the food-stuffs imported into the country is primarily in the interests of the working classes is an assertion of such seeming incongruity as to demand searching inquiry and absolutely demonstrable evidences. There are many absurdities doubtless incorporated with the existing methods of procuring the revenue, and there are numerous fallacies undeniably associated with the popular conceptions of Free Trade. But it will be well for those most intimately affected to give pause before intrusting their means

of existence entirely to the tender mercies of Protection, which would assuredly become an instrument of coercion in the power of those whose personal interests demand the perpetuation of privilege and the subjugation of the toiling masses. It has been so used before, and the capitalists have every confidence that it may again be employed, with great satisfaction, in the same compulsive manner. But these are not the reasons advanced and advocated to obtain the assent of the proletariat for the immediate application of the instrument of appropriation. Whatever may be the intellectual deficiencies of the people, there is no denying that the practical politician is generally intelligent enough to better the opportunity where his own personal and class interests are concerned. To carry the scheme successfully it is necessary to secure the popular vote, and consequently working-class susceptibilities and suspicions are stimulated to the utmost possible voting power. The disfranchised citizen may suffer many unmerited indignities, and shriek to the heavens in his despair, but the oracles are unresponsive to his agitation and agony. The ambitious political adventurers, having nothing to fear, or expect, from his action at election times, have neither the inclination nor the intention of giving audience to his tale of black injustice and social miseries endured.

Presumptive Free Traders, in their writings and speeches, formulate their arguments against restriction as if absolute freedom of import was already inaugurated and operative. But that is an utter misstatement and misconception of the case. Certain imported goods are heavily taxed for the procurement of revenue tariffs, and the later proposals are simply an appeal for their extension to those other commodities which are more particularly indigenous to the productiveness of the country. This is not in the interests of the labourer, however, but of the land-holding and capitalistic classes. The main inducement held out to the wage-earning people, for obtaining their assent and assistance to the impost of food taxes, is the alluring prospect that such will be instrumental in securing an increase and continuity of employment. The assumption is entirely based upon an egregious fallacy or a wilful deception. Wages and employment alike are dependent upon other and internal economic conditions. The natural resources and wealth of a country, the magnitude and superfluity of the labour supply, the compulsive power of determining the conditions of existence possessed by the proletariat, and numerous other social considerations entirely independent of and apart from the instrument of restriction on imports. The policy of Protection, however, is pleasing to the privileged by the expectation that, under certain circumstances, it might be the means of affording greater effective compulsive powers to the capitalists and manufacturers in subjecting to their dictates and demands, the necessary dependents of production—the slaves of

factory and field and workshop. And that, surely, is scarcely an expectation agreeable to the proletariat.

While the masses of the people are befogged in the conflicting assertions of the rival parties, it is ever more evident that it is neither the intentions, nor in the interests, of either faction to supply a plain and comprehensive statement of the case. The ambitions of the professional politicians are otherwise directed than to the economic emancipation of the wage-earners, who are solely regarded as the indispensable nuisances by which the class economists hope to achieve their purposes, and emerge triumphant from the issues of the contest.

It is popularly supposed, and industriously promulgated, that the old Corn Laws were the cause of the scarcity and high prices of the food-stuffs of the people. That is only partly correct. It is an imperfect statement of the truth as affected by times and circumstances. Many things have transpired to cheapen the prices of agricultural commodities since the repeal of the food tax. The native soil was capable of producing only a certain proportion of food and fodder, and there were insuperable limitations to the intensity of production. The great corn-producing countries of the world, at that time, were neither competent nor available for exportation in supplying the wants of the British people. They were not then so extensively cultivated, nor were the means of transport nearly sufficient to supply the demand. The intervention of steam has greatly surpassed the carrying capacity of the old sailing ships. Free Trade in corn certainly failed to immediately reduce the price of bread commodities. It was the increasing magnitude of international steam shipping that accomplished that good result. Still it is quite likely that the expectation of more open markets, as the result of Free Trade, stimulated the other nations to increase and intensify the cultivation of grain. Without the prospect of profitably disposing of the commodity there appears little inducement for the labour of cultivation. Prohibitive restrictions have undoubtedly the tendency to curtail production, beyond the home supply, in certain directions, but not always. The commodity that cannot be produced at home in sufficient quantities must be procured from abroad, and the wealth of the consumer, rather than the restrictive tariff, will regulate the supply. And that surely supplies an argument, convincing enough, for the wage-earners to withstand the fallacious statements promulgated in the advocacy of Protection.

Corn became cheap because the United States and other agricultural countries were made more available to British markets by extended railway communication and ocean traffic. Machinery of all kinds was invented to make possible and profitable the cultivation of what had previously been waste and prairie land. Since then more corn from abroad has been pouring incessantly and ever more

cheaply into British ports. Cheaper and more plentifully, say the Protectionists, than what it can be cultivated in this country. If true the allegation only affords an additional inducement for the people to preserve intact the opportunities of procuring cheap and wholesome food, whatever other methods may be adopted for raising the necessary revenue. But is the statement true in its entirety—and if so—what are the contributory causes to a state of affairs where the foreigners can supply cheaper, even with the additional cost of transport, than can be grown in this country? Simply and solely because the burden of landlordism in Britain is greater than the recuperative fertility of the soil can supply and subdue. The stupid appropriation and exploitation of the soil for profit, and individual accumulation of wealth instead of for use, is the explanation of the persistent failure and backward state of British agriculture. Of course other things have to be reckoned with, and climatic conditions certainly are of importance in the final results. But there can be no hesitation in determining that the greater detriment to agricultural success in this country is the incubus of landlordism, and antiquated agrarian restrictions. Agricultural enterprise is made oppressive by reason of the innumerable parasitical influences that exist upon the produce without contributing in any fashion to the means of production. The landholders, to maintain an artificial expansion of income, will resort to methods that are inimical to the better and permanent interests of the populace. For the inflation of rents and revenues they will, regardless of the needs of the community, withdraw the arable soil from cultivation when its occupation for game preserving is more profitable and less troublesome. The gratification of their private and personal interests may be disastrous to the welfare of the Proletariat, but the authoritative exponents of orthodox political economy are quite complacent over the iniquitous proceedings. The perfection of the preposterous social system shall be exhibited in the exploitation of the masses for the prosperity of the classes. But it is for the further aggrandisement of the potential landlords and capitalists that the proletariat is invited to barter his supply of cheap bread, and tax his mess of porridge.

The prohibition of imported grain will scarcely increase the productivity of any country; but it will undeniably enhance the price of the native grown commodity, and thus put more money into the pockets of the landlords and their satellites. That increase must always come from the industry of the consumers who are also contributing the labour of production. The ultimate appropriation of the spoil, by the usury of rent and revenue, is an absolute certainty. Yet, for purposes of propagandism, the advocates of Protection in their speeches and pamphleteering, refer to the prospective enhancement in prices as a blessed boon to the working classes. They

almost allege that the impost will increase the fecundity of the soil, and they certainly do assert that it will be the means of securing remunerative and steady employment. If only the authorities were reliable, the prospect would be most alluring. It is always to the advantage of the proletariat to secure a fair bargain for themselves, and more especially for their children. Any proposal that offers a satisfactory guarantee of the necessaries of life, and some security for the means of producing the commodities of existence, shall be deserving of every consideration. It matters little whether the trade of a country be Free or Fair, if all the inhabitants are prosperous and well supplied with the means and materials of happiness, and where the sources of supply are available always and abundant. Presently there is much cause for complaint, and the economic conditions under which the populace labour, and also starve, are unfair and disastrous. In spite of the special and specious pleading of Free Traders, and the meretricious manceuvring and magniloquence of Protectionists, the scientific experimenter in social economy is inclined to the opinion that real benefits and actual prosperity are not to be obtained from the competing nostrums of either faction. The partialities of Protection as well as the fallacious expectations of an imperfect development of free importation, have all been tried, and so far as the actual economic emancipation of the proletariat is concerned, equally found wanting in the elements of success. The failure of so-called Free Trade to permanently improve the conditions of the workers is observable in the miserable means of employment, and disastrous destitution at home, while the impotence of Protection to remedy the evils is everywhere in evidence abroad, in the protectionist countries on the Continent and in America. If the system of protective tariffs fails to give satisfaction to the aspirations and the needs of the workers in the States, where the natural wealth of the country is still subject to development, there is little to be expected from its operations in the British Islands, where the resources are limited, and in several instances seemingly exhausted. The plain fact is beyond all dispute that the appellants for Protection are in no instance or particular desirous of serving the interests of the wage-earning populace. Stripped of all rhetorical verbiage and sonorous inanities, the protective propaganda resolves itself into a barefaced endeavour to mystify the masses for the purpose of increasing the profits of the manufacturers and the rents of the landlords. The powers of the political Juggernaut are invoked to perpetuate the slavery of the toiling multitudes.

Protectionists are more witty than wise in referring with sneering superficiality to the discredited Free Trade theories of sixty years ago. Actual freedom of import has never been in existence, and it is an absolute fact that the prosperity and progress of these realms

have been greatly hindered and heavily hampered by existing tariff restrictions and the immense multitude of non-productive officials maintained for purposes of collection and espionage. The further extension of the pernicious methods of taxation is only likely to aggravate the evils already excessive and seemingly inseparable from the system. With the experiences and the evidences that are everywhere available, it is ridiculous for the Protectionists to pretend that their policy is progressive and benevolent. It is probably a little less reactionary than the employment of marauding expeditions and the imposition of a tax for sectarian education. It is retrogressive enough, though, to serve the purposes of the plutocracy in dictating the prices of commodity and the profits of manufacture with the terms of employment. The populace will be helpless in the hands of the spoiler and easily starved into submission. There is something alarming in the aspects and nature of the restrictive progress which the protagonists of class Protection would willingly introduce to the favour of the enfranchised public. With the practical politician the opinions or the necessities of the person without a vote are of no consideration in the contract.

It might be of some service to their actual prosperity if the proletariat, before allowing excitement to master a meagre intelligence, would searchingly survey the past conduct of either orthodox political party. As a matter of fact, there is little that is really essential to actual economic reform in the nostrums of the conventional practitioners. Free Traders in general have nothing better to offer than the continuance of existing economic conditions, which are certainly far from being satisfactory, while the Protectionists are desirous of dragging the populace backward to the social slavery and proletarian servitude of the darker ages. Nowhere in the partisan diatribes and discussions are the fundamental elements of progress and prosperity perceptible. The past procedure of the two dominating political factions has fully demonstrated the disinclination or the impotence of either to advance the cause of humanity and establish the distribution of justice. Certain political anomalies, of scanty consequence, may have been ostentatiously altered and tinkered, but the tremendous diseases of social partiality and economic slavery remain as strong and tyrannous as ever they did under the most irresponsible and corrupting oligarchies that the world has ever witnessed.

There are economic grievances innumerable, grinding to destruction and despair the intellectual and physical faculties of the stupidly patient people. Economic reform in the methods of production and distribution are desirable and imperative. It is equally important that they shall be expedited in the direction of restitution of class appropriated commodity, a general distribution of social privileges, and the equalisation of opportunity for acquiring the desirable



amenities and intellectual accomplishments that make existence desirable and possible. Otherwise the party pretensions to progressive intentions are spurious and the tinkering with the tariffs an iniquitous deception. The aid of the working classes has been invoked, and it is pitiful to witness the pliability with which they bend their backs that the adventurers in political insincerity may leap into affluence and power. There is much popular ignorance on all economic questions, and only the specialists in scientific sociology have mastered the harrowing details of industrial and commercial exploitation. The intellectual, as well as the economic, bondage of the proletariat is still too secure to permit their escaping from the thralldom of custom and condition that sits so heavily in the path of promise and blights the fairer aspirations. The plague of political debauchery has been the corrupting influence in every endeavour at reform as in all emancipatory efforts. When the social and economic systems are established on scientific principles there will remain no further opportunities for peddling palliatives and dreary discursiveness on fiscal absurdities, that are always fallacious when they escape being fraudulent. But it is painfully apparent that the proletariat have yet to acquire the art of learning wisdom from experience.

Many circumstances and conditions have changed greatly since the repeal of the Corn Laws in the year 1848, but the miserable servitude and pauperisation of the multitudes have remained the same. Their perpetual indigence and infirmity of purpose have persistently contributed to the triumphs, and testified to the efficacy, of orthodox political economy, and it is easily conceivable that any deviations from the previous standards of starvation have been in only retrogressive directions. The excess of poverty, however, is mostly stationary and persistent. It is amply proved by experience that our methods of production and distribution are antiquated and out of date, but it has not been demonstrated that mere Protection will resolve the persistent social problems and supply the requirements of the community. There is a sure remedy in scientific sociology for existing disorganisation and destitution, and it will be necessary to apply it drastically if things are to be prevented from slipping from bad to worse. But the universal panacea is scarcely to be expected from a deliberate retrogression on the track of Time for the reimposition of a system which was condemned by past experience and discarded for human necessities. As well return at once to the dismal domination of the feudal ages, and satisfy the inveterate malignancy of those parasitical interests and individuals who are almost happy in witnessing the misfortune of others, and certainly prosperous in the spoliation, and consequent degradation, of the proletariat. The call has been assiduously as insidiously addressed to the enfranchised working classes, and it now remains

to be seen how they will accept the situation and improve their immediate opportunities. They may insist upon obtaining, and thus be successful in securing, some real reform and economic readjustment, but it is just as likely that they will be overcome by the fantastic splendours of a spurious Imperialism, and once again exhibit their traditional incapacity for progressive exertion. The taint of slavish credulity seems to remain ineradicable and inherent in the progeny of helotism, and the near future may witness the British proletariat voting vaingloriously for the imposition of Food Taxes, for the protection of unjust prerogatives, and for the further aggrandisement of those privileged classes who already live luxuriously on the industry of the proletariat, without contributing a single useful auxiliary to the labour of production.

The anxiety of the practical politician is greatly exercised over the question of disappearing industries and decaying exports. No industry which is producing commodity that is useful to the wants of the community is ever likely to disappear unless hampered by artificial restrictions. Those manufacturing only useless articles for profit are the death traps of industry, and are deserving of no further consideration than the effort at their early extinction. The export trade of the country has hitherto been the speculative sport of stockjobbers, the brigandage of bondholders, the inflation of prices, and the maintenance of artificial values, for the enrichment of capitalists, manufacturers, and speculators generally. Indeed, these traders, under a policy of insurance, would cheerfully export every grain of corn from the country to the bottom of the sea, if the transaction could only be accomplished in perfect safety. The community might be starving for lack of the food-stuff, but the results, if relieved of the penalties of detection, would be quite satisfactory to the enterprising exporters. While the benevolent intentions of the traders are directed always to profit sharing, and only accidentally to human wellbeing, it would be disastrous to strengthen the instrument of coercion and control. While there are multitudes at home in great and growing necessity for the commodities, for which we are assured there is no remunerative market abroad, it might be a good thing to have the ports closed against their exportation until the home requirements are properly supplied. Thus at our own doors will be discovered new and very profitable markets for the disposal of those manufactures and produce, which the foreigners say they have in plenty, and of which the British proletariat are shamefully deficient. The question of overproduction will be settled at once and for ever, by the discovery that the industry of the country has been suffering seriously from under consumption and improper distribution. While the streets of every city in Christendom are swarming with the waifs and strays of homeless, starving humanity it is folly and fraud to beguile the toiling masses

with the fallacious statistics of excessive accumulation, and fairy tales of protective progress and prosperity.

Neither in a partial system of Free Trade nor in Protection will be found the perpetual Penny of Pases to fill the empty pockets of the dispossessed multitudes. Even the magical wand of the practical politician can scarcely conjure very satisfactory results by objectionable methods from vicious systems. While the land and other natural sources of supply of the country are in the absolute possession of a few favoured individuals it will be impossible for even the honestest politicians, with the very best intentions, to lighten the bondage and the burdens of the toiling millions. The masses of the populace must first recover the mastery of the raw materials and the soil which produces them. And the social problems never will be solved by any stupid endeavour to restrict the sources of increase and supply. It is shameful to speak of over-production while the necessities of the people are so great and growing. The increase of population is multiplying the mouths to be fed and the bodies to be covered, and even now the populace is incapable of properly organising its energies to the extent of finding steady and remunerative employment that ensures a sufficiency of subsistence. And it is proposed to accommodate the deficiencies by prohibiting the importation of the necessaries of existence.

The privileged and property-possessing classes will probably benefit by Protection in the same ratio as it proves doubly disastrous to the proletariat. Their destinies are separate and distinct, as their interests are always inimical and conflicting. It were well for the country that some compulsive power should be available in the cultivation of the soil and the distribution for consumption of the produce. It is desirable that every single individual shall, in some fashion, contribute of his intelligence and industry to the necessary and useful advantages of the community. Before relapsing into the frenzy of the protective fever let the workers first secure some tangible interest in the economic system. Something really deserving preservation when shorn of shame and sham. The conversion and clothing of the aboriginals of distant countries are splendid subjects for theoretical inflation, but the actual comforts and conditions of the heathen at home are really more appropriate to the mission of humanitarian endeavour, as they are also clamorous for immediate and every attention.

JAMES DOWMAN.

## AN IMPOSSIBLE PREMIER.

THE pretensions of some statesmen to the attribute of infallibility give them, in the opinion of their admirers, a sufficient claim to be considered completely and absolutely above the suspicion of error under any circumstances whatever. At all events, we have it on the personal authority of Mr. Chamberlain that he believes implicitly in his own infallibility; for have we not got on record his famous dictum: "What I have said I have said?" Still, strange as it may appear, some sceptical people may be found who hesitate to believe either in his absolute perfection of judgment or in his impeccability. As, however, an hypothesis is involved in the question, and it would be injudicious to leave so important a matter in doubt, it is necessary, in the interest of truth, to inquire into the soundness of Mr. Chamberlain's claim to infallibility and into the grounds upon which it rests. It will serve admirably, as an exemplar, to begin with an examination of the circumstances preceding and leading up to the South African War. It is very generally believed this war was a product of Machiavelism, the cult of the Colonial Office, and that it was promoted and carried through for the nefarious purpose of obtaining possession of the Transvaal, with its rich gold and diamond mines and extensive territories. James Anthony Froude, a competent authority, pronounced the seizure of the Kimberley diamond fields as "perhaps the most discreditable incident in British Colonial history"; but that act has been dwarfed into insignificance by the seizure and annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The late Colonial Secretary was the presiding spirit, the *deus ex machina* who engineered and set the complicated machinery in motion, using all the financial resources, all the military strength, and, where possible, the naval resources of Great Britain to accomplish his ends; while the people of the violated Republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, fought fiercely bravely and skilfully to retain their property and rights; but they were overpowered and overwhelmed by numbers.

Opinions have varied much as to the character and magnitude of the conflict. The Lord High Chancellor of England, believing no doubt he was giving a good legal opinion on the subject, referred to the war in a contemptuous manner as "a sort of a war." A scarcely less eminent authority, at least on such a subject, Sir Conan Doyle,

who was there in the midst of it, in a volume of seven hundred thrilling pages, takes an exactly opposite view and calls it *The Great Boer War*. Anyhow, it was a war in which two hundred and fifty thousand British soldiers were pitted against forty thousand Dutch farmers. It was a war that cost England two hundred and fifty millions of pounds sterling, and tens of thousands of valuable lives, to say nothing of the irreparable loss of military prestige, through the many disastrous defeats inflicted by the Boers upon the British armies in battle. All of the aforesaid sceptical imbeciles still persist in believing the late Colonial Secretary was not as innocent in the matter of the Jameson Raid—the precursor of “The Great Boer War”—as he, at the time, professed or pretended to be. All of these same people believe that when the raid collapsed he nursed, and fed, and fanned, and kept alive the dying embers of that piratical expedition until they eventually blazed out into the most terrible conflagration of ancient or modern times. It could serve no purpose, and would not be within the possibilities of a magazine article, to attempt to enter into the details of a conflict that lasted for nearly three years. Numerous competent writers on both sides, from De Wet on the one to Sir Conan Doyle on the other, have pretty well exhausted the subject. And then we have had the sad recital of Miss Emily Hobhouse, the generous and philanthropic Englishwoman, who in her book, *The Brunt of the War and where it Fell*, tells the pitiful story of the concentration camps. A noble-hearted lady who, going out a second time to South Africa, to bring comfort and succour to the wretched victims upon whom the brunt of the war fell—the Boer women and children who had been remorselessly driven from their homes into the concentration camps—was refused permission to land and was sent back again across the six or seven thousand miles of ocean she had just traversed on her mission of mercy. The treatment she experienced at the hands of the Government is another instance of the merciless spirit of the period. The iniquity of this terrible war was discovered when too late. A colossal crime was committed, but, with characteristic audacity, the Colonial Secretary tries to brazen out the infamy, for, when honest English members deplored the horrible atrocities perpetrated under the British flag, Mr. Chamberlain told the House of Commons on March 4, 1902: “Never in the whole history of the world had there ever been such a gigantic effort made by any nation to minimise the horrors of war.”

It thus comes about that the existing situation and the action of Mr. Chamberlain in now proposing to put a tax upon the food of the people to help to pay the enormous bill have to be considered, and cognisance taken of the frantic attempts of pinchbeck, or Brummagem, statesmanship to mystify and mislead the English nation. (It is necessary here to state, for the information of those

who are not versed in the polyparous products of Brummagem, that pinchbeck is a base metal, an alloy of copper and zinc, which so closely resembles real gold, in appearance, as to deceive even many knowledgable people.) Well, the murder is out at last! The public have for some time had before them the Report of the War Commissioners. Now, as we know from a great many sources, this Report tells only part, and not the worst part, of the story; nevertheless, read in connection with previous papers, and especially in connection with "Correspondence relating to Affairs in the South African Republic (in continuation of [C. 7933] February 1896)," it discloses quite sufficient to confound and put to shame all who were concerned in forcing the gallant Boers into an unequal contest with Great Britain. The Report, which extends to over two thousand folio pages (evidence and appendices included), gives a clear insight into what has been done in South Africa by the Colonial Office, or, in other words, the Machiavelli of that department. "The morally emancipated statesman—the statesman who, when circumstances drive him to cruelty, rapacity, breach of faith, falsehood, will not waver and whine about the 'painful necessity,' but, with simple decision unhampered by scruples, take the course that leads straightest to the end he has in view."<sup>1</sup>

Can there be any doubt as to when, or where, or how the South African War originated? Can there be any doubt as to who was privy to the Jameson Raid, and who is primarily responsible for the wasted expenditure of two hundred and fifty millions sterling—hard-earned money wrung, for the most part, from the wage-earners of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland? Who is responsible for the murderous, disgraceful, and cowardly onslaught made by England, a powerful nation, upon Boerland, a weak one? Who is responsible for the farm burnings, the wholesale devastation of the land, the destruction of the homes of the people; for the tens of thousands of lives sacrificed in a gigantic predatory expedition, whose aim was conquest, extension of empire, and the acquisition of rich gold and diamond mines? Who is primarily responsible for all the horrors of the concentration camps, for the slow starvation in them of twenty thousand women and children on half-rations? Who, if not the man whose hands are dripping with the blood of his fellow creatures, not only of the slaughtered Boers, but of the tens of thousands of his own countrymen who were sent at his instance to die in an unjust cause, and whose bones strew the wilderness, far from their native land. It is written :

"Lives of great men all remind us  
We should make our lives sublime,  
And departing leave behind us  
Footprints on the sands of time."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sidgwick, *Practical Ethics*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Longfellow.

Well, Mr. Chamberlain has left his "footprints on the sands of time," and also of the South African desert; but his "spoor"—which is South African for the wild beasts' tracks on the sand—is red with the blood of brave men who died in an unholy cause; the prosecution of a piratical war in a foreign region, six or seven thousand miles distant from their own country; while, on the other hand, the Boers died upon their own soil, fighting in "the holiest cause that tongue or sword of mortal ever lost or gained," the defence of their native land, of their hearths and homes, their wives and children, their liberties and their lives.

Some years ago there was a terrible outcry all over England when a savage potentate in South Africa gave it as a reason for invading the territories of a neighbour that "his young men wanted to wash their spears," or, to put it in civilised language, "flesh their maiden swords." It is quite arguable that the reason given by the dusky barbarian for his murderous raid—I forget whether it was Dinizulu, Ketchwayo, Langalleballele, or some other unconscious disciple of Machiavelli—was quite as good and as justifiable as if he, in the full plenitude of his power, and with all the advantages civilisation, and a profound knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity and of ethical science, could give him, had said:

"There are precious diamond- and gold-mines, and great tracts of valuable land in that country, and I want to take possession of them. The gold- and diamond-mines are my main object. The land I require as a 'dumping ground' for a multitude of predatory adventurers called Uitlanders, who at present give me much anxiety and trouble. I also expect great advantages to accrue to myself in a variety of ways more easily understood than expressed; but these latter, being of a private and personal character, I don't feel called upon to enter minutely into them, as it is quite possible the sincerity of my motives might be doubted and my actions be misunderstood."

But, to come back to the question of who brought on the war, and who now tries to frighten the English workman and to save his own skin, by unfurling the black flag—death's head, cross-bones and all—the pirate flag of "Protection," the emblem of death to honest wage-earners, for as surely as the policy of Bright and Cobden, Gladstone and Peel, is reversed, so surely will destitution and hunger find their way into the homes of English working men. Yes, the black flag is again flung out to the breeze, but, this time, it floats not over South Africa and the devastated homes of her people, but over England, as a menace to the homes and lives of English workmen. The situation stands thus: The late Colonial Secretary having, to use a common phrase, "put his foot in it" in South Africa, has found it necessary to "do something," and that something an inconceivably desperate venture, to try and divert public attention from his acts of "conscious brigandage." How is the attempt made? Joseph has, for the fifth or sixth time, turned his reversible coat of many colours.

He has again eaten his own words, and apparently with much relish ; but it remains to be seen how the meal will agree with him. There is a proverb about a certain pitcher that went many times to the well, but got broken at last. He has beaten all his past records in political profligacy and apostacy. The familiar saying about "drawing a red herring across the trail" is not sufficiently expressive to be used here. The scent of the blood, shed in South Africa, cannot be so easily concealed. The metaphor of the octopus is more appropriate than that of the red herring. Various are the aliases of this phenomenal monster—*sepia officinalis* is its zoological designation. It is also known as the cuttle-fish, and the squid, and might very well have been called the devil-fish, from its repulsive aspect and its prodigious powers of concealment and deception. It has many snake-like tentacles or feelers, some longer than others, foul, slimy arms, provided with what are called cupules, or sucking-cups, by which it attaches itself to the bodies upon which it preys, and consumes them for its own nutriment. To be caught in the embraces of the octopus means death. Its insatiable maw is like that of the South African ostrich, which can swallow anything that comes in its way, from screws to scrap iron, and live and thrive upon the fare. But there is another curious characteristic of this extraordinary creature, a special provision of Nature peculiar to itself. It has in its interior an ink bag which it can empty out at will, blackening the waters all around. It thus conceals its movements and approaches its prey unperceived ; or, if attacked, for it is an arrant coward, it escapes under cover of the darkness it evolves from its inner consciousness.

Now, if the letter "n" is omitted from the zoological name of the monster here described, we have a facsimile of the Brummagem statesman, the octopus or *sepia officialis*.

It is written, "Judge not that ye may not be judged." Yes, but it is also written, "By their fruits ye shall know them"; and again, "The evil tree cannot produce good fruit." Consider the trickery, the tergiversation, the dissimulation that characterised the Jameson Raid, in which officers holding commissions under the Crown were engaged as military experts. Think of all the shuffling, equivocation, and evasive artifices that subsequently led up to the outbreak of war. Is it not on record that the Colonial Secretary repeatedly declared, in the most emphatic manner, the Government had no warlike intentions? And this at the very time when thousands of troops from various quarters and immense quantities of military stores and munitions of war were being poured almost daily into South Africa. To this fact must be added his assurance that there was no intention whatever of annexation. Such barefaced duplicity is downright contemptible. The Sand River Treaty of 1852 guaranteed "in the fullest manner, on the part of the British Government, to the



emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River (that is, to the Boers) the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government, and that no encroachment shall be made on the territory beyond to the north of the Vaal River." It is no secret that, in the face of this treaty, the question of annexation was frequently "considered" in the Colonial Office between 1852 and 1877, the year in which it was broken. Is it not notorious that Mr. Kruger and Dr. Jorissen were sent immediately—June 1877—on a special mission from South Africa to England to protest against the shameful breach of the solemn treaty made between her late Majesty and the President of the Transvaal Republic? Have we not got it on record that the then Colonial Secretary, addressing Mr. Kruger and Dr. Jorissen, dismissed the subject by saying: "I should only be misleading you if I were to hold out to you the slightest expectation that the policy which has been adopted could now be altered, or that the annexation of the Transvaal could be undone." But it *was* undone, and matters went on smoothly for a time until the Jameson Raid was invented and set on foot—it was said in the interests of a lot of predatory adventurers known locally as "Uitlanders" who wanted the Parliamentary franchise, but that turned out to be a mere pretence and a sham, the real wire-pullers being the moneyed classes. The Mammon worshippers, commercial magnates, importers and exporters, company promoters, stockbrokers, gambling speculators of all sorts, from the wealthy black sheep eager to augment his wealth to the poor one who wanted to grow rich in a hurry; supplemented by a motley crowd of impostors, sharpers, blacklegs, and scapegraces, hangers-on of any unscrupulous politician from whom they expected to gain anything—in short, all who from one motive or another sympathised with the aims of the British Government. Upon this point it is stated in the Report of the War Commissioners (p. 71), that one South African firm subscribed £50,000 to help the English cause. Far be it from me to write a vindictive word about any one or to exaggerate the evil deeds they have done. When, however, a man appears in the political arena the eccentricity of whose whole career compels one to assume that he has attained notoriety—perhaps I should say celebrity—and reached positions of power and emolument by studying so to trim his sails as invariably to catch a favourable wind to waft him into office as a leading member of the most opposite parties, now on this side and now on that, ready to advocate the most diverse and incompatible political principles—what are we to think? Are we to regard such a man as *non compos mentis*, bereft altogether of reason, judgment, conscience, and principles; in short, as one who has been acting all along under the influence of what may be called *mania officialis*; one who believes that *he* is the only sane man in the world, and

that all the rest are demented, a not uncommon form of dangerous lunacy. Or is he to be regarded as a desperado, a habitual offender, a hardened criminal, who exults in his powers of deception, boasts of his burglarious performances, defies public opinion, and glories in his shame? In either case plain speaking is not only a necessity but a duty. There is nothing to be gained by beating about the bush, or lavishing compliments upon one who comes so distinctly within the category, referred to on a previous page, as "the morally emancipated statesman who, when circumstances drive him to cruelty, rapacity, breach of faith, falsehood, will not waver or whine, but with simple decision, unhampered by scruples, takes the course that leads straightest"<sup>1</sup> to what he has in view. This is plainly the law that governs the actions of the brigand and the pirate—a law that would sanction the invasion by the stronger nation of its weaker neighbour; a law specially denounced, on good English authority, a quarter of a century ago, in the following precise terms: "That the stronger nation is entitled by the law of force to conquer its weaker neighbour, and to govern the conquered in its own interests, is a doctrine which civilised morality abhors."<sup>2</sup> Such a doctrine would, if generally adopted, lead to perpetual warfare, the extinction of existing kingdoms—in short, to universal chaos. Just as in former days the policy of piracy, disregard for the rights of *meum et tuum*, led to wars of extermination, the destruction of the great empires of antiquity, and, later on, of ancient Greece, Rome, and Carthage.

The occasional unwisdom of great statesmen in some important affairs of State, such as the formation of Cabinets, is extraordinary. Instance Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury, who both made a similar mistake about one whom they took into their councils as a colleague. Upright, honourable and conscientious in their own actions, they could not conceive the existence of duplicity or deliberate treachery in others. The policies of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury were, as everybody knows, widely different, but very clearly defined. Both statesmen, no doubt, laboured strenuously in the interests of their common country, according to their lights. They fought for their own sides and their own principles, with keen and highly tempered weapons, honourably, openly and fearlessly; but their weapons were not saturated with poison. The sharp points of their rapiers were untainted with the fatal venom of falsehood and treachery. But the colleague in whom they trusted brought disaster on both their parties in succession.

"Oh, for a tongue to curse the slave,  
Whose treason, like a deadly blight,  
Comes o'er the councils of the brave  
And blasts them in their hour of might."

<sup>1</sup> *Practical Ethics*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Goldwin Smith, *Contemporary Review*, December 1878.

From the creation of the world, truth and falsehood have been in continual conflict. As truth is the origin, the matrix, the fountain-head from which the spring of all good flows pure, clear, and uncontaminated, so falsehood is the origin of all evil, a polluted cesspool of filth and corruption. Is it not written of the Author of Evil that he "was a liar from the beginning"? Scoffers, unbelievers, and nominal Christians may smile, or sneer if such be their humour, at this reference. These pages are not written or printed for such as they, but in the interests of the righteous masses of the people who are neither scoffers, unbelievers, nor nominal Christians.

It requires no argument to prove the thesis that truth and falsehood are the mainsprings which respectively influence the actions of men. There can be no controversy here. Zenith and Nadir, distant from each other as the Arctic and Antarctic Poles, they never can approach. So infinite are the antagonisms by which they are divided, it may be said eternity lies between them. They cannot join hands any more than good and evil, virtue and vice, love and hatred, right and wrong can unite, harmonise, and become one and indivisible. The aim of falsehood, and of all those who practise or countenance it, is to mislead and deceive, to cause strife and discord, wickedly traversing and perverting truth—putting enmities between men and nations by lying and tergiversation; while, on the other hand, truth, honourably, openly, and fearlessly, aims always to unmask the liar and to bring about the reign of justice, righteousness and peace.

A modern proverb says, "Give a lie twenty-four hours' start, and the truth can never catch it." The inventor of this silly maxim must have forgotten, or perhaps never knew, the ancient one, *Magna est veritas, et prevalebit*. Yes, truth is great and will prevail, though Satan himself, with all his councillors and Cabinet Ministers, is arrayed against it. Truth has a natural inherent majesty and force, against which all the arts of falsehood and prevarication are ineffectual. Truth has, moreover, a magnetic power to attract the noblest, best and wisest of mankind to range themselves under its banner. While, contrariwise, falsehood attracts the mean, the contemptible, the unscrupulous, the dishonest to enlist under its shameful and dishonouring flag.

Oh, for the scorpions' flaming tails of fire  
To scourge the caitiff howling through the world,  
The recreant traitor, turncoat and liar,  
Who has Delusion's lying flag unfurled.

One of the most eminent public men in the United States of America has lately been amongst us, one who will, probably, in the immediate future, be chosen President, to guide the destinies of that great country, a country which seems to be marked out by the hand

of God to be the dominant partner in the "combine" of the future, to all appearances now fast approaching, through the labours of peace-makers and arbitrators; the blessed time so longed for by all the good, so dreaded by the wicked and the advocates of militarism:

"When the war drums throb no longer,  
And the battle flags are furled  
In the Parliament of Man  
The federation of the world."

Mr. W. J. Bryan, who was a candidate for the Presidency of America at the last election, is here referred to. I have read some of his utterances, and venture to cite one of them to show the sublimity, the splendour of American thought and expression on this vital subject of veracity in political as well as in private life. He said, *inter alia* :

"My investigation of history has convinced me that the moral element is not only important but predominant. . . . There is this about every real argument and every great truth—it does not change in passing from land to land and from nation to nation. Neither does it change from age to age. Truth is eternal, it is universal, and when circumstances require the application of any truth, it is the same everywhere."

These are great ideas and noble words, worthy of a great man, a great statesman, and a Christian. I do not know, nor have I any right to inquire, what form of Christian doctrine Mr. Bryan inclines to, but of this I am sure, he speaks as one who believes in Christianity, and in the reality, the sublimity, the efficacy of truth, with all the powers of his understanding and all the energies of his soul. It is quite possible, however, such sentiments may not be appreciated by the cult which has its headquarters at the Colonial Office in London. It is written, "All the world's a stage." Well, the House of Commons may be regarded as the National Theatre, where so many really illustrious and honourable men have enacted their great parts in the face of the world; parts in which there was no suggestion either of the villainies of Iago and Shylock, or of the brutal and murderous treachery of Macbeth and Richard the Third. But, now:

The braying ass and chattering ape parade  
The stage where Gladstone and where Peel have played,  
With Bright, and Cobden, in a glorious cause  
And trampled down 'the cruel Corn Laws.'  
Shoulder to shoulder still they held the field  
And forced 'Protection' in the end to yield,  
Winning for honest labour, in its stead,  
A better wage and bigger loaf of bread.  
Upon old England's flag they wrote 'Free Trade,'  
In characters of gold that cannot fade.

Mr. Chamberlain's little game is another "trick of the loop" to bamboozle the working classes into the belief that, if they support his Protection policy, it will, somehow or other, tend to their advantage in some mysterious manner "not visible to the naked eye." Has this wily politician not been profuse of such promises already? Has he not fooled the people long enough? His promises to the labourers of "three acres and a cow" and of "old-age pensions," what did they ever come to? Nothing! Well, not exactly; true, the labourers got nothing, but what about Joseph? Did not the labour vote put him on the high road to office, and ultimately seat him in the chair of Secretary of State for the Colonies? Mr. Chamberlain bent all his energies to climb to power on the backs, or by the votes, of the working classes, and, having won their confidence in the character of a Radical leader, he succeeded in his purpose. He continually used terms of the most fulsome flattery in regard to the great Liberal leader and his policy and principles, exhausting the vocabulary of the English language in his praises. Mr. Gladstone, deceived by the fervour of his professions, took him into favour and ultimately gave him a seat in his Cabinet.

". . . it was a grievous fault,  
And grievously did (Gladstone) answer it."

No sooner did the Brummagem statesman see his way to rat than he ratted; he eagerly grasped the opportunity and broke up Mr. Gladstone's Government. By stealthily removing a linch-pin from one of the wheels, he upset the Liberal coach, and, to complete the disaster, cut the traces, and went over bodily with his followers to the Conservative camp, under the name and guise of a Liberal-Unionist, enacting the part of a Liberal and a Tory at one and the same time; but, worse than all, he brought with him into the Tory camp some of the most honourable and capable Liberal statesmen in England, who were deceived by his plausibility and the apparent cleverness of his strategy. Then followed the General Election, when, with the aid of the deceived, the Chamberlainised Liberals, or, as they were euphemistically called, Liberal-Unionists, the Tories carried the country. It thus came about that when Lord Salisbury constructed his last Cabinet, he found himself at the head of one of the most powerful Governments Great Britain perhaps ever possessed. The Lords, with a few exceptions, were all on his side. He had a majority of 150 votes in the Commons, with his nephew, Mr. Arthur James Balfour, as Leader of the House, to represent him. There was, however, one rotten plank in the ship of State, or, if the metaphor is preferred, there was a defective Brummagem steel plate, with a bad flaw in it, technically known as a waster, so shipwreck became inevitable.

The most wonderful feature in the whole business is the fact that

public men of the highest intelligence, great abilities, absolute integrity of purpose, high position, immense influence in the country, and trusted by everybody, could let themselves be so misled, hoodwinked, and deceived by a political juggler. More surprising still, considering the constitution of the Cabinet, the character, influence, and experience of some of its members, how they could be so blind to what was going on under their very eyes. It will probably be in the recollection of many people that, some years ago, two conjurers of considerable cleverness, members of one family, caused a sensation in London by an exhibition they gave in the Egyptian Hall of a performance called "The Cabinet Trick." They were such great masters of the art of deception that they deceived everybody—but only for a time. They were known as the "Davenport Brothers," and professed to be spiritualists and to perform "the cabinet trick" by supernatural means. They were, however, unmasked by an abler and honest conjurer than themselves, who made no false pretences of spiritualistic influences, but showed plainly how the trick was done. Well, "the cabinet trick" has been recently reintroduced in a different form. The scene of the exhibition was transferred from Piccadilly to Westminster; the audience, small but very select, at once detected the imposture and broke up in disorder, disgusted with the performance and declaring it a fraud upon public credulity. The Cabinet operated upon, which was labelled "Made in Birmingham," was broken to pieces, and there does not appear to be the slightest chance of its ever being reconstructed in its original form, which does not speak well for the character or lasting qualities of any such hocus-pocus products of Brummagem manufacture. In an article printed in the June 1903 number of this REVIEW, I referred to an interesting work, entitled, *The History of Birmingham*, by W. Hutton, F.A.S., and gave a few brief citations from it, quoting some remarkable statements about "the various trades and manufactures carried forward to such an extraordinary degree in this Mistress of the Arts," of pin and button, and cabinet making. As to the "Arts" proper, they appear to have been restricted to the art of plundering your neighbour, which seems to have been an art thoroughly well understood and successfully practised in Birmingham from a very early period, as the following instance shows. In the article just mentioned, a passage was quoted, verbatim, from Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, as to how the rights of property were understood in Birmingham at that time by any one who coveted what belonged to his neighbour, and made up his mind to have it. No necessity, therefore, exists to repeat the details. The chronicler sums up by saying, "Perhaps the manner in which he (the Warwickshire magistrate) accomplished his design cannot be paralleled in the annals of infamy." If the learned antiquary lived in these degenerate days,

and turned his thoughts and his researches in the direction of South Africa, it is much more than probable he would qualify that passage and most likely rewrite it in a totally different sense, placing the "unparalleled infamy," not upon the shoulders of one who has long since been gathered from the here to the hereafter, but upon a living entity who has yet to appear at the bar of eternal justice to give an account of his stewardship. Attention has heretofore been directed to the fact that certain Warwickshire notables have been rather lax in their views of *meum et tuum* as regards the persons and properties of other people; that, in short, they committed acts of "conscious brigandage" and piracy without any scruple or compunctions visitings whatever. I must here, for the purpose of illustration, take some liberty with a famous English author, and adapt, in part, his graphic description of a pirate chief:

"Unlike the heroes of each ancient race,  
 Demons in act but God's at least in face;  
 In (Joseph's) form seems little to admire,  
 Although his eye (glass) shades a glance of fire.  
 Though smooth his voice and calm his general mien,  
 Still seems there something he would not have seen.  
 There is a laughing devil in his sneer  
 To raise emotions both of rage and fear.  
 And where his frown of hatred darkly fell  
 Hope withering fled and Mercy sighed farewell.  
 He knew himself a villain, but he deemed  
 The rest no better than the thing he seemed,  
 And scorned the good as hypocrites who hid  
 The deeds the bolder spirits plainly did."

I am afraid to transgress literary proprieties, either by adaptation or quotation, but the following passage lends itself so well to my theme I am unable to resist the temptation to continue:

"None are all evil—quickenings round his heart  
 One softer feeling would not yet depart,  
 Oft could he sneer at others as beguiled  
 By passions worthy of a fool or child.  
 Yet 'gainst that passion vainly still he strove,  
 And even in him it asks the name of Love.  
 Yes, it was Love unchangeable, unchanged,  
 Felt but for one from which he never ranged,  
 Though fairest flowers daily met his eye,  
 He sought nor shunned, but coldly passed them by.  
 Though rare exotics graced his garden bowers,  
 One, only one, could soothe his leisure hours.  
 Little or nothing cared he for the rest,  
 The orchid only bloomed upon his breast.  
 He was a villain aye; reproaches shower  
 On him, but not the passion—or the flower—  
 Which only proved all other virtues gone,  
 Not guilt itself could quench this loveliest one."

Just one other brief literary allusion and I pass on. A notorious character is described by Wilkie Collins in his celebrated story, *The Woman in White*, who, when not engaged in hatching mischief, beguiled his leisure moments by amusing himself in a similarly innocent manner. Count Fosco, who was the villain of the piece, had all his affections centered, not upon a flower, but upon a little singing bird, which he idolised. In all other respects the parallel is perfect.

So far the aim of this essay is: (1) To show how the Boers were dragged, driven into war in defence of their natural rights; (2) That the whole trend of British diplomacy, from the Sand River Treaty of 1852, to the breach thereof by Sir Theophilus Shepstone in 1877, to the disastrous defeat of the English at Majuba, to the shameful seizure of the Kimberley diamond-fields, and on to the Jameson Raid, and from that again on to "The Great Boer War," went unmistakably in the direction of the annexation of the South African Republics *per fas et nefas*. It is impossible, from the evidence before us, to arrive at any other conclusion than this: that the Colonial Office was all along predetermined, from the day the fact of the existence of gold- and diamond-mines became known, to grab the Transvaal on the first opportunity, and if needs be to *make* the opportunity.

The limits of this article are nearly reached, but having, in the opening pages, alluded to the Report of the War Commissioners, I cannot close without a word upon the subject. At page 95 of the Report the costly blundering over the clothing of the troops is revealed. First, khaki drill was adopted in place of the ordinary red or blue uniform; that order was rescinded, and khaki serge substituted; but even yet another alteration had to be made at the expense of the public. Sir Henry Brackenbury, Director of Ordnance, upon whom the duty of clothing the troops fell, in a Minute dated January 11, 1900, quoted by the War Commissioners, p. 95, said:

"All my difficulties have arisen from the fact that the troops sent out to South Africa had to be entirely reclothed from head to foot. . . . After embarkation had commenced the khaki drill frock was discarded for khaki serge. After manufacturing the khaki serges had commenced a new pattern frock was ordered; that had to be discarded, as contractors objected to it, owing to difficulties of manufacture. Tweed trousers had to be replaced by khaki drill, afterwards changed to khaki serge. Even the boots had to be changed, as the foreign service boot differed from the home service boot."

And so on, to the end of the chapter. Most people have heard something of the "Remount Scandal," but probably not many have read the Report of the War Commissioners, which sets out (p. 97) that the horses, mules and donkeys provided for the South African War reached the enormous total of 670,000, in even figures, of which, to



use the mild expression contained in the Report, about two-thirds "were expended" during the war, inclusive of 16,000 put down as "lost on the voyage." At a very low estimate, the money value of animals thus "expended," transport included, could not be less than ten or twelve millions sterling—possibly much more. The wastage all round under almost every head of service was fearful. In one case it was said some petty trader, who got a contract to the amount of £20, realised £7000 by the transaction; how he did it is not stated.

The War Commissioners (pp. 120 and 121) quoted from a Report of Sir G. Fleetwood Wilson, who was for some time financial adviser to the Commander-in-Chief, in which he said: "In the present war I believe that the expenditure of a few thousand pounds on a specifically selected financial staff would have saved the public at least £1,000,000." But the "statesman" who invented, and was running, the war evidently did not care a Brummagem brass button about the cost, which did not come out of his pocket, but out of the pockets of the wage-earners. He, therefore, wire-pulled so cleverly he was enabled to send out men and horses, helter-skelter, in immense numbers, and munitions of war and military stores of all kinds *ad lib.* I wish there was space left to refer to the immense quantities of stores, provisions, &c., that had to be got rid of after the war was over by burning them, on special burning grounds laid out for that purpose. A few comments would be useful just to show the public, and especially the tax-payers, how the war-monger made ducks and drakes of the public money. But I must hurry on to the end. Several witnesses, amongst whom may be mentioned General Kelly-Kenny, Lord Chesham, the Earl of Scarborough, Lord Methuen, &c., gave evidence to the effect that men were sent out in considerable numbers to act as a mounted force, who could neither ride nor shoot, and who knew nothing whatever about horses. Lord Chesham, Inspector-General of Imperial Yeomanry, said, in reply to question 6,731: "I suppose that out of the new lot, the 1901 Yeomanry, 75 per cent. had never been on a horse before they passed the test in riding at home, and 25 per cent. had ridden very little." Lord Chesham went on to make a curious statement, as follows: Some of his men were "going on a rather dangerous trek (escorting a convoy) to Rustenburgh from Elandsfontain. The squadron leader told me that none of them could ride, but he was perhaps one of the worst." Lord Methuen's evidence (quoted p. 73 of the Report) is to the same effect. He said: "When the second contingent came out their riding was hopelessly bad; they had no knowledge of a horse or how to ride." Major-General Sir Bruce Hamilton says (on same page): "The second lot of Yeomanry knew nothing at all; they did not know

how to handle a rifle at the commencement." (On same page) Major-General Sir Charles Knox said they were: "Very bad, they could not be anything else. I do not know where they were got, but they had no idea of riding, shooting, or anything else." So much for the rank and file of this force.

Now, as to the officers. Lord Chesham, in the course of his reply to question 6,731, says, *inter alia*: "That men were sent out who really caused a great deal of harm to the name of the English officer. There were several cases that I could mention if you wish to have them. I have one case here of a man (an officer) being reported on by his commanding officer as follows." Having read the Report, Lord Chesham went on: "With regard to this officer, we had a report from Cape Town, from the police, to say that he had had two years' imprisonment for diamond-stealing in Cape Colony and £500 fine."

This article may well end here. The official turpitude, duplicity and blundering incapacity of it all exceeds belief. From the beginning THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW grasped the situation in all its bearings. Facing unpopularity, it took up a position on the side of truth, justice and righteousness, as against the sordid schemes of company promoters, unscrupulous statesmen, gamblers on the Stock Exchange, and all who had the yellow press at their backs. From this position it has never receded. Time, and the revelations of current history have fully vindicated its action. If a poll could now be taken it can hardly be doubted that the people "who suffered a temporary obscurity of their moral sense under the influences of national ambition," evoked and stimulated by gross misrepresentations, and by the evil counsels of unscrupulous politicians, would, by a unanimous vote, condemn "the Great Boer War" as an indelible stain upon the fair fame and honour of the British nation, and would for ever renounce the treacherous teachings of the man who is responsible for it, together with all his works and pomps. The poll would be a heavy one, for it would include the great class mentioned by Professor Sidgwick in *Practical Ethics*, p. 37: "Those persons to be found in all walks and stations of life, whose earnest and predominant aim is to do their duty; of whom it may be said:

" . . . Though they slip and fall  
They do not blind their souls with clay."

but after each lapse and failure, recover and renew their rectitude of purpose and their sense of the supreme value of goodness."

The modern Cromwell, who possesses all the characteristics of the notorious regicide, minus his physical courage, when all the

danger was over, went out to view the fruits of his Machiavelian philosophy, in the ruined homes and devastated farms of a stricken people. This act reminds one of the celebrated picture of another Cromwell who is represented standing beside the open coffin of the murdered Charles, gloating over the dead body of his royal victim.

W. J. CORBET, M.R.I.A.

## MR. BALFOUR, THE FISCAL PROBLEM AND ENGLAND'S FATE.

MR. BALFOUR'S pamphlet, *Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade*, is an important contribution to the fiscal controversy. In brief sum this is what it is: an impeachment of what Mr. Balfour calls "Insular Free Trade"; a prediction that the nation will be ruined if we stick to "Insular Free Trade"; a eulogy of protected manufacturing, and an unequivocal advocacy of retaliative tariffs as a means (the only means) of solving the problem.

These four points I shall prove and examine in due place. Meantime, we may note the singular appropriateness of this pamphlet to the present phase of the discussion. Mr. Chamberlain, the leader of the movement, knew only how to appeal to the popular mind by means of adroitly handled "facts and figures." The rank and file have followed his notorious example, and the Liberal party have been obliged to reply in the same manner. The result has been that the same facts and figures have been made to serve different ends, and to prove opposite conclusions. Everybody's mind is consequently in a hopeless muddle, and unable to any longer make sense of the assertions of either party. Mr. Balfour dispenses largely with this form of controversy, but not entirely. He says that, "in order that the volume of facts thus provided should instruct and not merely overwhelm us, it is necessary to consider it in the light of theories and principles, always, of course, open to revision in the light of experience."

This reversion to reasoning is very timely, not only for the Protectionist party, which was certainly beginning to lose ground in the battle of facts and figures, but also for the general controversy, which was degenerating into a hopeless series of skirmishes with no plan of battle about them.

Mr. Balfour's pamphlet is worthy of consideration, not only because Mr. Balfour is Prime Minister, and because he is a philosopher whose reasoning powers ought to be equal to the task he has imposed upon them, but also because Mr. Balfour himself has hitherto passed for a Free Trader, and indeed still pretends to be one. At the very outset, he says, "It may be as well to promise that I approach the subject from a Free Trade point of view." We are curious to know by

what process of reasoning a Free Trader comes to eulogise Protection, and to advocate retaliatory tariffs.

Accepting the dictum of Mr. Balfour that masses of facts can only be intelligently dealt with after one has a clear understanding of principles involved, I submit that to this end a clear definition of terms may be postulated as an absolute necessity on any subject. Especially is this the case in the present discussion, for not only are facts and figures handled differently, but there appears to be no accepted statement of the meaning of such terms as "free trade," "protection," "preferential tariffs," "retaliation," &c.

These matters ought to be cleared up first of all, if only to dispel popular misconceptions, but this great necessity is accentuated when it is considered that our legislators themselves are no more agreed than is the populace. Speaking of popular ideas with something of the scorn generally accorded to them by retired thinkers, Mr. Balfour says, "There is indeed a real danger of the controversy degenerating into an unprofitable battle of watchwords, behind which there is nothing deserving to be called independent reflection at all. *Popular disputation insists on labels, and likes its labels old.*" The italics are mine. Admitting that the people have often crude ideas, and that the private person may have a right to mock at the crudities from which he thinks himself exempt, I would nevertheless draw attention to the fact that such criticism is only justifiable on the part of a private person when he has first demonstrated the fact that he himself is free from the taint in question, and that a public politician and party leader can only be excused if he sets out with a firm intention (in which he succeeds) to enlighten the popular mind.

Not content with his gibe at the people, Mr. Balfour further isolates his position by declaring that his Free Trade is "perhaps not always what passes for orthodox in the House of Commons or on the platform." After such a universal condemnation of other people's ideas of what constitutes Free Trade, we may well expect Mr. Balfour to give us his own definition.

I have sought his definition in vain, for he gives it nowhere, and I am therefore reduced to the necessity of eliciting Mr. Balfour's idea of Free Trade by examining a particular chapter in which he speaks of it. He says that the reformers of sixty years ago gave us Free Trade, but that they made two mistakes in doing so. Here are his own words :

"They failed to foresee that the world would reject *Free Trade*, and they failed to take full account of the commercial possibilities of the British Empire. If they had been right on the first point, if *Free Trade* had become a universal creed, no controversy about our commercial relations with any fiscally independent community could possibly have arisen. If, on the other hand, they had succeeded in giving us *Imperial Free Trade*, the protective tendencies of foreign nations would in the long run have been but

of secondary importance. The double error has established "*Insular Free Trade*" with its inevitable limitations, and left us bearing all the burden, but enjoying only half the advantages, which should attach to Empire.

The italics are again mine. Here, then, are Mr. Balfour's ideas of Free Trade. The present system in England is English or Insular Free Trade, its adoption throughout the British Empire would be Imperial Free Trade, and the same system adopted by the whole world would be Universal Free Trade.

In order to test this conception of Free Trade, we must examine the present system. Our revenue is raised by taxes on imports, of which the following is a general summary for last year :

On spirits (brandy) . . . . .	£1,341,031
"    "    (rum) . . . . .	2,332,856
"    "    (other) . . . . .	1,283,745
"    tea . . . . .	5,985,862
"    tobacco . . . . .	12,781,894
"    wine . . . . .	1,527,012
"    sugar . . . . .	4,478,707
"    cocoa . . . . .	225,966
"    coffee . . . . .	194,152
"    sundries . . . . .	849,375
Total . . . . .	£31,000,000

The amount of our tariffs on imports therefore comes to thirty-one millions of pounds per year. What is the character of these tariffs? Evidently such products as tea, coffee, cocoa, wine, tobacco, sugar, rum, &c., are not British products. There is no British sugar industry; there is no British tea-growing industry; there are no British coffee plantations; wine-making is not a British industry, and so on through the list.

So that a tax on tea cannot be a protective tax: we have no national tea industry to protect. In the same way, none of these taxes are protective. They cannot be so, as they fall on products which are purely foreign. A tax on coal would "protect" British miners, as coal is a British production. A tax on steel would protect the British steel industry. Therefore a tax on imports of goods produced within the country is protective, and a tax on imports of goods which are purely foreign is non-protective.

Then all our taxes are non-protective. They are purely revenue tariffs. They amount to thirty-one millions of pounds per year. But what is Free Trade? Evidently Free Trade is the entire absence of all tariffs whatever on imports. We cannot therefore say that the revenue-tariff (or non-protective tariff) system is Free Trade. The names I give show what the system really is. As it was invented by Cobden, "Cobdenism" would be a short and good name for it. Therefore, this system in England alone is not "*Insular Free Trade*," but "*Insular Cobdenism*"; this system adopted throughout

the Empire is not "Imperial Free Trade," but "Imperial Cobdenism," and this system adopted by all the world would not be "Universal Free Trade," but "Universal Cobdenism."

Mr. Balfour has declaimed somewhat sarcastically against the abuse of the term "Free Trade," and I have been driven to show this want of precision on his own part, because the misconception involved in this careless use of an important word is not confined to Mr. Balfour, but is quite general. It is not simply that Mr. Balfour has made a mistake involving thirty-one million pounds' worth of tariffs on trade, but that he has made a mistake in principles. He has taken revenue tariffs, or non-protective tariffs for Free Trade or the system of no tariffs at all. Revenue tariffs may only bring in one million, or they may bring in a hundred millions, but whether the amount collected by them be little or great, they do not constitute Free Trade. They constitute tariffed or hampered trade in one of its several forms.

Without seeking to justify one system or another, let us therefore try to open this important discussion by giving a few firm definitions of the different terms involved, so as to enable us to proceed with greater certainty afterwards.

I conceive the different systems adoptable to be: (1) Free Trade; (2) Cobdenism; (3) Protection; (4) Preferentialism; (5) Retaliation, and wish to offer the following simple definitions of them.

#### FREE TRADE.

Free Trade is the sweeping away of all taxes on imports, or other form of trade. If we were to abolish the thirty-one millions of revenue tariffs now existing, we should have a basis for Free Trade. The government would then have to get its funds by direct taxation not falling upon trade, *i.e.*, by levying taxation upon the "unearned increment" attaching to land with the growth of population. This, and this only, is Free Trade. Every other system must abandon all pretention to this name.

#### COBDENISM.

Cobdenism is the levying of tariffs on that portion of our imports which cannot give Protection because the same things are not produced within the importing country. It is our present system.

#### PROTECTION.

Protection is the levying of tariffs on imports which give Protection because the same things are produced within the importing country. A tariff on imports of woollen goods or on any other goods produced in England would protect the British industry. Protection is the exact opposite of Cobdenism.

## PREFERENTIALISM.

Preferentialism is the reduction or abolition of import tariffs on the goods of one country and their maintenance on those of another. Preferentialism may be styled "the protection of the industries of another country." We tax tea at the rate of 6*d.* per lb. If we reduce the tax on Indian tea to 3*d.* per lb., while maintaining the tax on tea coming from China, we give a "preference" to Indian tea, or we "protect" the Indian tea industry. We have tariffs on wine. If we maintain tariffs on French wines, and reduce them on Australian wine, we give a "preference" to Australian wine, or we "protect" the Australian wine industry.

## RETALIATION.

Retaliation is the imposition of tariffs on the imports of goods coming from some country which taxes our own exportations to it in such a way as to harm our export trade. The reason of such tariffs is not simply "If you hit me, I shall hit you," but it is this, "If you hit me, I shall hit you so hard that you will find it to your advantage to stop hitting me." In a word, we are to tax the goods coming from a country in the hopes that that country will stop taxing our goods going to it. When the concession aimed at is attained, the retaliative tariff would of course be done away with.

We see then what manner of partisan may exist according to logical classification. There are (1) the Free Trader proper, who wishes to abolish all tariffs on imports, whether revenue, protective, preferential or retaliatory. (2) The Cobdenist or advocate of revenue or non-protective tariffs on imports. Lord Goschen, Lord Rosebery, Mr. John Morley and the Liberal party generally are Cobdenists, though they pretend wrongly to be Free Traders. (3) The Protectionist who would impose tariffs on imports of goods which compete with British industries. (4) The preferentialist or would-be protector of colonial (or foreign) industries. Mr. Chamberlain is a notable example. (5) The retaliationist who wishes us to try and make other countries reduce their taxes on our goods by taxing theirs in the English market. The great leader of this school of thought is Mr. Balfour.

I wish, therefore, to advance the following criticism of Mr. Balfour's attitude. He claims to be a Free Trader, as already said. He adds, "I throw no doubt on the Free Trade theory when expressed with due limitation." First of all, what Mr. Balfour takes to be Free Trade is Cobdenism, as above defined. This is the first "limitation." In the second place, he disfavours entirely "Insular Cobdenism," and only declares in favour of Cobdenism, if it be either Imperial



(adopted throughout the Empire), or universal (adopted by the whole world). That is the second "limitation." He eulogises Protection showing that the protected manufacturer is better placed than the unprotected one. (Read pages 25 and 26 of his pamphlet.) That is the third "limitation." Then he advocates retaliation. He says, "The only alternative is to do to foreign nations what they always do to each other, and instead of appealing to economic theories in which they wholly disbelieve, to use fiscal inducements which they thoroughly understand." That is the fourth "limitation." Since writing his pamphlet, he has become a partisan of preferentialism. That is the fifth "limitation."

It seems as if the last vestige of Free Trade were going to disappear in the cloud of "limitations" (due ones!) which Mr. Balfour imposes. It is, of course, Mr. Balfour's right to be anything but a Free Trader; England is "a free-thinking country," but as a discriminating man, I feel bound to protest against the misuse of the term "Free Trade" Mr. Balfour indulges in. I consider that the position he has assumed is likely to mislead a large part of the nation.

The climax of inaccuracy is reached in Mr. Balfour's statement of the problem with which he proposes to deal. The words are italicised in his pamphlet. "We are driven to ask *whether a fiscal system suited to a Free Trade nation in a world of Free Traders, remains suited in every detail to a Free Trade nation in a world of Protectionists.*" What is a fiscal system? It is a system of tariffs on exports and on imports. What is a Free Trade nation? It is a nation which imposes no tariffs either on imports or on exports. Consequently a Free Trade nation can have no fiscal system. No fiscal system can possibly be "suited" to it. To talk of the fiscal system of a Free Trade nation is like talking of the wings of a rhinoceros, or of the legs of a snake, or the feathers of a lion. It would be very interesting to know what sort of wings, legs and feathers would be "suited" to these creatures!

If Mr. Balfour is speaking of England (and he is) why does he not say so in plain language, or if he prefers to generalise, accuracy would be desirable. He might state his case thus: If Cobdenism would be suited to England in a Cobdenist world, is Cobdenism therefore suited to England in a Protectionist world? Or, to generalise: If Cobdenism would be suited to a Cobdenist nation in a Cobdenist world, is Cobdenism therefore suited to a Cobdenist nation in a Protectionist world? The generalising involves superfluities.

This, then, is the problem as Mr. Balfour states it. In working out this problem, Mr. Balfour takes imaginary cases before applying his reasoning to actual England. These cases are three: (1) The case of a small island producing small quantities of a limited number

of products, all of which can be procured more cheaply "with the aid of Protection" by the other countries, all of which are Protectionist. (2) The case of a vast island of great resources, varied industries, and a small population. (3) The case of an island rich in minerals, but offering no special advantages over other countries.

In the first case, Mr. Balfour predicts that the island would be ruined. In the second case he finds that the island would be driven to enjoy isolation and its home trade, but would not suffer greatly. In the third case, he finds after many struggles to maintain its export trade, this would be cut off by the other Protectionist nations. At this point imports would cease, and the island have only home trade. Terrible suffering and practical ruin would ensue.

The third case is the case of England. Recognising that the fate which ought to have befallen us has not done so, Mr. Balfour goes on to explain why. Here are his words :

"Why, then, it may be asked, does Great Britain not suffer all the ills with which our hypothetical island was threatened? That it does not is manifest. We imagined a Free Trade (read Cobdenist) country completely environed by a wall of Protection; a wall high enough to make export *first* difficult and *then* impossible. We inferred that it would find imports *first* costly and *then* unattainable. In actual fact we see Britain hampered indeed by foreign tariffs, yet able, in spite of them, to carry on an export trade which, if it does not increase as we might wish, yet increases rather than diminishes, and an import trade of unexampled magnitude. In what, then, resides the difference between the two cases? In three particulars—(a) Foreign countries owe us a great deal of money, which they pay by means of imports into the United Kingdom. (b) Large areas still remain which are not protected at all. (c) Existing protected areas are not completely protected."

I have not space to quote in full the development of his argument. He finds that the money invested abroad does us harm because it helps to develop Protection in other countries. He finds that unprotected areas will either develop Protection or be absorbed by Protectionist powers. He finds that areas not completely protected will develop complete Protection. At this point in the development of the world England will no longer export anything, and will not be able to import any of the many things of which she is in permanent want, because her exports in payment could not be made. She would therefore be completely ruined.

I might say, *en passant*, that even if what Mr. Balfour predicts came to pass, we could still import without exporting if all our imports were sent into the country in payment of money owing to us. If England were filled with millionaires to whom foreign countries or foreigners owed money, England could go on importing without continuing to export. Mr. Chamberlain, in his speech at Leeds, had some inkling of this when he pictured England as being

filled with rich men, and he said stoutly that in such a case, England would not be *his* country.

Before dealing with Mr. Balfour's problem, let me touch on two minor questions. Mr. Balfour discusses hurriedly the proper sphere of the legislator, and seems to conclude that the establishment of Protection may be within the proper sphere of legislation. I do not think this to be admissible without discussing justice at length. If Free Trade is a necessity of justice, and if Protection be a form of injustice, it cannot be within the proper sphere of the legislator to develop it. But such a question requires separate discussion. Mr. Balfour's reason for coming to this conclusion is not that Protection is just, but that legislators cannot be expected to mistrust themselves. So, the legislator can do no wrong! That is an old dish served up with new sauce.

Next, Mr. Balfour refuses to admit three big export trades into his figures of exports. Ships, machinery and coal he omits because he finds them pernicious to the future of Free Trade. They help to develop Protection elsewhere, and so hasten our ruin. He says "their value is small compared to the total value of the final results to which they contribute."

Note the objections to Mr. Balfour's reasons. First of all his export figures are about seventy millions of pounds short. Secondly, as long as these exports go on they are a proof that foreign Protection has failed to beat English non-Protection in these trades. Thirdly, to say that their value is small compared to the result they produce, is to say that they (coal, ships and machinery) are cheap and give far more profit to the user than to the maker or getter. This is a simple inaccuracy. Any manufacturer would admit that coal is worth to him no more than he pays for it. Machines are worth to him no more than he pays for them. To a shipper ships are worth to him no more than he pays for them.

If Mr. Balfour means that a profit may be made by buying ships, coal and machinery, I think we may admit the idea at once! That is in a general way, as everybody does not make a profit by buying and using these things. But then, a profit is the basis of all business. Mr. Balfour's argument comes to this: "Ships, coal and machines should be excluded from the list of exports because the buyers make a profit on them." In that case we may at once say that everything should be struck off the export list which gives a profit!

If not, what does Mr. Balfour mean? Supposing that a five-shilling dinner stimulates a starving inventor to the discovery of an invention worth a million pounds. The dinner cost little and had a great result. But the value of the food must only be considered as accidental; the value of the brain of the inventor was the main point. As the potency was not in the food, the price of the food

cannot be advanced. But in the case of the use of machines, ships and coal, their potency for developing trade is in them largely, and their price may be advanced to the point at which the buyer cannot make great profits by using them. Any potency for developing Protection which may be in the users and not in the ships, coal and machines cannot be charged for in the invoice. Is that what Mr. Balfour means? In that case, what is this potency? I fail to discover it.

Mr. Balfour's justification of his great omission is based on an idea which he only seems to have cognisance of. Then what is the real use of this omission? Our exports are what they are, and no magic of reasoning will make them any less.

These side questions out of the way, let us consider the general question. As remarked, Mr. Balfour's position is this: The world will adopt complete Protection, and England will be completely shut out from every market if we continue to maintain revenue tariffs. We shall at that moment export nothing, and import nothing. Is this a correct forecast?

What is the meaning of the statement that the world will adopt complete Protection? There are two possible ways of accepting this statement: (1) Either each foreign nation will adopt complete Protection, and will suffice to itself, doing no business with any other nation; or (2) Each foreign nation will trade with every other foreign nation while doing no trade at all with England. Mr. Balfour has stated neither the one alternative nor the other; he has contented himself with the general deduction, and I think that if he looked further into the matter he would have hesitated about declaring his conclusion.

Let us take the first alternative. If each nation trades only within itself, it will have to supply its own needs. This we know to be an absolute impossibility. Every country needs to import certain things which it cannot produce itself, and to pay for these imports it will have to export. Therefore foreign Protection cannot be developed to this point.

But not only will exports always have to go out to pay for imports which must come in, but as when people export they don't care a button whether they are simply paying for necessary imports or are causing unnecessary ones, the effort to export will always be so strong that no tariffs could stop the impulse from achieving its aims. The effort to export is natural and strong, and if successful will necessitate imports to pay for the exports. This is as inevitable as the law of gravitation. All the tariffs in the world cannot keep our imports which come in to pay for exports.

A third strong reason will prevent Protection from becoming complete. That is smuggling, and the declaring of goods at less than their sale value. Last year the Customs authorities in England

lost from £45,000 to £50,000 by the smuggling of saccharine into England, the receipts on this product being about £50,000 less than the year before last, while its consumption is increasing. Then very few firms sending goods, for instance, to the United States declare them at their real value. I have known personally large firms who always declared their shipments at cost price. And it is a notorious fact that smuggling goes on by means of bribery, to a very great extent. These factors will prevent Protection being complete in each country. But the principal fact is that each country cannot suffice unto itself.

Then if complete Protection for each country is impossible, will each foreign nation do business with other nations while none of them do business with England? To speak plainly, the idea seems at first blush to be gratuitously foolish. Nor does examination make it any more acceptable. We may accept as a general statement, if you will, that England possesses no special advantages over the rest of the world. But to prove this, you must take the rest of the world as a whole on one side, and England alone on the other. The proposition is not fair. If it were, it does not apply to England alone. France is better placed than England for fruit-growing, but not so well placed for coal or iron. Russia may be better placed than England for corn, but she is not so well placed for shipbuilding. This shows the importance of including these industries as valuable assets.

Mr. Balfour's examples of the absolute tendency he seeks to illustrate are not happy ones. He says: "In some of those countries, and for some of our main industries, indeed no loophole is permitted. The barrier is impregnable. Bradford goods do not go to America, nor does bleach to Russia." If Bradford goods do not go to America, then coal does not come from Newcastle.

But, if we admit outright that England is not specially privileged compared with the whole world, we may say that the same remark applies to France, to Germany, and to Russia, and, in fact, to the great majority of countries. France is not the only country that produces fruit or wine. Russia is not the only country that produces corn, nor is the United States likely to hold out long against Canada in this respect. No country has absolutely unique advantages.

How, then, can Mr. Balfour deduce such dire disaster as to suppose that other nations will do business with each other, and none with us? I consider that the mark has been overstepped. Foreign Protection reduces our markets and decreases our exports, but the point at which this process must stop will sooner or later be reached. Each country has a limit to its productive range and power. Smuggling is irresistible. And acceptance of imports to pay for exports is inevitable.

This is the point at which Mr. Balfour's argument breaks down, and that is the fallacy which underlies his reasoning. I further think

that Mr. Balfour has not given sufficient weight to the fact that the world is not yet thoroughly industrialised. All that he has proved is that it is the tendency of foreign Protection to decrease our exports. There is another tendency which tells in the opposite direction.

As Mr. Balfour himself admits, our biggest export trade is done with high Protectionist nations. This indisputable fact is due not to their Protectionism, but to their being highly industrialised. Admitting that as unprotected territories develop they will become Protectionist, it must also be borne in mind that as they become industrialised they will take more goods from us. So that when their Protectionism and their industrialisation have reached the same point as they have attained in the United States, we may still predict that the latter will predominate over the former so far as to allow us to do proportionately as much business with them as we now do with the United States.

That is, the industrialisation of the world will increase our exports faster than the Protectionism of the world will decrease them. This rule applies up to a certain point of industrial development, and then there is again decline. But this point has only been reached in such countries as France, Germany, and the United States, though further progress in old countries will certainly increase our exports to them. And progress is apparently illimitable. Our great future therefore lies elsewhere, *i.e.*, with those countries where industrial development promises to outstrip the spirit of Protection.

But certainly sooner or later our export trade will be faced by the crucial difficulty caused by the industrial development of the world being outpassed by its Protectionism, as is now the case with the United States, and although our export trade can never be annihilated entirely, as Mr. Balfour has concluded, the problem raised is serious enough to merit the attention of all earnest reformers.

The final problem is probably a very distant one. But the immediate problem is as follows: Our export trade will be displaced from the United States, Germany, and France, to a certain extent, and must go elsewhere. A portion of it will certainly be recouped in other markets, but we shall, for some time to come, feel the pinch of lost export trade, and of changing industries seeking to adapt themselves to changed conditions.

That is the problem. Now, what is the remedy? Mr. Balfour states that the essential thing is that we should regain our liberty. To this end he proposes retaliatory tariffs.

A purely retaliatory tariff should not protect, and should not be necessary for revenue purposes. The product taxed by it should not be of such importance to the people that the tax will make them suffer greatly. It must be of such importance that the exporting

country prefers to keep its export trade to us than to develop the home industry which it protects against our exports into its territory.

These points are easy to understand. If we put a tax on goods in order to protect a home industry, we must not suppose that if the concession this tax also aimed at from foreign countries were given to us, we could with impunity cease to protect the home industry in order to let the foreign imports come in freely again. A protective tariff must, to be logical, at least continue to exist up to a certain point in the development of the trade, as otherwise it is not effective. It cannot therefore be a retaliatory tariff at the same time; a retaliatory tariff being necessarily taken off when the advantage aimed at is gained.

A retaliatory tariff should not be necessary for revenue purposes. A revenue tariff which is imposed to meet a permanent expenditure should be permanent. A retaliatory tariff should not aim at being permanent, as otherwise it cannot achieve its aim. A retaliatory tariff should not be imposed on an article of consumption so important that the consumer would suffer from its imposition. A retaliatory tax on corn would be inadmissible for this reason. It would increase the price of bread. This would be too dangerous for the consumer.

The product on which a retaliatory tax is imposed must be important to the country which sells it to us. If we tax an unimportant product, the country whose exports to us suffer in consequence would not feel that the blow were sufficiently heavy to necessitate her reconsidering tariffs against our goods. Therefore, the article should be important without being too much so. Not only this, but in reconsidering her taxes against our goods, she has to take into account the fact that in taking off these tariffs she ceases to protect the national industries in her own country. If her export trade be more important to her than the development of her home trade, she may be inclined as a nation to take off her protective tariffs on condition that we take off our retaliatory one.

It does not follow, however, that she will do so! In political matters local interests are often very strong, and especially is this the case in America where so many corrupting influences are brought to bear on legislation. Not only is this so, but the motive of change must be very powerful indeed to overcome the inertia of habit and the force of interest.

I therefore submit that retaliatory tariffs can only be successful in inducing foreign countries to take off their taxes against our goods, if the following conditions are fulfilled: (1) they should not protect; (2) they should not be requisite for revenue purposes; (3) they should not increase the prices of important articles of consumption; (4) they should fall on articles constituting an important trade to the country which supplies them; (5) the

country against which they are directed should find it to her advantage to cease protecting her home industries against our goods, and should be disposed and strong enough to overcome the resistance she would have to face in making the change.

I am under the firm persuasion that a tariff uniting such conditions is impossible to find. Mr. Balfour, in speaking of these proposed retaliatory tariffs, says :

“The object which these fiscal inducements are intended to attain in increased Free Trade, and nothing else; yet simply because the fiscal inducements may, *if it fails of its effect but not otherwise*, involve duties not required for revenue purposes, or in certain cases even carry with it some element of Protection to home industries, we are to turn away from it as an accursed thing.”

The words which Mr. Balfour has italicised show that he has conceived the possibility of his proposed retaliatory tariffs failing in their effect. But the remark seems idle from his pen, as he has certainly not taken into consideration the difficulties which lie in the way of such taxes being effective. It may be easy to find a product which it is not necessary to tax for revenue purposes. It may further be possible to find a product which we cannot produce in England, and on which no Protection is therefore possible. But to find a product at once of little importance to the consumer, and of paramount importance to the country it comes from, is a practical impossibility, as it involves a contradiction. A product which is important to the country whose trade with us it largely constitutes must also be important to the British consumer. And a product which is unimportant to the consumer will not be thought to constitute a trade of great importance to the supplying country.

A retaliatory tariff considered as an instrument by means of which we are to gain our liberty and extend Free Trade is certainly not a practical weapon. It is certainly not the “big revolver” nor the “mighty sword” which some of its doughty champions hold it to be. Any tariff not fulfilling the impossible conditions I have mentioned would remain either a Protective tariff or a revenue tariff, according as the product were produced in the country or not. Or the only alternative would be to tax heavily the most important articles of consumption so heavily that privation would ensue amongst the consumers. Even then, would the foreign country be induced to relax her protective tariffs against our goods? I trow not.

We must, therefore, as sensible men, reject Mr. Balfour's proposals as being idle. Now, let us consider his eulogy of Protection, we might almost say his advocacy of Protective tariffs. But, at the outset, let it be firmly kept in mind that Protection is not a means of increasing our exports, and this is Mr. Balfour's problem. Unable to increase our exports by retaliation, we must



acknowledge our defeat as inevitable, being satisfied with the increasing industrialisation of the world as the only means of increasing our exports, and be prepared to better develop our home industries, hoping to make up at home what we lose abroad. Mr. Balfour does say, however, that Protection puts the manufacturer in a better position to compete abroad.

This is dealt with in Mr. Balfour's pamphlet, pages 23 to 28. This gist of the argument is this: The protected manufacturer has the monopoly of the home market, and can run his works regularly, thereby enabling him to produce cheaper and to export at lower rates to other countries. The unprotected manufacturer has not even the monopoly of the home market, and being unable to run his works regularly cannot compete so well abroad, as when his works stand he loses money, and cannot produce so cheaply.

This argument is incorrect in two particulars: (a) Protection does not always secure to the manufacturer the privilege of running his works regularly; and (b) Protection is not always necessary to give the manufacturer (I think producer is a better word) the monopoly of the home market.

I was talking to a Lyons silk manufacturer the other day, and he informed me that whereas ten years ago only twenty manufacturers went to Paris to compete for the Parisian trade, 300 manufacturers now go, though the trade is not much greater than it was. All these manufacturers are French, and by home competition succeed quite well in so wresting the home market from each other, that they are no longer able to run their works regularly. This is a common experience in all protected countries and trades. The very fact of a trade being protected is quite sufficient to create home competition almost as great (if not quite as great) as foreign competition was, and accompanied by other disadvantages.

Then, Protection is not always necessary to give producers control of the home market. Do you think that the miners would be better placed if coal were protected? Or that the woollen goods industry needs protecting to enable it to sell well at home? Evidently a strong trade wants no protection. As to weak ones, there can be no question of their competing in foreign markets. Of course the monopoly of the home market by a strong unprotected trade is never perfect, but this is rather a good than an ill.

The only way in which home trades can completely monopolise the home markets is by very high Protection on the one hand, and by "trusts" on the other. For a time a trust can stamp out competition, but for a time only. There are two causes for its failure: (1) the untrustworthiness of the members of the trust (!); and (2) the force of outside multiple competition which springs up ever anew. A "trust" has some difficulty in managing its own affairs. Mr. Balfour has not mentioned this matter. It appears to me, from

such experience of "trusts" as I have had, that each member of the combination tries to break the conditions which have only allotted him so much business by selling secretly quantities of goods which he never puts on his statement. This competition from within eats out the heart of the "trust," and gradually undermines the basis of the understanding, which was that each member should sell only the quantities allotted to him.

This, aided by competition from the outside, finishes one day by breaking up the "trust," of which everybody is glad, and rightly. The advantage which Mr. Balfour claims for Protection, *i.e.*, that it gives the manufacturer an opportunity of running his works regularly, can only be acquired, and that momentarily, by trusts. And if the manufacturer is not overrun by home competition, he will be ruined by some trust which excludes him.

These are the only "advantages" claimed for Protection by Mr. Balfour. Now, what about the disadvantages?

Several rules attach to the adoption of protective tariffs; here is the first: The protection of one trade encourages that trade only, and it discourages every other trade or industry into which its productions enter. If raw wool is taxed, the woollen goods industry is discouraged to the same extent as sheep-farming is encouraged. If raw silk is protected the silk-goods manufacturer is discouraged to the same extent as the raw silk producers are encouraged. If iron is protected, the machine trades and every trade into which iron enters (they are legion!) are discouraged to the same extent as the iron trade is encouraged. If steel is protected the cutlery trade is discouraged to the same extent as the steel trade is encouraged. If salt is protected the fish and meat-preserving trades are discouraged to the same extent as the salt trade is encouraged. And so on through the whole list.

Nor is this confined to what are called "raw materials." The finished articles of one trade become the raw materials of another. If machinery is protected, the textile manufacturer is discouraged to the same extent as the machine trade is encouraged. If the cutlery trade is protected, the cafés and restaurants are discouraged. If dairy produce is protected, the grocer is discouraged. If fruit is protected, the fruit importer is discouraged (and this is a trade which gives employment to thousands). No product, either finished or unfinished, escapes this rule.

I would further suggest the following rule concerning Protection. The (immediate) usefulness of Protection to any trade depends on other trades not being protected. If we commence by protecting any one given trade, this trade will for a time benefit, because it is encouraged by the Protection. Let us say that the woollen industry be protected by a nation where it is new, as in Australia. The trade progresses for a time under the artificial stimulus. But if

afterwards the machine trade is protected, the woollen trade is discouraged by this new protection. It pays more for its machines. If afterwards raw wool is protected, the woollen industry is further discouraged; it pays more for its wool. If, again, the coal industry is protected, the woollen industry is again discouraged; it pays more for its coal. If labour be afterwards protected by laws concerning immigration, the woollen industry is again discouraged; it pays more for its labour.

It is, therefore, to the interest of every protected trade to try and prevent all other trades on which it depends in any way from being protected. This is probably what leads to the scheming and corruption of which we have seen so much in the United States.

Here is a third rule concerning Protection. The protection of one trade is not only counterbalanced by the discouragement it experiences when other trades on which it depends are also protected, but the encouragement is further reduced by the cost of the system. It is quite probable that for every sixpence coming to a protected person, the nation pays from ninepence to a shilling, and loses as much again through its restricted trading powers. I have already mentioned that form of smuggling which consists in under declaring the value of goods. The United States must lose about 30 per cent. of the duties due to her by the rules she has established, because the duties are paid on cost prices instead of on selling prices. This is also a form of loss to the Government incident to all protective arrangements.

Here is what seems to me to be a fourth rule concerning Protection. The profits due to Protection in its earlier stages, and in its application to a few trades only, are carried off by a rise in the rent of land, caused by increased demand for land for houses, mills, offices, with the increased rural activity consequent upon the better trade in the towns.

We see, therefore, several serious objections to Protection. The earlier profits are carried off by a rise in rent. The later profits are only secured to one trade so long as its encouragement is based on the discouragement of a dozen others. The usefulness of Protection to any given trade depends on no protection being accorded to trades on which it in any way depends. Protection breeds trusts. Trusts breed ruin. And when there are no trusts home competition becomes keen enough to take away that advantage which Mr. Balfour claims for protected manufacturing, and the national manufacturer has no longer such command of the home market that he can run his works regularly.

So much for the case as far as reasoning allows us to examine it. But why reason, when we have examples on every hand? The fiscal problem is at bottom the social problem. For is the social problem not that of the production and distribution of wealth?

There is plenty of poverty in every protected country, and plenty of misery and plenty of injustice. It is not well to indulge in paper fights, or to speak, as did Mr. Stead recently, of the "Fiscal Fizzle." The "Fiscal Fizzle" is a question of life and death for millions of men and women, and the problem will have to be faced and the difficulty settled. There are people starving in every direction, while wealth increases by leaps and bounds in the world's storehouses. What we want is a system which will ensure the distribution of the things produced, rapidly and justly.

Protection will not serve, and revenue-tariff systems will not serve. Retaliation is powerless, as we have seen. We must, therefore, go further afield. Admitting that we cannot do anything with the other nations of the world, we can at least face our own problem and deal with our own country. We are, as it seems to me, driven to make the best of our home market or of our Empire. If Protection will not help us, if retaliation is a broken arm, and if our present system of revenue tariffs has reached the limits of its power for good, there remain to be considered the preferentialism of Mr. Chamberlain and hitherto untried Free Trade, which seems to me as the dawn of a splendid day. Which shall it be?

LEONARD M. BURRELL.

## THE BURDEN OF EMPIRE.

### I.

#### THE GROWTH OF IMPERIAL EXPENDITURE.

AMONGST the significant and arresting features of the last decade of our national history, not the least notable or instructive is the persistent and heavy increase of taxation. The continuous pursuit of a policy of expansion, and the acquisition of vast additional territory, have necessarily proved extremely costly, and greatly added to the burden of Empire. Statistics in various and diversified forms abound, and they all tell the same tale—a tale well calculated to give us pause. Yet upon the bulk of the people they probably fail to make any considerable impression, owing to the fact that elaborate tables and masses of figures seldom command more than cursory attention, and that their fulness tends to obscure their moral. Moreover, it is very difficult to grasp the complete import of high numbers; “a hundred” conveys a very definite idea, “a hundred millions” conveys nothing definite. It is quite true that every one has a lively perception of additional taxation, and generally manifests that perception by a growl; and it is also true that when the addition is due to war the cause is sufficiently in evidence. But the full extent of the expenditure and the ultimate effect of the policy are not so readily realised, for the reason that Governments have a happy knack of passing on to posterity a great portion of their exceptional obligations (as though they were remunerative investments), and that the belief strongly prevails that Empire is eventually, if not immediately, attended with substantial recompense. Hence the actual facts are not generally appreciated, and as a consequence the warning they convey is frequently unheeded. Only a part of the burden is felt, and its existence is attributed to anything but national folly; whilst, although this part is sufficiently weighty, it is not regarded as permanent; and, by failing to associate effect with cause, we even listen to schemes for diminishing the pressure which would positively make it more intense. Now that we have squandered our money and increased our debt in order to extend the Empire, we are invited to consolidate that Empire by bribing our Colonies and ostracising other nations, and are told that we shall ourselves find salvation by taxing our food and diminishing

our foreign supplies. Having bred a gnawing disease, we are to feed that disease at its source, and, instead of seeking a radical cure, are to discover a remedy for the evils of Imperialism in—more Imperialism.

The striking indication of the gravity of the situation is the amount, not of extraordinary, but of normal expenditure. Everybody knows that war is expensive—that, as has been sagaciously said, you can have very little of it for a good deal of money—but it is the steady serious growth of recurring unremunerative taxation which calls for emphasis. The cost of our Imperialist *régime* is not to be measured by the special demands, however onerous, made upon the people during the prevalence of hostilities; it is the perennial drain upon the country's resources to which such a *régime* inevitably gives rise that constitutes its chief indictment. Since 1895, the period when the present Imperialist party came into power, the normal expenditure has risen annually with unvarying consistency, until in the space of nine years it shows an increase of nearly 50 per cent.; that is to say, whilst it was £93,918,000 for the year ending March 31, 1895, the estimates place it at £139,454,000 for the year ending March 31, 1904. The "extraordinary" expenditure—war expenditure—during the past four years has been as follows:

1899-1900 .	£23,217,000	1901-1902 .	£73,197,000
1900-1901 .	68,620,000	1902-1903 .	54,082,000

and during the three principal years of the outlay our average total expenditure was just double the amount disbursed in the year 1894-5. Of course the larger proportion of the cost of the war has been defrayed by means of loans upon which interest has to be paid, thereby adding to our permanent burden; and the savings of nearly half a century of comparative peace (only comparative, because we were scarcely ever free from some "little" war, or the savings would have been more) have disappeared. We are to-day confronted with the fact that, upon the basis of ordinary peace expenditure, for every £1 we paid in taxation ten years ago we are now called upon to pay 30s. owing to the growth of Imperialism; and that unless we radically alter our policy the demands made upon us will continue to increase; whilst if we acquiesce in the latest development of the policy we shall find we have less means of meeting those demands.

That the increase in the normal expenditure is mainly Imperial in nature, as distinguished from national, is fairly well demonstrated by the fact that nearly two-thirds of it is for military purposes alone. Of the total expenditure of £93,918,000 for 1894-5 only £35,445,000 was of this character; of the total estimated expenditure of £139,454,000 for 1903-4, £64,457,000 is of this character; that is to say, of the total increase of £45,000,000 (in round figures) £29,000,000 is for the Army and Navy, so that whilst the entire

normal expenditure has risen by a little less than 50 per cent., the military expenditure has risen by more than 80 per cent. And if we add the increase in the National Debt services and eliminate the increase in Post Office expenditure (a branch of the Administration which shows a substantial profit) we have gone a long way to explain the total increase, and cannot escape the conclusion that the great bulk of it is due to the pursuit of a policy of Imperialism.

Nor is this all. Normal expenditure has not only risen to the alarming extent indicated; but the tendency is for it still to rise (the estimates for the current year show an increase, apart from provision for the Sinking Fund, of several millions on the normal expenditure of the previous year) and it must continue to rise so long as the same policy prevails. Imperialism demands an ever-increasing price; for, quite apart from the cost of the wars it provokes, it means a permanent growth of armaments. It is a policy of defiance and a policy of aggression; it engenders the hostility of other nations and it induces them to strengthen their own position, which in turn leads to a counter strengthening, thus imposing a greater and still greater strain upon national resources, until we bid fair to arrive at the time when all our energies will be devoted to the one task of checking burglary, save when they are concentrated on burglarious expeditions of our own. The worthy citizens who gained a precarious living by taking in each others' washing were in a parlous way, but they could at least boast of clean linen; a world of Ishmaelites or of police constables would be reduced to an equally precarious means of livelihood and be more suggestive of dirty linen. Of our present policy the danger is unmistakable; and it has called forth a solemn and weighty warning from no less significant a person than Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, himself an Imperialist and an ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer of the Imperialist Government. Let the gist of his monition be recalled:

"He wanted . . . to ask their attention to a matter which for the last seven years had engaged his most anxious consideration, and that was the rapid growth of the expenditure of the country. . . . The present national indifference . . . was one of the most dangerous symptoms. . . . Did anybody nowadays think of retrenchment at all? Why, day by day he saw the most wild proposals for additional and new expenditure of all kinds. . . . The ordinary estimates—the peace estimates—for the present year were in round figures something like forty millions more than they were seven years ago. . . . The main reasons, of course, were the enormously increased expenditure upon our Navy and Army. . . . The Army estimates had gone up from eighteen millions sterling seven years ago to twenty-nine and a half millions this year. . . . The reason for it was mainly the great extension of the Empire. . . . He had spoken plainly to them. He had spoken plainly, too, as to the dangers of their growing expenditure to the House of Commons. . . . They should remember he had told them that in

the last seven years the ordinary expenditure of the country had increased at a rate of no less than five millions and a half a year. They could not go on in that way.<sup>1</sup>

Since these words were uttered, so far from heeding the warning (notwithstanding its source) we have continued to increase our expenditure; and in lieu of our exhibiting any disposition to amend our ways, it needs all the energies of our sane statesmen and politicians to combat still more costly schemes into which we are recklessly urged to plunge. There is little, if any, abatement of Imperialist ardour; the very opponents of Mr. Chamberlain have almost apologetically to explain that they are as devoted to the cause of Empire as he is; there is apparently no suspicion that the doctrine of racial supremacy is not sound and profitable, no general indication of a desire to alter our policy. Although there is division in the ranks, Imperialism still holds the field.

And yet the question of questions which arises surely is, Does Empire pay? Disregarding, if we will, the moral censure it involves, ignoring, if we may, the sentimental gratification it affords, and looking at it purely from the financial point of view, is it not time, as we witness this burden increasing in weight and pressing more heavily upon all, that we seriously put to ourselves the inquiry, *Cui bono?* We are not Imperialists from philanthropic motives, although we no doubt mix up with our Imperialism a good deal of spurious philanthropy; and when we seek to justify an aggressive war, we always talk of the benefits which accrue from British conquest and British rule. But no one pretends that we deliberately tax ourselves to the extent of millions a year for the good of humanity—indeed we should be perfectly prepared, if we could do it, to raise revenue from other countries (the *ne plus ultra* of taxation without representation), and when an import duty is commended on the ground that it will be paid by the foreigner, whilst the fallacy of the contention is readily exposed, it never seems to occur to any one to protest against its immorality. Imperialism, as has been more fully pointed out elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> has a twofold origin, namely, pride and greed; and the essential point is, to what extent, if any, is greed rewarded, or, in other words (for it matters not for present purposes whether the object is regarded as legitimate or illegitimate), do we obtain a material return for the expenditure. If we are to bear this burden simply to gratify our pride, let us at least not do so ignorantly; for knowledge might tend to diminish the pride and lessen the burden. The general belief seems to be that Empire does pay, and that whilst some of the expenditure is the price of "glory," a great portion of it can be properly regarded as a satisfactory investment. Is this so?

<sup>1</sup> Speech at Bristol, September 29, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> Article on "Imperialism," WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July 1902.



Obviously, if there be a material return, it is an indirect one. Armaments cannot in the nature of things in themselves prove remunerative; their sole purpose is to destroy, not to create. And a military body earns nothing, although it has to be fed and clothed; when it is employed at all it is engaged, not in producing, but in annihilating. That there may be an indirect return is of course possible, but the fact that it can only be indirect adds to the difficulties of the Imperialist's position; for he cannot earmark any item of expenditure as one that pays a dividend. Nor beyond vague general assertions does he in any way indicate what compensation there is; purely Imperial book-keeping is unknown, a statement of assets and liabilities does not exist, a profit and loss account is never prepared, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer has not yet produced the nation's Imperial balance sheet.

What is wanted is a quantification of the cost of the Empire to Great Britain and of the pecuniary set-off, presuming one can be found, and then we should know where we stood. And obviously the obligation to supply this testimony is imposed upon those who assert that Empire is a sound paying concern, and not upon those who challenge the assertion. But as the former exhibit no alacrity to make the requisite investigation, it is necessary this should be independently attempted if we wish to ascertain the actual facts. Absolute precision is doubtless out of the question, for the reason that national expenditure is not distinguished from Imperial expenditure, and the amount of the latter therefore can only be estimated. It should, however, be possible to estimate it with a sufficient approach to accuracy to arrive at the approximate truth—sufficient at any rate to determine whether Empire pays. Of course it may be said that, whatever the result be, we cannot in any case allow the Empire to be disintegrated; and it is no doubt perfectly true that the merits or demerits of Imperialism are not to be determined by purely pecuniary considerations. But they form a very important feature, and indeed with many they are the dominant feature, and with all they carry great weight—and whilst elsewhere other considerations have been discussed,<sup>1</sup> the financial aspect of the question is the one with which we are here principally concerned. We have been launching out in all directions, sinking a vast amount of additional capital, embarking in huge speculations, and we are now invited to new departures most costly in character in the alleged interests of Empire; if we are, in fact, on the wrong tack, if we have been engaged in enterprises which cannot possibly prove remunerative, if our policy has been reckless and threatens to become more reckless, if it has resulted in tremendous loss and is calculated to bring about further disaster, it is at least of first importance that

<sup>1</sup> See foot-note previous page; also article on "Benevolent Despotism," WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July 1903.

we should not be blind to the fact, or continue our course in the belief that it is profitable.

Let us, therefore, endeavour to ascertain what are our Imperial liabilities and expenditure, and also whether we have any remunerative Imperial assets or revenue, with a view to determine whether or not Empire is a sound investment on the part of the dominant country. Whether or not it conduces to the interests of any other particular section of the Imperial group, or of the entire Imperial group regarded collectively, are separate questions, the first of which could only be answered by a separate investigation in the case of each section, and the answer to the second of which would largely depend upon the data thus obtained. But the point which concerns us as a nation is whether the pursuit of an Imperial policy is conducive to the interests of Great Britain.

#### THE PRICE OF EMPIRE.

The British Empire—so called—is a strange amalgam. We must take it as we find it and adopt conventional nomenclature, but it is a compound of at least three distinct elements which do not coalesce. First, there is the paramount power, the United Kingdom—again so called, for it is itself engaged in incessant internal conflict, and one of its sections is in quasi-rebellion. The hybrid residue comprises, on the one hand, autonomous communities substantially independent, and on the other, subject communities arbitrarily governed; whilst to add to the incongruities, a fourth section might be differentiated in which partial autonomy is combined with partial subserviency. Obviously there is no common bond of interest between all these diverse and even antagonistic bodies, although the general belief seems to be that they are blended in one harmonious whole, and that the "Empire" is the most perfect and glorious political institution which the wit of the most gifted of mortals could devise. Of course the only section (no doubt by far the largest) in which true Empire is illustrated is that which is absolutely subject to the dominant country; but as our Imperial policy and Imperial expenditure are by no means so limited, there is no need to undertake the difficult task of drawing distinctions in this respect, although when we inquire into the question of contribution the Colonies and dependencies must be separately regarded.

To ascertain our Imperial liabilities we have to refer to our National Debt—for, whilst it is the nation's debt, it embodies Imperial expenditure—and this also will disclose one substantial item of the annual cost of Empire. It originated in the "King's debt," contracted by the later Stewarts, but the amount at the Revolution of 1688 was comparatively nominal, being only two-thirds of a million. Since that period, that is to say in a little over 200

years, it has grown to the colossal figure of nearly £800,000,000, and this almost entirely as the result of the periodic military enterprises in which the nation has engaged. The following table as to the approximate amount of debt (in round figures) incurred in connection with the principal of these enterprises is sufficiently instructive:

	Million £.
Wars with France during the reign of William III. . . . .	14
War with France (Spanish Succession) during the reign of Anne . . . . .	21
War with Spain during the reign of George I. . . . .	15
Wars with Spain (Right of Search) and France (Austrian Succession) during the reign of George II. . . . .	29
The Seven Years' War during the reign of George III. . . . .	60
American War of Independence in the same reign . . . . .	110
The Great War with France in the same reign . . . . .	610
The Crimean War . . . . .	32
The Boer War (over £18,000,000 also diverted from Sinking Fund) . . . . .	159

There have in addition been sundry "little wars," and of course the principal wars cost considerably more than the amount permanently added to the debt; indeed, during the period under review we spent altogether something like £1,500,000,000 in slaughtering human beings and devastating territory, of which just about half still constitutes a national burden.<sup>1</sup>

Now it is no doubt perfectly true that a vast proportion of this huge expenditure was not directly incurred in connection with the maintenance or extension of Empire, but it is equally true that it was incurred in pursuit of that policy of aggressiveness, self-assertion, pride or racial supremacy, which are of the very essence of Imperialism. In no case were we engaged in defending our shores, in no case was "little England" in danger; in other words, if there has been any compensation or gain, it is Imperial in its nature; if any benefit has resulted from the expenditure, Imperialists are entitled to claim what credit may attach to it. Two of the wars, namely, the American and South African Wars, were unequivocally waged solely to secure Empire, and the cost of these alone was about £370,000,000 or one-half of the present amount of the debt. And the whole of the wars were waged for the reason that we were and are, and sought and seek still more to be, a world-wide Power. At the time of the accession of William III., when the debt was considerably under £1,000,000, we had, with the exception of some small islands or insignificant patches of territory (and apart

<sup>1</sup> The total of the table given above comes to more than £1,000,000,000, but substantial payments off were from time to time made in the intervals between the great wars. The amount of the National Debt is now, as already indicated, a little under £800,000,000. Of the £159,000,000 (which only produced £152,415,000) due to the Boer War, it is officially expected that we shall eventually obtain about £34,000,000 from the Transvaal.

from some of the American Colonies we subsequently lost) no foreign possessions—we were then content (and indeed rather proud) to be “a little island in the Northern Sea.” It is because we have developed into an Imperial race and possess the qualities and characteristics of an Imperial race, that we have indulged in these costly wars and have to sustain this heavy burden. There is, therefore, an absolute justification for debiting Imperialism with the whole cost of these gigantic military enterprises; but there is no need to labour the point, since the present debt only represents about one-half of that cost; so that if the most liberal deductions were made for what might be regarded as doubtful items, it would still remain true that our present heavy liability represents part of the price of Imperialism. The substantial fact for the present generation of Englishmen is that they find themselves saddled with a debt of nearly £800,000,000, not because they or their ancestors have had to fight for their homes, but because they, in the pursuit of an Imperial policy, engaged in the ruthless and costly work of destroying the homes of other peoples.

The interest on our National Debt thus constitutes the first item of our annual Imperial expenditure; and its amount in round figures is £20,000,000, but it is somewhat increased by cost of management; and, with the provision for the Sinking Fund, the total amount of the “National Debt Services” is now fixed at £27,000,000.

The other and heavier item of this expenditure is that in connection with the Army and Navy; and at the present time this, as has been intimated, is more than £64,000,000 (£30,000,000 on the Army and £34,500,000 on the Navy). With regard to this, it must of course be recognised that a powerful navy is necessary for the defence of our shores, and to some extent an army is similarly necessary; and to this extent the expense incurred can be properly regarded as an insurance against the risk of invasion. It is significant, however, that despite the great wars to which reference has been made, and despite the fact that scarcely a year passes without our being engaged in some military enterprise, in no case has Great Britain been the arena of the conflict; we fight our battles in every part of the globe save on our native shores, which alone is pointedly suggestive of their being aggressive and not defensive. (Parenthetically, it may be remarked that if the horrors of war were brought home to us individually and collectively, we should certainly resort to arms with much less alacrity and enthusiasm than, with our present immunity, we now exhibit.) Moreover, the danger, such as it is, of a hostile attack upon our shores would be minimised by our pursuing a policy of international amity and reduction of armaments; and we positively add to our risk by that policy of international enmity and increased armaments which is so

characteristic of Imperialism. A third of our present expenditure would be ample for our own protection. The sea is our natural bulwark against aggression; a large permanent army is unnecessary, and even with regard to the navy—and not forgetting the necessity of protecting our merchandise fleet—no one will pretend that, apart from Empire, it need approach its present dimensions. Thirty years ago a sum of £24,000,000 was deemed sufficient to spend on the Army and Navy together; although we then boasted that the sun never set upon the dominions of the Queen—and however much the Empire may have been since enlarged, our own shores have not expanded; so that such a sum should at least be more than sufficient for purely national defence. Indeed, even for the protection of the Empire, vast as it is, nothing like the present expenditure is requisite; a great part of it is simply the cost of a policy of expansion and defiance, and is distinctly so traceable. If we had been and were willing, without abandoning anything acquired, to desist from that policy and aim at promoting international goodwill, we might eventually cut down our military expenditure by probably one-half. However that may be, it is clear that somewhere about £20,000,000 per annum would be a sufficient premium to ensure our own land and shipping against the risk of attack, although if an actual attack should unhappily occur, there would be a largely increased war disbursement for the time being. Something can no doubt be said as to the desirability of being sufficiently strong to prevent or assist in preventing acts of aggression on the part of other nations; but in the days when our expenditure was on an infinitely less considerable scale we were as potent in the councils of Europe, and if emergencies arise we can temporarily add to our forces; whilst it is significant that, quick as we are to resent any insult or injury (real or supposed) to ourselves, we do not, in fact, interfere to put down even gross cruelty by others, although largely responsible for the circumstances which render it possible, as in the case of the Armenian and Macedonian horrors. Look at the matter, then, how we may, we come back to the conclusion that, apart from Imperial considerations, a third of our present naval and military expenditure should suffice in times of peace; and of our £64,500,000, £43,000,000 can be legitimately regarded as a further part of the price of Imperialism.

If, then, we take the amount of the National Debt Services, £27,000,000, and the above proportion, £43,000,000, of the naval and military expenditure, we get an annual Imperial (as distinguished from national) expenditure of £70,000,000—just half of our total expenditure of £140,000,000. As, however, the first item permits of over £6,000,000 being applied to a Sinking Fund, and will thus have the effect of reducing the amount of future interest, let

us give credit for this, and regard the annual Imperial burden as in round figures £64,000,000. For the purpose of comparison we ought to deduct from our total expenditure the cost, about £14,000,000, of the Post and Telegraph Service (as it yields a considerably greater sum), thus reducing the amount to £126,000,000; and we must also, in this connection, give credit for the sum to be appropriated to the Sinking Fund, thus still further reducing the amount to £120,000,000; and we then see that our purely Imperial expenditure, even as above reduced, is considerably more than half the total, that is considerably more than our purely national expenditure. This is the pecuniary burden which Empire has imposed upon us.

JNO. GEO. GODARD.

*(To be continued.)*

## THE REPRESSION OF VAGRANCY

### AS A MEANS OF AMELIORATING THE CONDITION OF THE SLUMS.

WHEN Dr. Chalmers fully sixty years ago penned his eloquent remonstrance against the introduction of the Poor Law system into the parishes of Scotland,<sup>1</sup> the only funds available for the relief of the poor consisted of the voluntary contributions collected in the parish churches on Sundays and distributed by the "Kirk Session." This simple and economical arrangement had been found to work well for many generations. In rural parishes the elders knew every one, and, with due regard to the susceptibilities of those requiring help, could deal with them in a confidential and friendly way. The sums raised were small, but they answered their purpose. Dr. Chalmers institutes a comparison in this respect between his own parish of Kilmany and a parish in the South of England of the same extent and a similar class of agricultural population—a parish which he had visited. He found that under the Poor Law system the English parish had to raise £1500 annually, while in his own parish the total cost per annum was £50; and he testifies that from personal observation the poor of Kilmany were better cared for, more contented and happy than those under the care of a Board of Guardians. But he regarded the economy as a secondary consideration. His main argument was based on two considerations. He believed that compulsory assessment for the relief of the poor tends to discourage, if not to put an end to, the wholesome influences of spontaneous charity and the beneficent effect on the character of the benevolent which the freplay of sympathy for the afflicted never fails to produce; and his second reason, that the inevitable consequence would be to pauperise and debase the character of the recipients compulsorily and the extinction of that characteristic of manly independence which had so long distinguished the Scottish peasantry.

In an interesting letter acknowledging receipt of Chalmers' essay, Carlyle wrote :

<sup>1</sup> *The Sufficiency of the Parochial System without a Poor Rate for the Right Management of the Poor.* Dr. Chalmers' Works, vol. xxi.

“ . . . It seems to me a great truth, this fundamental principle of yours, which I trace as the origin of all these hopes, endeavours, and convictions in regard to pauperism, that human things cannot stand on selfishness, mechanical utilities, economics, and law-courts; that if there be not a religious element in the relations of men, such relations are miserable and doomed to ruin. A poor-law can be no lasting remedy; the poor and the rich, when once the naked parts of their condition come into collision, cannot long live together upon a poor-law! Solely as a sad transitional palliative against still fiercer miseries and insupportabilities can it pretend to recommend itself till something better be vouchsafed us with *true* healing under its wings!

“ Alas! the poor of this country seem to me, in these years, to be fast becoming the miserablest of all sorts of men. Black slaves in South Carolina, I do believe, deserve pity enough; but the black is at least not stranded, cast ashore, from the stream of human interests, and left to perish there; he is connected with human interests, *belongs* to those above him, if only as a slave. Blacks, too, I suppose, are cased in a beneficent wrappage of stupidity and insensibility; one pallid Paisley weaver, with the sight of his famishing children round him, with the memory of his decent independent father before him, has probably more wretchedness in his single heart than a hundred blacks. . . .

“ That you, with your generous, hopeful heart, believe there may still exist in our actual churches enough of divine fire to awaken the supine rich and the degraded poor, and act victoriously against such a mass of pressing and ever-accumulating evils—alas! what worse could be said of this, by the bitterest opponent of it, than that it is a noble hoping against hope, a noble, strenuous determination to gather from the dry deciduous tree what the green alone could yield? . . .

“ But enough of this. Go as it may, your labours in this matter are not lost—no jot of them is lost. Nay, in one shape or another, as I believe, the thing that you advocate must verily realise itself in this earth—across what famines, poor-laws, convulsions, and embroiled strugglings is not known to man. My prayer is that a voice so humane, so true and wise, may long be heard in this debate, and attentively laid to heart on all sides.”—*Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers*, vol. ii. p. 532.

Here Carlyle reveals for a moment a glimpse of that tender and true sympathetic nature which was too often veiled beneath his rugged exterior. He fully appreciates his friend's sentiments and his benevolent aspirations, but with keener insight he foresees that the voluntary system is doomed, if the inevitable consequences of things are allowed to take their course. As yet it may be said that neither the pessimistic forebodings of the philosopher or the great divine have been realised. Chalmers himself headed a movement which rendered the continuance of the old Scotch system impossible—the disruption of the Church in 1843. With two or more churches in every parish, two or more kirk sessions, without much affectation of Christian charity between them, rivalry supplanted co-operation. But, on the other hand, it is a remarkable fact, consolidation of the Free Church under Chalmers' masterly guidance, and especially its admirable financial policy, did more than anything else in the history of the Church to stimulate in all the churches that very virtue of Christian liberality which Chalmers feared would die out when poor-rates became compulsory. The people



became familiarised with the habit of giving, their sympathies became more expansive, they contributed far more than they had ever done before to the relief of the poor in many different ways indirectly, besides paying their legal rates, so that there has been, since Chalmers' time, no diminution—as he feared—but an enormous development of benevolence.

But while the exercise of benevolence is in itself commendable, and carries with it its own reward, it completely fails in its object if impulse be not tempered with prudence; and in these days the ecclesiastical conditions have so greatly changed that instead of the old unity of organisation we have innumerable different sects, each believing that its existence is justified by the peculiar sanctity of its own pet shibboleth, and therefore that all who cannot pronounce the word with precisely the same accent are *anathema maranatha*.

In the altered circumstances the judicious distribution of alms by any of the churches in ignorance of what others are doing cannot be expected, and some non-ecclesiastical and independent organisation seems indispensable. The need of this is more urgent because the effect of the administration of the parochial boards was very much what Dr. Chalmers anticipated. It is a melancholy fact that there is not the same strong desire and strenuous effort to get on without parochial assistance which formerly prevailed. There is a diminished sensibility to the disgrace of being on the pauper roll and a consequent loss of self-respect. At the same time, those who never had any self-respect to lose have shown to a greater extent than formerly a tendency to claim as a right the aid they have always thanklessly received, and are careless to avoid excesses which they well know will land them in the poor-house hospital.

Upon the whole, although Carlyle's gloomy forebodings have not yet been realised, we seem to have reached a stage in the history of national pauperism when, to prevent worse consequences, we must treat every variety of pauper—deserving and undeserving—on uniform and strictly business principles, which, however, does not imply that we are to make no difference between our treatment of the poor who have served their generation well and the idle and dissolute men and women who have been a burden on the respectable portion of the community all their days. That would be the very reverse of businesslike.

It may perhaps be found that the policy of "hustle" is the only expedient available in existing circumstances, but "hustle" can only be a palliative, not a cure, and we must not rest contented with that. We must change the circumstances. We must seek for the source of the evil, not merely to dam up the current, or turn it aside in another direction, but to dry it up at its source.

Now witnesses of the greatest experience in dealing with the

poor concur in saying that next to the direct and indirect effects of intemperance, the main factor in producing disorderliness, vice and disease which abound in the slums is the perennial influx of hosts of the vagrant, mendicant, and semi-mendicant classes which abound in all parts of the country and which are one of the products of misplaced, and therefore mischievous, charity.

No one conversant with the circumstances can doubt the correctness of this opinion. It is then evident that if the rule, "If a man will not work, neither let him eat," could be rigidly enforced this great cause of the pollution and degradation of the slums would soon be eradicated.

It seems impossible to persuade well-meaning people in the country that by giving alms to tramps and beggars they are directly helping to perpetuate conditions of existence which are a disgrace to our civilisation; yet a large measure of success might be attained by the co-operation of the more intelligent portion of our country friends—for it is in the country, for the most part, that the vagrant is bred and nourished, and without the co-operation of the country the towns must still be content to fall back on the mere palliative device of "hustle."

From what has just been said it must be obvious that, as a first step towards putting things on a better footing in this respect, it is essential that in each parish there should be practically but one almoner. There should also be one common purse for the spontaneous charity of each parish, to which all those desirous of helping the poor to a greater extent than the law requires should be encouraged to contribute; and a systematic attempt should also be made to disseminate correct information regarding the pernicious consequences of indiscriminate alms-giving. I have elsewhere proposed, and it may be repeated here, that in order to make this practicable the aid of parish councils should be invoked; and if they have not power at present to distribute outdoor relief contributed by the parishioners voluntarily, they should have that power conferred on them. Assuming that they are authorised to act in this way, what I suggest is:

That a special committee of the parish council should be appointed for the express purpose of dealing with this important matter, and that there should be associated with it a certain number of representative men and women known to be interested in the welfare of their poorer neighbours. It should not be difficult to arrange for the selection of these. The numbers would vary according to the population, and nominations might be made by the churches. In my opinion, however, no clergyman should be eligible. Secularism should be sunk. The common fund would consist of collections, charitable endowments (if any) and individual free-will offerings collected during the year and handed over to the charity

committee at (say) Christmas time for distribution at their discretion by the inspector of the parish during the ensuing year. The fund would be available for improving the condition of the deserving poor, whether on the parochial roll or not, and, if well managed, might in some cases almost take the place of the much-talked-of old-age pension. It would not be available for vagrants or tramps—these would be dealt with by the authorities in strict accordance with the law. Every endeavour should be made to induce people to refrain from giving anything at the door, and rather to lay aside the coin they are tempted to give for the common fund. If people only knew the harm they do by giving at the door they would deny themselves the pleasure and thereby promote the welfare of thousands. People importuned should be able to refer the beggar to some place of call where his circumstances would be inquired into. Numberless small details must be left over in the meantime, but the above sketch of the suggested scheme may enable one to form some idea of its practicability, and I submit that we should have no hesitation in requiring public bodies, such as our parish councils, to undertake duties of this kind if they are generally recognised to have importance as bearing on the welfare of the community at large.

It will be seen that what is suggested above would result in the formation of a distinctly undenominational charity organisation society for each parish. The operations of such associations have in the past been confined to our larger towns, but hitherto no systematic attempt has been made to introduce them into our country districts, where, as the remarks I have just made clearly indicate, they are quite as much required. This is no doubt due to existing circumstances—chiefly ecclesiastical—which go so far to prevent unity of action. But, with a rallying point such as the parish council, having a civil, and in no sense an ecclesiastical, constitution, a basis for union of a permanent character would be provided, which, in all probability, would lead to co-operation of all parties and creeds in the formation of what would come to be recognised as an indispensable parish institution.

The result of the operations of such a committee would be that decent working men, seeking employment and temporarily on tramp, and the deserving poor resident in the parish would be benefited at the expense of the professional vagrant, who, finding his usual source of relief gone, would come within the reach of the Poor Law authorities, to be dealt with according to (what we hope soon to see) laws specially adapted to the circumstances. He would probably soon find that he had either to make up his mind to work for his living in freedom, or to work under detention in a labour colony. The value of these institutions has been sufficiently proved, and it is attested by men of the greatest experience in connection with Poor Law administration, who advise that their numbers should

be greatly increased, so that one, at least, should be directly connected with every urban parish, while combination colonies should be provided for groups of rural parishes.

So far as we can see at present, labour colonies, or some equivalent, seem to be indispensable; but the organisation which we have suggested in this paper, while in itself insufficient for the suppression of vagrancy, would do much to turn the charity of benevolent individuals into a proper channel, be the means of bringing vagrants within the grip of the parochial authorities, and also do much to educate the people of the country as to their responsibilities in matters of this kind, and the great harm that is done by indiscriminate charity.

But nothing which has been suggested can be done without alterations in our existing poor-law code. All that need be said about that here is that we should not be content with mere makeshift amendments, but, with nearly a century's experience, and the guidance of the requirements of the altered circumstances of our times before our eyes, we should face the difficult task of consolidating our poor-laws, and altering them so that they shall be fully and perfectly adapted to the requirements of the present day.

It might be expected that we should refer to evangelistic effort as a factor in the amelioration of slum life, but its influence in the past has been almost imperceptible. Some even go so far as to say that the operations of the churches among the lowest class of the population has done more harm than good. It must, at all events, be admitted that we look in vain for evidence that the work of the churches in this direction has been productive of any marked improvement, and, if we look back over a period of thirty or forty years, we shall probably find that the proportion of vagrants and other idle and dissolute persons to the population remains at the present day undiminished. Nor is it surprising that it should be so to any one who takes an unprejudiced view of the circumstances. First, we have a population almost deficient of moral sense, keenly alive to sensual gratifications, deficient in imagination and intensely selfish. To these come the emissaries of, say, a dozen different religious denominations acting independently of each other, but all proclaiming the same glad tidings—that there is now no condemnation—that they have only to believe and they are safe. The vagrant naturally says to himself: "This seems all right; in the meantime I shall take all I can get from these people."

The truth is that the scheme of redemption which puzzles wiser heads is a great deal too much for the average vagrant. He is not imaginative, he has had no preliminary training at his mother's knee, far less learned "The Shorter Catechism, with proofs, for the use of such as be of weaker capacity," and those who deal with him as if he were able to comprehend what they say

are only propagating dissimulation and encouraging hypocrisy. A totally different method seems to be necessary. Christianity may not be an ideal religion, but it is at least an idealistic one and far above the comprehension of the hereditary vagrant, who is not likely to be influenced by the hope of rewards—such as they are—only to be realised in a future state of being. Hardly any of those suddenly converted have any real apprehension of the doctrines of the Christian religion, otherwise the Westminster Assembly of Divines expended a vast amount of time and thought to little purpose when they compiled "The Shorter Catechism for the instruction of the unlearned."

It is much easier to whitewash some things than to wash them white, but the most refractory nature may be influenced by judicious treatment. Religion can never in the future do more than it has done in the past towards the regeneration of our slum populations without practical methods and concentrated action. What is needed, then, is concentration of the religious forces; a comprehensive and well-devised plan of campaign; a central authority with supreme command; and less reliance on sentimental methods where sentiment cannot be reciprocated. Every one knows the dangers of divided authority, and it is still easier to perceive the inevitable result if, in civil warfare, a general had conscientious scruples about killing the enemy or cutting off his supplies when he had it in his power to do so. Severity should be sweetened, not smothered, by charity.

JOHN HONEYMAN.

A SPANISH ROMEO AND JULIET.<sup>1</sup>

THE great progress made in education during the last few years in Spain and Spanish America has led to an extensive demand for the ancient Spanish classics in a cheap and well-edited form.

Of these series the one which certainly takes the highest place is the *Biblioteca Clasica*, now being published by Hernando at Madrid—and of the volumes contained in it not the least admirable is that of the *Selected Plays* of Calderon, edited by the distinguished critic, D. M. M. Pelayo.

The first volume contains four of his religious and philosophical plays, including *Life is a Dream*, *Devotion to the Cross*, the *Wonderful Magician* (a Spanish *Faust*), and the *Constant Prince*.

Of these, that Spanish *Romeo and Juliet*, the *Devotion to the Cross*, is probably the least known, although in many ways it is the most interesting, especially to English readers, as from the fascination which it had for Hoffmann, Schlegel, and others of the German Romanticists at the beginning of this century, it exercised much indirect influence upon the development of our novel literature.

The story of *Romeo and Juliet* had apparently the same charm for the novelists and dramatists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as Richardson's *Pamela* or Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* had for the sentimentalists of Europe in the eighteenth century. Just as every budding writer and every crowned philosopher from Sweden to Spain and from Paris to Moscow wept over the *Expiring Ass*, so *Romeo and Juliet* had in the preceding centuries the singular destiny of captivating some of the greatest writers of Spain, Italy, and England, in each case being treated by them in a manner which faithfully reflected the spirit of their environment. In Italian hands it became the tale of a purely worldly passion from which every reference to a Higher Power was excluded as carefully as it was from the love romances of the Borgias; in England with Shakespeare, and even in some degree with his predecessor Arthur Brooke, the story of the ill-starred lovers was made a canvas on which those emotional and mystic sentiments, which formed the last lingering relics of the old religion of England in the hearts of those who scorned to replace the banished

<sup>1</sup> *Teatro Selecto de Calderon de la Barca*. De D. Marcelino Menendez Pelayo. Madrid: Viuda de Hernando y C<sup>a</sup>. 1897. *Teatro Escogido de Calderon de la Barca*. Por Don E. de Ochoa. Paris: Baudry. 1863.

creed by the gloomy formulas of Puritanism, could embroider the figures of the Powers above as they saw them through "the dim religious light" into which the once bright glow of the earlier faith had died down. In Spain a Lope de Vega mingled the history with those fantastic stories of adventure, where "more was *not* meant than met the ear," which Don Quixote was to still for ever, and yet his successor, Calderon de la Barca, could use it as an exposition not only of that all-o'erruling necessity which, foreshadowed in Shakespeare by Friar Lawrence, moulds men's lives at its will, but also of that religion of the Catholic Reformation in which a passionate faith, as contrasted with an ill-lived life, must needs ensure salvation, the religion whose antithesis is "He, who believeth not, shall be damned."

It is no singular phenomenon that Calderon should have treated one of Shakespeare's themes. In *El Medico de su Honra* (*His Honour's Leech*), the plot, and even many passages, greatly resemble *Othello*, whilst others recall *Twelfth Night* and the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. In *La Cisma de Inglaterra* (*The Schism of England*) he has treated the history of Henry VIII. from the point of view of a supporter of Catherine of Aragon, whilst that he had some knowledge of English seems confirmed by the fact that in *El Sitio de Breda* (*The Siege of Breda*) he introduces with much accuracy Sir Charles Morgan, a Monmouthshire knight, who was governor of the town, and who (if his portrait really figures in *Las Lanzas*), was probably the only Englishman who was made the subject of important canvases both by Van Dyck and Velasquez. *El Purgatorio de San Patricio* (*The Purgatory of St. Patrick*), based on the legend of Lough Dearg in Ireland, is also one of his comedies. We may add that in his *Cisma de Inglaterra* (*Schism of England*) Calderon speaks with a precision which no old Etonian can fail to recognise of the Wolsey, now the Albert, Memorial Chapel in St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle.

"*Wolsey*. Well, what have you seen?

*Pasquin* [*gracioso*]. Your funeral. What a mighty chapel you are building. For a small bird 'tis a large cage. But—you are not going to be buried in it."

*Cage* is no bad description of the building adorned by Baron Triquetti, and the sarcophagus, once destined for Wolsey, now holds the remains of the victor of Trafalgar. In the same play, "the impregnable Tower of London, which the palace windows face," is not at all unlike the views from the Great Gallery at Greenwich in sixteenth-century engravings,<sup>1</sup> where the Tower looms grandly across the mud flats and willows of Rotherhithe; whilst much of the material of the drama is taken from Chapuis' (Shakespeare's Capuccius) despatches from the Court of Henry VIII. to Charles V.

<sup>1</sup> A good *View from Greenwich*, dated 1690, now in the picture-gallery of the Royal Naval Hospital, Greenwich, shows the Tower conspicuously.

These remarks would almost seem to afford the same proofs that Calderon must himself have been in England as Dean Church and Mr. Gladstone have drawn as to Dante's visit from his allusions to "the heart which still beside the Thames is honoured," and to the clock sounding its "*Tin, tin* with its sweet note," which the imaginative Dean of Wells imagined may still be seen in his own cathedral.

Consequently it is not remarkable that in his *Devocion de la Cruz* Calderon should have treated those portions of his plot, which are modified from *Romeo and Juliet*, in a fashion which recalls Shakespeare more nearly than it does either his Italian predecessors, or the *Los Castelvines y Monteses* of Lope de Vega.

It may be interesting, therefore, to trace the story of *Romeo and Juliet* from its origin in some detail. Although a somewhat similar episode occurs in the *Ephesiaca*, the versions used by modern writers are probably based on real events which took place at Verona in the year 1363, during the reign of Shakespeare's Prince Escalus, Bartolommeo della Scala. Masaccio of Salerno turned the history into a novel in 1470, whilst in 1535 Luigi da Porto considerably extended it and made it more dramatic. After being made the subject of a poor poem in 1553, by Clizia of Verona, it was in 1555 taken in hand by Matteo Bandello, Bishop of Agen, whose version became popular all over Europe, and was the source whence Lope de Vega drew his play of *Los Castelvines y Monteses* (*The Capulets and Montagus*).

Although Bandello's adaptation was known to Shakespeare, he unfortunately followed Arthur Brooke's translation (*Romeus and Juliet*), of Clizia's poem, and was thus led to omit the fine scenes in which Juliet awakes before Romeo expires, and Romeo, after drinking the poison, addresses Tybalt's corpse.

All these Italian variants seem to have been studied by Calderon, as was also Lope de Vega's *Los Castelvines y Monteses*, and they were all employed in that portion of his play which he took from *Romeo and Juliet*.

In Masaccio, the hero, Mariotto Mignanelli, is resident in Sienna, and after secretly marrying a lady of the Saraceni family, is banished from his native city to Alexandria, for killing another noble in a brawl. His wife follows him to Egypt, but on her way thither is taken by pirates, and does not reach Alexandria until her husband has left it, disguised as a pilgrim, on his return to Tuscany. Here he is recognised, arrested, and executed three days before his wife's return home. Finding him dead, she is removed by her uncle to a convent, "where," to adopt Roscoe's translation, "in silent grief she daily faded away, and, often calling piteously upon her dear husband's name, not long after expired." From Masaccio, Calderon took the name of Sienna, the secret marriage, and the residence and death of his heroine in a convent.



In Luigi da Porto's hands the story becomes at once far more dramatic, and approaches more nearly to that which we know so well.

He brings before us the faction fights of the Montecchi and Capuletti at Verona, Ghibelline families who, as early as 1310, served Dante as types of those Imperialists who were oppressed by the Guelphs. The Montecchi, says Da Porto, took their name from their former residence, Monticoli, near Udine. The feud had been partly appeased by Bartolommeo della Scala, when a young Montecco, Romeo, goes to a masked ball at Messer Antonio Capuletto's house, at which Giulietta, his host's daughter, falls in love with him.

Knowing who Romeo is, Giulietta for a time combats her love both on account of the enmity between the two houses, and because she thinks Romeo is only wooing her to bring her to shame, seeing her father would not allow her to wed him. Finally she decides to love Romeo, "having long continually lived between two different moods," allows him to serenade her, and at last, at the risk of his life, to climb into her balcony one moonlight night. "And if you were caught," said the lady, "might you not very easily come by your death?" "Madam," replied Romeo, "certainly I may, very possibly, find my death here, and of a surety I shall do so some night or other, unless you help me, but seeing I am just as near death everywhere else as I am here, I seek to die as near you as possible, though all the same I would always long to live if that only pleased Heaven and you."

It is very interesting to compare Shakespeare's and Calderon's versions of this episode.

*Juliet.* How cam'st thou hither, tell me, and wherefore?  
The orchard walls are high and hard to climb;  
And the place death considering who thou art,  
If any of my kinsmen find thee here.

*Romeo.* Alack, there lies more peril in thine eye  
Than twenty of their swords; look thou but sweet,  
And I am proof against their enmity.

*Juliet.* I would not for the world they saw thee here.

*Romeo.* I have night's cloak to hide me from their sight,  
An but thou love me, let them find me here:  
My life were better ended by their hate  
Than death prorogued, wanting of thy love."

So Calderon, when his hero Eusebio, having, unknown to his mistress, Julia, slain Lisardo, her brother, in a duel, seeks refuge in her house:

*Julia.* What meaneth this? Thou in this house?

*Eusebio.* Of my ill fortune and my love for thee  
Have set me in this jeopardy.  
The hardness

*Julia.* How then  
Hast thou contrived thine entrance to these walls,  
And dared a venture madmen deem too mad?  
*Eusebio.* Because I fear not death.  
*Julia.* What is thy purpose?  
*Eusebio.* To-day I fain would earn thy favour, Julia,  
That, grateful, thou may'st give my love new life  
And give new keenness to my fond desire.'

Romeo begs her to fly with him, Giulietta refuses, but finally consents on condition that he will arrange to marry her in the presence of her confessor, Fra Lorenzo da Reggio, a magician and a great distiller of simples, who, being a friend of Romeo's, agrees to marry them in the hope of making peace in Verona. The pair are accordingly married in his confessional during Lent, Giulietta having gone there nominally to confession, but shortly afterwards, Romeo, who in the meantime has been in the habit of visiting his wife secretly at night, kills Tybaldo dei Capuletti in endeavouring to part the Montagus and Capulets, is denounced by the latter party to the Prince, and is banished to Mantua, whither his wife desires to accompany him dressed as a page. Romeo refuses, "for it would not please God, my dear soul, were you to come with me in any other guise than you would wear if I were taking you with me to my own home." Accordingly Giulietta stays on at Verona, arranging to communicate with her husband through his servant Pietro, and Romeo departs for Mantua. The episode of Count Paris di Lodrone follows, related much as in Shakespeare. The scene between Messer Antonio and Giulietta is worth transcribing, because it appears to be the source of the dialogue both in *Romeo and Juliet* and *La Devocion de la Cruz*.

" 'What do you mean?' said Messer Antonio on her refusal to marry the Count; 'do you wish, then, to go into a convent?' to which she replied, 'Sir, I don't know,' and at these words burst into floods of tears, on which her father said, 'This I know, that you do not wish it; be at rest on the subject, for I intend to have you married to one of the Counts of Lodrone.' Thereupon the girl, weeping bitterly, replied, 'This shall never be.' On this Messer Antonio, in a great rage, threatened to beat her if she ever dared again to dispute his pleasure, and also if she did not tell him the reason for her weeping; but, as he could not get anything out of her save tears, he, though annoyed beyond measure, left her with her mother, although he could not make the least conjecture what his daughter had a mind to."

She sends a message to Romeo through Pietro that she would rather poison herself than yield to such a marriage, and goes to Fra Lorenzo for his advice under pretext of confession. She asks him for poison, he refuses, but gives her an opiate, and advises her to consent to the marriage, but to take the draught and be found in a coma on the wedding morning. From this point the story proceeds nearly as in Shakespeare. The friar sent to Romeo by Friar Lawrence fails to deliver his message, whilst Pietro reaches Mantua

and tells his master of Giulietta's death and burial. Romeo at once leaves for Verona with a phial of poison in his sleeve, enters the vault, clasps Giulietta in his arms, and she awakes. She thinks he is Fra Lorenzo and has betrayed her, a hint used with great effect by Mira de Messena, Calderon's predecessor, in his *Esclavo del Demonio* (*The Demon's Slave*), but Romeo reveals himself, and says he has taken poison. She wishes to die with him. He dissuades her, but she answers :

“‘ If you are to die on account of my pretended death, what ought I to do on account of yours, which is only too real ? I am only grieved that I have not the means of dying before your eyes, and I hate myself because I must live so long ; but I firmly hope that it will be no long time before I shall be your companion in your death, as I have been its cause ;’ and when she had with difficulty ended these words she fell down in a dead faint.”

Fra Lorenzo breaks open the vault, Romeo dies, and after Giulietta has refused to go into a convent, she falls down dead on her lover's corpse. The arrest of the Friar follows. He explains everything to the Prince. The Montagns and Capulets are reconciled and a monument is raised to the two lovers in the church of S. Francesco.

“Clizia” is a pseudonym for a Venetian noble, the only importance of whose poem lies in the fact that it makes Juliet awake after Romeo's death.

To Bandello, with whom he was acquainted through French and English translations, Shakespeare owes much of his inspiration. It was the Bishop of Agen from whom he took the history of Rosaline and the scene between Juliet and her nurse after the ball. The description of Juliet's hesitation to drink the opiate for fear of awaking beside Tybalt's corpse in the vault is very vigorous, but, as has been said, under Brooke's guidance, Shakespeare omits the finest scene of all, one from which Calderon was to borrow much, that, namely, in the vault, in which Romeo, while clasping Juliet in his arms, addresses Tybalt's corpse :

“Tybalt, wherever thou mayest be, thou must know that I did not seek to offend thee, but rather intervened in the fray to compose it, and to warn thee to withdraw thy men, as I had made mine lay down their arms ; but thou, who wast full of anger and of thine ancient hatred, tookedst no heed of my words but assailedst me with felonious purpose to vent thy rage upon me. I was pressed hard by thee, lost my patience, and would not draw back a finger's-breadth, and as I was defending myself, my ill fortune willed that I should slay thee. Now I crave thy pardon for the offence which I have done thy body ; and the more earnestly because I had already become thy kinsman, having but just taken thy cousin to wife. If thou longest for vengeance on me, behold thou hast secured it, for what greater vengeance canst thou crave than the knowledge that he who slew thee has poisoned himself of his own free will before thine eyes, that of his own choice he is dying in thy sight and that he will be buried by thy side. If



*Roselo.* Well.  
*Matin.* Wed a Ferrarese.  
*Roselo.* Well spoke, i'faith.  
*Matin.* Now march! *En avant.*  
*Roselo.* Prithee stay thy steps,  
 Stay thee awhile thou ingrate Julia.  
 It is the law of Love, he must, perforce,  
 Wrong him who e'er hath done a wrong to me."

It is interesting to compare Julia's speeches in the *Devocion de la Cruz* when she finds herself abandoned by Eusebio :

"*Julia.* I am at once bedazed yet stirred with rage ;  
 This, ingrate, was thy firmness, these th' extremes  
 Of thy love ; or are these th' extremes of mine ?  
 How strange it is that love, which is scarce love,  
 Should sway me thus. When with a thousand tears  
 Eusebio was beseeching me, I left him.  
 Yet now because he leaves me I beseech him.  
 Such are we women that, against our wish,  
 We oft times choose that very sought-for thought,  
 By which we would give pleasure, shall not give it.  
 Let no one love us well, an he would win us,  
 For when we're loved we scorn, when hated, love.  
 I grieve not that he loved me not, I grieve  
 Only because he leaves me."

And her furious outburst when she finds herself shut out from the convent beyond hope of return.

"Tis thus that ye deny me hope of entrance  
 Within your gates : yet I believe, forsooth,  
 When I, repentant, would return, I cannot.  
 Well, seeing ye refuse me thus mercy,  
 A woman driven desperate, my deeds  
 Shall make the very Heavens quake, amazed,  
 Bid the world tremble, be our age's wonder,  
 Fill Sin with horror, Hell itself with dread."

They contrast strongly with Friar Lawrence's words, which are the key to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, and likewise, in some degree, to Calderon's *Eusebio* :

"Virtue itself turns vice, being misapplied,  
 And vice's sometimes by virtue dignified.  
 Within the infant rind of this small flower  
 Poison hath residence and med'cine power,  
 For this being smelt with that part cheers, each part  
 Being tasted, slays all senses with the heart.  
 Two such opposed foes encamp them still  
 In man as well as herbs, grace and rude will,  
 And where the worser is predominant,  
 Full soon the canker death eats up that plant."

Lope de Vega's play in its first two acts is not dissimilar to Shakespeare, and one or two further extracts from it may be of interest.

When Roselo Montès in the Ball Scene is admired by Julia Castlevin, he says :

“Heaven! why was I born a Montagu?  
Would that I had been born a Castlevin,  
Though such a birth had cost Heaven too dear.”

Julia declares her love for Roselo by flirting with his rival Otavio, so as to be overheard by him :

“*Otavio.* When you turned your back to me,  
Your face to my enemy,  
Surely, I might think to thee  
I was hateful, Julia.

*Julia.* That I hate you this I show  
In such fashion I would throw  
All that I to fortune owe  
Gladly to the wind for thee.

*Roselo* [*aside*]. Julia says all this for me.”

The Garden Scene, which served as a model for Calderon, is also worth quoting.

When Roselo enters as a gallant :

“*Julia.* I would thou knewest that I know  
And that it pains me heartily  
That thou art who thou art and I  
Am who I am, so that I now  
Have lost my judgment, and I curse  
The sad decree of fate perverse  
Which doomed me Castlevin when thou  
Wast born a Montagu adverse.”

Roselo tells “My loved adversary, Light of the world thou hatest,” that he can never cease to love her. She bids him do so.

“*Julia.* Stay thy tongue, repeat not ever  
‘Julia mine.’ I fear thy accents  
Will work in me that thou willest,  
For the name, by others’ lips framed  
In glad tones, moves and softens me;  
But say, now that thou hast spoken,  
How thou canst address or see me,  
What thy purpose, what thine intent,  
What seek’st thou, what dost thou strive for?

*Roselo.* That we may, sweet life of mine eyes,  
In secret wed one another.

*Julia.* How I tremble to see thee here.

*Roselo.* What fear’st thou?

*Julia.* A thousand sorrows.”

In the third act the reconciliation is brought about between the Capulets and Montagus in a somewhat original fashion. Both Julia and Roselo have escaped from the vault and taken refuge, disguised as peasants, in a farmhouse on the road from Verona to

Antonio's castle. Her father, thinking her dead, has advised his brother Theobaldo to give his own daughter to Count Paris in her place, and the whole party meet at this very farmhouse to discuss the project in the presence of Dorotea, Julia's confidant, and of Antonio's young bride, Teodora. Julia overhears them and bursts into the room. Antonio thinks it is her ghost.

"*Julia.* This shall not be, thou traitor to two women.  
*Dorotea.* Is this Julia?  
*Teodora.* It is.  
*Julia.* Let no one fly.  
 My father, see that I am flesh and blood.  
 Come back, my uncle! Father, come thou back!  
*Teodora.* What wilt thou of us? Prithee, Julia, say?  
*Count.* Tell me, my wife, what wilt thou then of us?  
*Julia.* Thine I am not, Count Paris, for I am  
 Roselo's.  
*Count.* Do not think I love thee now,  
 Nor even wish to see thee.  
*Julia.* I'm alive.  
*Antonio.* If thou'rt alive, and if thy soul is safe,  
 Come tell us why thou comest? Wilt thou we  
 Should yet another time perform thy funeral?  
*Julia.* I am alive, seeing my deathlike death,  
 Was but the work of an o'er-virtuous drug  
 Roselo brought me here! Come, speak, my husband,  
 For now thou can'st.  
*Roselo.* I tore her from her tomb,  
 And thus she is my wife by double ties.  
*Count.* And I say, too, that by yet other twain,  
 We rightly owe her to him.  
*Antonio.* Give thy hand  
 To Roselo and clasp me in thine arms."

It is also a feature of Lope de Vega's play that Julia defends Roselo when he is accused of murdering Otavio, who had attacked him the first, a point on which Arthur Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet* also lays great stress.

Of *Los Bandos de Verona* (*The Exiles of Verona*), a poor work by D. F. de Rojas Zorrilla, it is unnecessary to speak in detail, as it is posterior to Calderon's, but here, too, Julia escapes from the vault, disguised as a man, and turns bandit. She is finally stabbed by her father, who makes her lover think he has killed her, but her death, in the end, becomes the means of reconciling the Montagus and Capulets.

One passage of Arthur Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet*, which formed the direct source of Shakespeare's play, is worth quoting from its very striking resemblance to Julia's speech to Eusebio after learning that he has killed her brother Lisardo. Juliet, speaking to Romeus of Tybalt's death, says:

"I little weened you would have sought occasion how  
 By such a haynous act to break the peace and eke your voice

Whereby your bright renown all whole yclipsed is,  
 And I unhappy, husbandles, of comfort robbed and blisse,  
 But if you did so much the blood of Capel thyrst,  
 Why have you often spared myne ? Myne might have  
 quenched it first."

We have now seen how the story of *Romeo and Juliet* had been handled by Calderon's predecessors, when he decided, as a young student of nineteen, to take its incidents as threads on which to hang what is probably the finest of his dramas.

When we remember that he was already preparing himself at Salamanca for the career of a soldier in the Netherlands, that at Salamanca lived many highly educated English Catholic refugees, and that *Romeo and Juliet* had before 1619 appeared as a quarto pamphlet in at least three editions (1597, 1599, 1609), it is no stretch of imagination to suppose that in the course of his studies he may have become acquainted with Shakespeare's play. Although Italian was the international language of the time, English mercenaries and traders abounded in the Netherlands, and a knowledge of English was no doubt a substantial recommendation to employment in the service of the Archdukes, whilst, as will be seen, the coincidences between Calderon and Shakespeare are too great to be accounted for merely on the supposition that both took their material from Bandello, Luigi da Porto, and Masaccio Salernitano.

But for the treatment of his theme, Calderon was forced to adopt a widely different method from that of Shakespeare. In England, especially in the earlier days of Elizabeth, there was much that recalled the life of mediæval Italy. The suppression by Henry VII. of the households of the nobles who in the previous century had carried on their private wars in every county in England was of comparatively recent date, and traditions of the fierce conflicts between the Berkeleys and their rival, Lord de Lisle, must still have been vivid in the Gloucestershire of Shakespeare's youth. The revolution that had placed Mary on the throne had been brought about by the great families very much in the way in which the factions of the Orsini and the Colonna controlled the choice of a Roman Conclave, and even in Shakespeare's manhood, the abortive rising of Essex was but a last flicker of the old feudal methods. Consequently, to an English audience, such a mainspring for action as the feud between the Capulets and Montagus was perfectly intelligible. Again, in England, as in the Italy of the Middle Ages, the individual character was far less shackled and, therefore, far less given to passing from extreme to extreme than it was in the Spain of the seventeenth century. Government was comparatively free and the Inquisition had never frozen men's souls into ice, which when it did thaw, overflowed like a boiling torrent. Before the sixteenth century, woman, except at Venice, was not confined to a



harem but took her place in social life. Consequently, although characters in mediæval Italy, as in Elizabethan England, were far more subject to violent outbreaks of feeling, openly expressed by word and deed, than they are now, a modified form of self-control was a virtue common to most classes under the highest. The horrible deeds of revenge for which Italy became notorious were, save possibly in Romagna, rare before the middle of the fifteenth century. Dante names, at most, five.

Far other was the case in Spain in 1620. Since the age of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the suppression of the free life of the cities in the War of the Comunidades, life for the individual had gone out of Castille. The colonisation of America, the unsuccessful wars in Flanders, the struggle with the Corsairs in the Mediterranean, had provided careers outside their fatherland for the bolder spirits, but at home the tyranny of the centralised government, and its erst tool (now master), the Inquisition, had crushed all independent life into one narrow mould. In England and France the nobles, as the Civil War, the Revolution of 1688, and the Fronde were to show in the next reigns, were still personages who could maintain opinions contrary to those of their King, if need be with the sword. In Spain the reigns of Philip II. and Philip III. had reduced the Duke of Infantado or the Duke of Osuna, who had once been mighty independent forces, to the places of Court automata. The work of the police of the Inquisition and of the Confessional was completed in domestic life by the jealously guarded harem system, which had turned the women, who had once been the counsellors and equals of their husbands in times of chivalry, into the suspected playthings of their lords and masters. A Cid Campeador could speed a Doña Elvira and a Doña Sol to their husbands with the parting counsel:

“ Be in naught shame-faced or cowardly,  
Fear God only, seeing your father  
Is the good Cid Campeador.”

A Curcio, forcing a Julia into the cloister against her will, could answer her resistance with a

“ No,  
My pleasure only whether it be just,  
Or it be unjust must thou take as thine.”

A “ Sidney’s sister, Pembroke’s mother,” or a “ Madame de Sainte-Croix ” would have been all but impossible in Spain, outside the cloister, in the reign of Philip III. At most she might be represented by a virago Countess of Lemos or by a Sor Maria de Agreda, whose mystic visions of transcendental holiness could do little to influence the real conduct of life.

To such a world *Romeo and Juliet*, as reproduced in Shakespeare, would have been unintelligible. The faction fights, the family

hatreds of Verona, were not represented in a Madrid where Law and Court intrigue took the place of the Right of the Stronger Hand. Romeo would have been lodged as a "suspect" in the prisons of the Holy Office, Juliet would have been penning hymns to the Virgin in some Carmelite cell. In three ways only was an independent life of action possible, even in private spheres, in the Spain of the seventeenth century: that of a Caballero, jealous of the point of honour, who often in practice degenerated into a bravo or a swashbuckler; that of a highwayman; and that of a mystic, whether male or female, who if, like the hero of the parable, he once gave entrance anew to the devils whom he had chased away, might well say with Eusebio:

"Since my cruel fate  
Has brought me here to be a bandit's captain,  
My crimes shall be as countless as my griefs."

Love alone then was not sufficient to render Calderon's play palatable. It required a stronger motive.

HUBERT READE.

*(To be concluded.)*

## CANCER TREATMENT THEORETICALLY CONSIDERED.

ANY ONE who has given attention to all the circumstances surrounding cancer and its treatment is forced to the conclusion that little or no progress has been made towards prevention or cure. The prevalent opinion is that the only hope for the cancer patient lies in early operation; yet those who have operated most frequently on cancer are the first to lose faith in this measure. As an alternative to operation there is but little offered that is of any practical value. Medical science is completely baffled. The pronouncement of the new volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, presumably the latest word that can be said on the subject, is an admission of failure; and Dr. Alfred Wolff, in the *Nineteenth Century and After* for June last, says, "that the only hope of relief is to be found in the complete removal of the growth at an early stage, and that the disease is not to be cured, or its progress stayed, by any means at the disposal of medical science"; while Mr. J. Holt Schooling, in the *Fortnightly Review* for August, speaks of cancer as that "hideous disease, whose cause seems to be unknown to science." But should it be said that there are no means at our disposal to stay the progress of cancer, or effect its cure? It would indeed seem as if a study of this disease at close quarters has militated against that breadth of view which is so necessary to its right understanding. The following up of side issues, which are so apt to be misleading, has brought about a confusion of mind which hinders the formation of true conclusions. The investigators cannot see the wood for the trees. Let us find out at what conclusions concerning it any one who has not thus engaged cancer at close quarters, but who brings to its consideration an unbiassed mind, acquainted to some extent with the laws which physically govern unorganised and physiologically govern organised matter, is forced to arrive. It is not our purpose here, however, to consider in detail the various treatments of cancer, which may be studied by those interested in the subject in any standard work, and an idea formed as to their futility. We wish rather to point out where, in our opinion, the grasp of medical science fails with regard to this disease, and in what direction alone it is to be hoped that advance can be made.

But if no advance has been made in cancer treatment, an advance

has certainly been made in diagnosis. The researches which led to the discovery of bacterial action in disease made it possible to establish at least a working hypothesis regarding the genesis of cancer, while later still the discovery of the character of the cells in most cancer growths helps us, perhaps, further to form an idea of its nature. That cancer is due to some form of unicellular life existing at the expense of organised cells (tissues) few will now doubt; but as to the nature and origin of this unicellular growth there are almost as many theories as there are cancer investigators. Some maintain that the cause of cancer is bacterial: that there is a cancer germ which, obtaining a lodgment in the system, grows at its expense like any other pathogenic bacterium; while others deny this, and say that cancer is due to a disorganisation of organised cells which, proliferating at an abnormal rate, lose their useful and organised character, and, becoming free, escape from their proper seat of action and invade and destroy the surrounding tissues. These two theories of cancer origin are the only theories worthy of consideration.

When we review all that is to be urged in support of the hypotheses of cancer origin, and bring to bear on the question all the analogies that will fit the case, it seems to us that cancer must arise in somewhat the following way: There is to begin with in the system of the future cancer subject, from some cause or combination of causes, a low state of cell vitality. Any one with cells—those sentient, almost rational, microscopical specks of living protoplasm, the only living things of the body (all other biological manifestations being merely mechanical)—in this weakened state who long enough escapes other diseases is a probable cancer subject. Let there but come an injury to any part or organ of the body of such a person, and we have in perfection all the elements necessary for cancer development. The injury, be it due to a blow, a bruise, a tampered-with sore, a prolonged irritation, or to the over-use or disuse of an organ, destroys some of the cells of the tissues of the part, and weakens the rest of the tissues around the part to a greater degree than are the tissues of the rest of the body. Pathogenic bacteria are able to effect a lodgment among these super-weakened cells, and to prey upon them. If the patient were in a normal state of cell-health, the reinforcements and extra nourishment sent to the part would enable the local cells to soon dispose of the invading bacteria, and the part would be renewed and healed (how many a knock and wound do we receive from childhood to old age with but passing injury). But the cells of the system of such a person are so badly nourished, and so weak, that they are unable to heal the sore, or it, if healed, breaks out again on the slightest provocation. We have now a more or less persistent sore which is of an ordinary bacterial nature, and which has not, as yet, assumed the true cancer character. Nor

need it necessarily ever lose its bacterial nature, though in cases of any length of standing it may do so, and "turn into cancer," as popular insight has expressed it. Let us try to imagine how this comes about.

When any part of the body is injured it is the special duty of the cells and tissues surrounding that part to carry out the work of defence and repair. When, as we have seen, the cell-system is under tone, this work of protection and repair cannot be, or is with difficulty, carried out, for the bacteria which invade the part live at the expense of the cells, preventing repair and keeping the pathological process active. Day after day, month after month, it may even be year after year, the local organised cells (tissues) endeavour to do the work allotted to them; but with all the help they can get from the vitiated cell-community they are unable to make headway. Millions of messages are sent along the nerves to and from the affected part for help and direction, until at last—and could it be wondered at?—these nerves, worn out with unceasing activity, fail to act, and are unable longer to adequately direct the organised cells under their control. The local cells, wearied with their fruitless combats against the invaders, despairing, as it were, of success, and having no work that they can do (their kingdom being in a state of anarchy and the invaders supreme), but being fit for work in that they have been better nourished than their fellows at the general expense, and being now less under, or altogether free from control, break away from all organisation, lose their peaceful character, overrun the neighbouring tissues, and begin a work of pillage and destruction upon them. We have then a true cancer. But such chaos reigns in the parts that it is difficult to say what goes on in them, though we are justified in assuming that cells which were formerly organised into tissue with special duties to perform have now retrograded in specialisation and become free cells, and, assuming the characteristics of pathogenic unicellular life, act in every way like bacteria, follow their own devices, and are influenced only by the two impulses of unicellular bodies to feed and to multiply—or the one impulse to feed, for feeding regulates their reproduction, in that the volume of a body varies as the cube of its linear dimensions, while the surface varies but as the square. Extra nourishment coming to these cells, they thus must split up and reproduce at a greater rate than normally, and having got the upper hand of the organised cells in numbers and in strength, they will keep the upper hand until such time as, if ever, the organised cells are so far increased in vitality as to be able to reduce them again to subjection or exterminate them. While acting like bacteria and destroying their fellow-organised cells, and eating further and further into surrounding tissues, and even breaking out in fresh parts, they still retain their cell characteristics and can be recognised wherever they go.

There are now two sets of enemies instead of one which must be fought and beaten before the cancer growth can be arrested and the tumour absorbed. There are the bacteria, perhaps of several varieties, which live in the sore and have lived in it from the first and kept it active, and which a not very great degree of added cell-vitality would have sufficed to overcome. But besides these there are now to be contended against the organised cells, which have become free and cannibal, and which have increased the chaos of and superadded anarchy to the parts. To account for these latter—to reduce them again to subjection—and so be in a position to attack the invading bacteria, must be for the organised cells a far more serious matter—a task of supreme difficulty. And that is why cancer has proved so hard to cure—heretofore incurable by man and only curable when nature herself took the matter in hand; because the work that has to be done for the cell-community ere these retrograde steps can be reversed is so stupendous, and the time and patience that must be expended so great, that no cancer investigator has yet made an adequate attempt at cure in this way, or indeed seems ever to have thought that cure can lie only in this direction. Such a theory of the origin and nature of various cancer growths is the only one we can imagine that will fit in with all the known facts about the disease. But whether cancer be due to bacterial action, or to free cell action, or, as we think, to a combination of the two (and to one of these three we may be sure it is due), the cure procedure will, in any case, be the same. What is that procedure? In a word it is cell-vitalisation.

We take it for granted that there is no necessity to explain the fundamental principles of life. As old age draws on, vital forces decrease and cell-vitality grows ever less. It will then be readily seen how it comes about that cancer is a disease of middle or advanced life. But no amount of natural decay of the physical powers, which in a man whose wisdom or whose life-conditions keep his body in sound health is extremely slow, will ever admit of cancer development unless there be superadded further cell-debility induced by outside causes which, as life advances, are abundantly at hand, when easier circumstances, or the help of children, or inclination dispose to less and less activity. Chief among these causes, we would say, are over-sedentariness, over-work, mental anxiety, under-nourishment, mistaken nourishment, impure air, want of sleep and rest, and insufficient outdoor life and recreation, all or any of which spell mal-nutrition for the cell-system. A cancer patient may look well-nourished and healthy, but before there could possibly have been cancer growth in the system there must have been cell-vitiation of some kind or other. The sluggish cells are deficient in some essential or essentials which they should have to make them healthy, or are loaded with something which makes them unhealthy; and

the only hope of recovery lies in removing the cause of cell debility, and in leading the patient back, by all natural means at disposal, to a state of sound health, when it will follow that the cancer will become healed as certainly as that healthy tissue results from a healthy life and that germs and free cells disappear before healthy tissue. The almost certain recurrence of cancer, although every trace of the disease has been removed by early operation, is enough to show that the mischief does not lie in the sore, but in some vitiated state of the patient's system. And if upon a rare occasion cancer does not recur after operation, it can only be explained by assuming that hope returning raises the patient's mental and physical tone, while the amelioration in his condition permits more healthy habits of life, all of which produce an amount of cell vitalisation sufficient to prevent a recurrence.

The causes which bring about this state of cell debility are, then, the matters requiring our closest attention. If statistics of cancer distribution indicate anything, they indicate that where life is lived closest to nature cancer is rarest, and where life is most artificially lived it is most prevalent. Cancer is but a protest of nature against the ways of civilisation, and is one of the scourges which recall man to a more natural existence. It is due to habits of life which bring about a general and persistent lowering of cell vitality and malnutrition of the whole system—errors which no knife, or medicine, or injection, or electrical appliance can rectify. There are no miracles to be wrought in nature, and yet some people can believe in the cure of cancer by the application of violet leaves or X rays! Though, indeed, it is conceivable that cancer might be cured by an application of note-paper, or by the taking of a well-known cancer nostrum which has been proved to be pure water, if the patient could be induced to believe in its efficacy and hope thereby be restored, and the level of his physical vigour be thus raised.

Of all the causes which bring about that state of health which disposes to cancer, want of sufficient exercise—an indolent life—is, we think, the most prolific; hence the vastly greater cancer mortality among women than among men. A myriad years' enforced exercise during man's evolution and struggle for existence has produced a body which, to be kept healthy, must be exercised. No one can long remain in a state of good health who has not an amount of open-air exercise equivalent to, perhaps, a five or six miles walk each day, but must soon become subject to petty illnesses and liable to develop serious disease. There result from sufficient outdoor exercise, if not too heavily counteracted by some faulty habit of life, good appetite, good assimilation and metabolism, good breathing, good oxygenation, good sleep, good elimination of waste products—all resulting in thorough nutrition and sound health. Body density, which is the opposite of flabbiness, and which can be

acquired only through exercise, almost invariably bears a direct relationship to good health. Excessive exercise, however, or over-work, will just as surely produce the devitalised cell-state, which is a forerunner of cancer. But it is bootless to look, as some do, for cancer causes in beer, or in surrounding trees and water. If beer-drinkers are more subject to cancer than are wine-drinkers, then it is because the habits of life of beer-drinkers are more conducive to the production of the cancer diathesis than are the habits of wine-drinkers or non-drinkers. Excessive beer-drinking is usually a habit of the laziest of the people, and of the most populous and most artificial centres; and excessive beer-drinking, as excess of any kind, is bad for the physical powers. But it cannot be thought that there is anything in the beer to cause cancer; nor is it imaginable that there is anything on trees or in stagnant or running water to convey the disease. Again, if people living in heavily-wooded districts and by river valleys are frequently subject to cancer, then it is owing to some detrimental habits which life in these parts induces, or to some element or vitalising force which it fails to supply. For instance, those living shut in by trees fail to get that amount of sunshine and of those energising breezes which are so necessary to our physical well-being; and being surrounded by woods and water leads to a cramped and more or less confined and subdued life. We must look to the ways of the people—as to how they live, eat, sleep, work, and play—if we are to arrive at a knowledge of their susceptibility to cancer.

Nor are there any better results to be obtained by trying to find the cause of cancer in the rheumatic diathesis, or in a deficiency of thyroid gland product, or in meat eating, or in excess of salt in the system, or in a deficiency of chlorine in the system, or in geological formation or climatic conditions. Cell debility in any form or deficiency in any particular is sufficient, if long enough continued, to favour cancer development; but to hunt for a general cancer cause in these by-paths is a waste of time. When cell debility supervenes a smoker is liable to lip or tongue cancer, a woman to cancer of the breast, a chimney-sweeper to cancer of another part. Each develops the disease in the most assailed—the most vulnerable place. The chain snaps at its weakest link. One would almost think, judging from the methods employed, and the treatments from which results are expected, that medical science had never heard of physiology. Cancer is universal, and so we must find a cause of or predisposer to it which is universal also. That predisposer is cell debility—brought about by any of a hundred and one widely differing causes.

We may be permitted to judge then from the foregoing considerations, and from others which apply to the case, that cancer is both preventable and curable, and that it is neither hereditary nor contagious. That it is preventable will go without saying if, as it



does, cell vitality wards off or arrests and disperses any manifestation of bacterial or free-cell activity. That cancer is curable by natural means we have every right to infer from inferences drawn from all the facts and circumstances which surround this and other diseases of cell debility: Nature herself unaided cures cancer—very rarely, it is true, for she seldom gets the chance, but it is an admitted fact that she does cure it—and shows us that there is nothing inherent in cancer growths that cannot be overcome. Medical science professes itself unable to say how nature cures cancer, and fails to see that cell vitalisation, and cell vitalisation alone, can and does bring about such results. The progress of cancer and other forms of malignant growth is often arrested for considerable periods. Such arrestments could have been effected only by temporary improvements in the physical condition of the patients, and if such improvements had been increased and continued cures would have resulted. Cancer has always been looked upon as incurable, has been approached from that standpoint, and consequently has heretofore proved to be incurable by man. We may rest assured that cancer is not hereditary, and that if two or more members of the same family become cancerous it is because a disposition to similar habits of life has descended to them, or because similar conditions of living and like circumstances have brought about cell starvation in each. That cancer is not contagious in the ordinary sense of the term we may, from its nature, take for granted, even if we were unaware that there are no clear cases on record of cancer infection. If certain houses or certain well-defined areas are more frequent cancer *loci* than others, it can only be because life conditions in these places produce a state of health favourable to cancer development. We could imagine that cancer might be contagious, or communicable from one person to another in the same way as feathers might be communicated from a person tarred and feathered to another person tarred to receive them. Or as a boil or other sore might be communicated to a person in poor health by some of the pus being scratched into his skin. But there can be no danger of cancer infection to any person in good health, and no more danger to a person in poor health, we think, of taking cancer from a previous cancer growth than there is of developing it from any non-cancerous sore, or of having it begun by bacteria which everywhere abound. We are not to draw the conclusion, as has been done, that cancer is contagious from the fact that domestic servants and nurses have a high percentage of cases; but rather is it matter for surprise, considering the unhealthy indoor life they lead, that really so few in these classes are cancerous.

The probable measures to be used for cure remain to be considered. That the progress of cure will be slow—a fight against the very uprootings of nature—is certain, and that a prolonged treatment, such as has never yet been attempted, must be undertaken.

When a person becomes afflicted with cancer he abandons all hope, and literally sits down under the blow. He gives up healthy habits, and is encouraged by medical adviser and friends alike to lapse into that very state of inaction which most surely undermines his remaining strength, fosters the disease, and hurries him to the grave. Instead of harping upon despair a note of hopefulness must be struck; a period of activity and stern fight must be entered upon; all such means must be employed as will re-establish health conditions, regenerate and nourish the system, and thus restore an adequate measure of healthy cell energy, while a new period of physical development must be entered upon. Exercise, rest, fresh air, freedom from worry, a regulated life, nourishing food, and sufficient sleep will be the surest means to these ends. Change of scene and surroundings would materially aid the patient by lifting him mentally and physically out of the grooves in which his illness had developed. Regulated open-air exercise, which is the first principle of health, will, we are convinced, prove to be the sheet-anchor of the cancer specialist of the future. It must, however, be such exercise as is suited to the patient's physical condition, and be given after a full knowledge of his past life and habits. But it comes to one as a surprise the amount of graduated exercise the very oldest people, even if previously inactive, can take, with beneficial results. The exercise undertaken by the cancer patient, after sufficient rest to counteract any previous excesses, should be very gentle at first, but gradually increasing week by week both in duration and intensity until fairly hard work is administered, as the surest means of restoring general good health. To exercise and the other means mentioned above must be added every possible aid to cell vitalisation. Baths will no doubt increase healthy skin action, circulation, and functional activity, and in this way aid some of the organs in ridding the system of waste products. The sore might, where possible, be kept clean by the use of a non-irritant antiseptic lotion such as that of boracic acid. All depressing influences must be removed from, and all energising influences supplied to the patient. Amid happy surroundings the days should fly past in pleasant employments and laborious pleasures; so that by night the patient, with feelings of tired contentment, would be eager for bed and sleep. Under such conditions, given a favourable case, health must return, and a continuance of cancer and such enormities be rendered impossible. But it is not hinted that all cancers, advanced as well as early, will surely be cured by these means; every consideration, however, will call for early treatment before much structural damage has been done.

It is then by the increase of the physical powers that internal and inaccessible cancer growths, as well as more accessible growths—for energised cells can as readily work in the most intimate recesses

of the system as at the surface—are to be removed. But let us remember that the patient must strenuously persist ere he can hope to see his cancer tumour becoming reduced, and finally absorbed and healed. Months of a regulated healthy life will be necessary for the making up of radical defects.

As there is needed, and needed alone, in the case of consumption, or even deep-seated tuberculosis of the bones and other parts, cell vitalisation to arrest and overcome the disease, and as it is hopeless to expect to cure consumption by injection of any serum, or by any medicine, or other means whatsoever while the cell system remains debilitated, so in the case of cancer we must, it will be found, have cell vitalisation before we can hope to reverse and overcome the pathological process. We can never get rid of cancer diathesis with the knife.

The arrest of malignant growths for considerable periods in some patients, the comparatively slow rate of growth in others, and the cure of cancer by nature unaided, can be explained only by cell vitalisation. Every pathological and physiological analogy convinces us that cancer is curable, while every analogy convinces us also that by such means as lead to cell vitalisation and by such means alone will it ever be cured. We are not, however, in a position to prove our theories, but must leave the testing of their truth to others.

JAMES ARTHUR GIBSON.

## TELEPATHY AND GHOSTS.

As fast as any set of circumstances that requires scientific attention has been studied and its details mastered, fresh objects attract intelligent minds. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest; of the formation of new species and new genera by the development of the most marvellous capacities, has led men to observe even themselves; and the discovery of visualisation, existent in many men (but apparently not in all) by Galton, is one of the doorways to the study of telepathy.

Mr. Greenwood, in his article upon "Telepathy and Ghosts" in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for September, has taken an attitude towards the facts from which telepathy has been deduced, that can only be compared to the Church of Rome's treatment of the discoveries of Galileo. Fortunately, his opening assertion that human credulity and human falsehood are illimitable put him out of court. Mr. Greenwood practises as a barrister now, but no courts of law could exist in an atmosphere such as he presumes exists. Judges would then imitate a sorely puzzled military officer in India, and compel the Bar to abide the spin of a coin, and find their resourcefulness and their credulous belief in the pliability of counsel rewarded by ejection from their posts. Seriously, not all men are liars—even if they were such, yet the true kernel of their story could be ascertained by cross-examination. In India, where testimony is very partial, this is the case. The writer regrets, by the way, that on the only occasion he heard a ghost mentioned in a law court in India the matter led to nothing. The counsel for the defence in a prosecution for criminal trespass asked the prosecutor why he delayed making his complaint for a day. He answered that on his way to the police station in the gloaming he met a ghost. He seemed to speak the truth, as far as his impression went, and the matter was hardly one to lie about. His counsel interfered with the witty question, "Had the ghost said anything to him about the case?" and the other pleader dropped the matter.

Before referring to the line of cross-examination that Mr. Greenwood indicates he would take in these cases from Mr. Lang's book that he has selected, it is well to admit that in one instance—Lord Brougham's—he has picked a sufficient hole as far as the contemporaneous death of Lord Brougham's visitant goes. The writer finds that a reference to the Indian lists for 1798-99 and 1804

shows that of the four Company's writers, two of them Scotch, whose name began with G. and who went to India at the time Lord Brougham's friend went out, all four survived until 1804. However, there is an apparently trustworthy case culled by Mr. Myers from the Psychological Research collection where a gentleman who wished for advice from a lady friend—a frame of mind very creditable to his good sense—appeared to the lady at Cairo. He was in England at the time, but his apparition was seen by a young lady whom the friend was chaperoning and who slept with her. The room was barricaded and inaccessible.

The poodle story appears to be a very natural instance of suggestibility in five doggy people. These all sub-consciously noticed a faint hint of savage anger lurking under the first-class manners of their poodle. That domestic tyrant had suffered from what he chose to believe to be a want of consideration. Suggestibility is, of course, the foundation of hypnotism. Mr. Greenwood never mentions hypnotism as a source of hallucination in the sane, yet this fact has been demonstrated millions of times.

The writer believes that telepathy and hypnotism at a distance are very closely connected. In telepathy the train has been laid for years. In hypnotism it is said that only five or six attempts are generally necessary to "load the subject up." The writer is certain that there have been many cases of combined, or, at all events, consecutive attacks upon suggestible people—on the late Laurence Oliphant, for instance—an attack by which extraordinary and pernicious results were sought and obtained by scoundrels. Some of these must have taken years of preparation. A person hypnotised is slightly weaker ever after. Mr. Myers' assertion that the spirits, whose existence he very superfluously predicates, are all beneficent would apply to the very numerous and well attested cases of telepathic apparitions but not to the cases of criminal hypnotism admitted by some theosophists to exist. The writer hopes that as independence of thought produces those good interests Professor William James mentions, that ward off hypnotism, so warmer and freer sympathy will increase the force of telepathy. Apparitions from such a sympathy may have led to the story of Castor and Pollux, or of St. James of Galicia fighting in the ranks of their worshippers. There are, of course, no spirits, and revelation attested by the reform of society by Christianity makes us believe in the resurrection of the dead, an idea conformable to our notions of continuity and natural justice.

The writer bears witness to the two following cases. His "chum" in India cried out aloud in the middle of the night. He asked him what was the matter and was told it was a bad dream. By the next mail news came that the young Highlander's sister had taken a mortal illness, and he said he had seen her dying in his dream. He certainly spoke the truth. She actually died soon after. Here

Mr. Greenwood's opinion, expressed in a note to Dr. Weatherley's book, shows its incorrectness. The young Highlander, and perhaps the writer, were the better for the occurrence, so that good was done by such a vision. Dr. Weatherley, it may be noted, excepts "experimental telepathy," that is, hypnotism at a distance, from the strictures he passes on spontaneous telepathy—telepathy proper arising incidentally.

The writer has a further personal experience of telepathy in the appearance—a gayer one—at the moment he awoke of a young lady whom he had known very well in India. He was in the South of France and she was still in India, where she married within a few days of this occurrence. She probably connected the writer in her mind with the tragical death of a gentleman she had been engaged to—that is, if she thought of him consciously at all—there are several telepathic occurrences where there was no conscious thought. The writer had not seen the young lady for nearly two years, and had only thought of her (on seeing a namesake of hers) once in the preceding fifteen months—about eight months before the vision. The time corresponded to tiffin-time in India. The writer returned the smile in a natural or conventional manner, looked a little to the right attracted by the bright daylight, and the vision disappeared. As he saw no one who knew the lady for nearly a year, the matter dropped. In this case, as in the other, the percipient was in very good health and particularly cheerful at the time.

A much much more dramatic case of ghost seeing, that is of visualisation, by a dying person, acting on a household of near relations and on an old servant, is that narrated by the late Miss Pearson to the Psychical Research Society. The vision passed through the house and went to the bedside of a surviving sister who was dying at the time, and had doubtless called her up. All the other witnesses confirmed the story. The writer had the pleasure of meeting Miss Pearson in 1887. He had gone up to Bagni di Lucca with Admiral (then Captain) Dewey of the American Navy—the victor of Manilla. That brave officer—a good judge of the courageous and the honourable—respected Miss Pearson very highly. She had a medal as a lady nurse in the Egyptian campaign. If that well attested case be, as the present writer believes, incontestable, then there is little reason to contest the apparition called "the Dying Mother" by Mr. Lang. The weak point in the latter would appear to be that the apparition came to the nurse watching the dying woman's children. All we can say is, that the points raised by Mr. Greenwood strengthen and do not weaken the woman's evidence. She says against herself that she ran away and left the children. She was a hireling—that is just what she would do, and only something extraordinary would make her admit the fact. She says she walked about for hours until six o'clock, when she spoke

to the neighbours. That is just what she would do, the fear of losing custom would make her restrain herself, and wait until they were up. A widow who does jobs of nursing has to be conciliatory. But no one can doubt that the nurse was in the dying mother's mind, and so, as has happened in the case of hypnotism like Mr. Cleave's or Mr. Godfrey, she appeared to that comfortably inclined person.

With regard to the case of "the Bright Scar"—Mr. Greenwood is astonished at Mrs. G. saying little about the painful memory of what, she thought, was the infliction of a scratch upon her dear dead daughter. We see every second, indeed, what we imagine. Our imagination, as Dr. Féré points out, completes a picture in which there is always really a blank made by the end of a nerve. Mrs. G. thought she made an ordinary scratch upon her daughter's face—indeed she thought it a large scar. Mr. Greenwood objects to a mother stooping over her dead daughter who had died of cholera. The writer knew, however, a case where a family of poor half-caste clerks hung over one of the daughters who died of cholera, and this gave thieves time to rob the house. The thieves came on a little way and robbed the writer, who was told the story by the police, and others. As for the story told by Dr. Maudsley, whose aversion to the development of histories of hallucinations of the sane went very far, it is, of course, a strong case of a royal—perhaps we should rather say a colonial liar—that he quotes.

The Australians, whose lot has thrown them into back-block locations, are marvellously addicted to tall stories, and though the writer did not know a Chief Justice amongst these, he knew an acting Chief Justice who was almost driven mad by the repetition of one impossibility after another. But the Chief Justice who was surrounded by a better class of liars might possibly catch the trick from them. The small squatter and shopkeeper are more repulsive liars than the merchant and the barrister. The writer has pointed out elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that many cases have occurred in which a hypnotic influence, sometimes marked by symptoms like a chill and by hyperæsthesia of the eye previously occurring, has produced the power of communication by speech. This is confirmed by the author of *The Dangers of Spiritualism*. The writer in the same work pointed out that hypnotists get haunted by some one whom they have operated on and inflict his hallucinatory appearance on a later subject.

A recent ghost case—the haunting of Heron Court by the voice of the second Earl of Malmesbury—has been narrated in *Harmsworth's* for November 1901 on the authority of the late Lord Barrington by the Duke of Argyll. In this case the writer believes that hypnotists persecuted the second Lord Malmesbury on a grudge originally arising from the Warren Hastings trial, that he read aloud

<sup>1</sup> *Inferences from Haunted Houses and Haunted Men.* November 1900.

to get over the annoyance of their talk, and thereby saddled them with the recollection of his voice, which they inflicted on many. That peer's second son and grandson were persecuted in the same way, since perhaps their diplomatic connections made them interesting objects. The writer used this theory to explain how a gang operated upon Mrs. Piper, who co-operates, but does not conspire with them, as she does not know them.

Lately, in Myers' second volume of the *Personality of Man*, a case in which Mrs. Piper's control bothered an old gentleman on his deathbed in the way the writer described, has come to his knowledge. He had never read the Society for Psychical Research's publications in extenso, but only extracts from them, up to the present year's issue at least. As his desire is to warn against, and if possible punish, criminal hypnotism, he regrets that Mr. Greenwood has thus superficially treated the subject of apparitions, which sometimes, as at Ballechin, are the result of criminal hypnotism. This is perhaps the case, too, with the ghost Mr. Lang calls the Lady in Black, who attacked a young lady medical student and her family.

Every one should read Mr. Lang's book. He appears now to attach more importance to hypnotism, the witchcraft that in the Wesley case affected poor Hetty Wesley, who trembled in her sleep, and no doubt led to that charming girl's miserable life. The caution that our self-preservation needs is weakened by hypnotism.

JOHN W HARRIS.



## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

## SCIENCE.

WHATEVER may be the political results of the occupation of Tunis by France in 1881, there can be no doubt as to the advantages which have accrued to science. The scientific exploration of Tunisia has brought many interesting facts to light, both with regard to archaeology and natural history. The last publication issued by the mission for the scientific exploration of the country is a catalogue of the reptiles and batrachians by M. V. Mayet,<sup>1</sup> who was one of the scientific explorers, and is an acknowledged authority on the subject. It cannot be said that the fauna of the district is a rich one; but M. Mayet has added several new species to those already known. The author's remarks on the food of tortoises, and on the habits of the great desert cobra, *Naja Haje*, are of special interest.

The annual report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year ending June 30, 1902,<sup>2</sup> has recently been issued, and contains scientific matter of much interest. In addition to papers on scientific subjects which have already appeared elsewhere, the report contains some researches that have been carried out under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. First among these are the experiments of Mr. S. P. Langley, the secretary of the Institution, on "Good Seeing" by means of telescopes. It is well known to astronomers that one of the chief obstacles to sharp definition in the telescope is the phenomenon known as "boiling," which consists in a tremulous motion of the image that blurs all details, and renders accurate work either by the naked eye or by means of photography impossible. This "boiling" appears to be due to differences in the density of the air, especially in the immediate neighbourhood of the telescope. Mr. Langley has to a great extent overcome this difficulty by violently agitating the air inside and immediately adjoining the telescope tube. By this ingenious, yet simple, device the sharpness of photographic images is considerably increased, and a further development of the idea will no doubt result in still greater improvement. In the Astrophysical

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue Raisonné des Reptiles et Batraciens de la Tunisie*. Par V. Mayet. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year ending June 30, 1902*. Washington, 1903.

Observatory the bolometer has been still further improved, and is now an instrument of marvellous delicacy.' When it was invented about twenty years ago by Mr. Langley, it was considered an operation of great accuracy to measure temperatures within one-thousandth of a degree. The bolometer now indicates with precision temperatures less than one one-hundred-millionth of a degree, which enables even the heat of a star to be measured. The scientific papers reprinted have been selected with judgment, and represent the advances of science in all civilised countries during the period covered by the volume.

Much has been said and written as to the bearing which the direction of the hair upon the skin of mammals may have upon the theory of evolution, especially with reference to natural selection. Dr. W. Kidd has made a special study of this question, and has now published the results of his observations in a work on the *Direction of Hair in Animals and Men*.<sup>1</sup> In it the author rather reverts to the Lamarck theory of use-inheritance than to Darwin's theory of natural selection. There are undoubtedly many facts, especially in connection with the hair-streams on the human body, that are difficult to explain by natural selection. On the whole, however, it seems probable that each cause may play its part in the variations that undoubtedly occur, although, perhaps, use-inheritance may produce those modifications which are most easily traced to their origin. Dr. Kidd shows much ingenuity in explaining the various causes which, in his opinion have produced the different hair-slopes, and the illustrations with which the book is liberally furnished are of considerable assistance to the reader.

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#### PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

THE late Master of Balliol is best known outside Oxford as the translator of Plato. He might have been a bishop, and indeed appears not to have been without ambition in that direction, but his mind was too free to submit to all the restrictions imposed by the Church to which he belonged, and he abandoned the study of theology, and found work and consolation in the company of the supreme philosopher. What the Church lost the world gained, and Jowett's Plato more than reconciles us to the loss of the Life of Christ which he contemplated, but which was never written. As Jowett's volumes are too costly to be generally procured, we give a hearty

<sup>1</sup> *The Direction of Hair in Animals and Men.* By W. Kidd, M.D. London: A. and C. Black. 1903.

welcome to the *Four Socratic Dialogues*<sup>1</sup> selected by Dr. Edward Caird, which he has chosen for separate publication on account of their biographical interest. To these dialogues Dr. Caird contributes a preface, in which he admits that the most popular of them, the *Phaedo*, is the least historical, and that the doctrines are not those of Socrates, though the personal characteristics of Socrates are truthfully represented, and some of the actual details of the occurrences of his last days are no doubt faithfully related. But these dialogues, especially the *Apology* and the *Phaedo*, are of such deep interest, that we do not trouble ourselves with the question of their mere historical accuracy. No better English translation of them exists than that of Jowett, and no better editor could probably be found than Dr. Edward Caird.

If laymen suffer from the lack of exact knowledge on theological subjects, as a rule they more than make up for it in freedom and vigour. *The Cosmos and the Creeds*,<sup>2</sup> by Captain W. U. Moore, is a very good instance. He writes with ability and ease, and without the pedantry of a specialist, he has a good general knowledge of his subject, and though opposed to current forms of Christianity, both Protestant and Catholic, his pages are commendably free from levity or irreverence. Captain Moore first gives a sketch of the *Cosmos*, on what may be called the lines of popular science, sufficiently accurate for his purpose, from which he deduces as a leading principle the insignificance of man in the universe. "Man and his puny works are of infinitely little account in the everlasting scheme." This may be true, but as the everlasting scheme appears to have taken a great deal of trouble to produce man, he may be of more importance than our author thinks.

When we come to the criticism of the *Creeds*, the *Bible*, and the *Churches*, our author is on pretty safe ground, and he has very little trouble in showing the futility of the claims which have been made for them by orthodox Christians. But all this has been done so often and so thoroughly of late years that another book, which simply goes over well-worn ground, seems scarcely necessary, though it is quite true, as Mr. Moore says, that there are many of the clergy who have not yet attained to common-sense views. Our author justly recognises certain virtues of the clergy, such as their benevolence, but we think he is correct in saying that "though the parsons do a great deal of good amongst the poor, they are the greatest opponents to progress in religious thought." It is also true unhappily that there are many of the clergy who are sailing under false colours,

<sup>1</sup> *The Four Socratic Dialogues of Plato*. Translated into English, with Analyses and Introductions. By Benjamin Jowett, M.A. With a Preface by Edward Caird, M.A., D.C.L. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *The Cosmos and the Creeds*. Elementary Notes on the Alleged Finality of the Christian Faith. By Captain W. Osborne Moore, R.N. London: Watts & Co. 1903.

who read the articles and recite the creeds with mental reservations. They know enough to know that many statements they are compelled to utter are not true, but they do not see their way to throw up a useful position. The situation is a pitiful one, and discreditable to a church which will not hear of reform. Captain Moore looks forward to the rationalising of religion in the Church of England; we can only say we see no signs of it at present. The volume contains a reproduction by permission of the Editor of the *Times*, of the correspondence between Mr. St. George Mivart and Cardinal Vaughan, which forms in itself an interesting document.

An attempt to convey a smattering of philosophy to the "Man in the Street" would be a difficult task even for a master, and Mr. Long, the author of *Some Popular Philosophy*,<sup>1</sup> does not appear to us to be entitled to that distinction. We use the term smattering advisedly, for this little book of rather more than a hundred pages is divided into sixteen chapters, which is sufficient to indicate that the treatment of the subject is not very profound. The main object of the book is an attack upon hedonistic and critical philosophies, but behind this there appears to lurk a belief in very orthodox Christianity. A reference to the "merit of Christ's atonement," and other things of the kind, in reality robs the book of all claim to the philosophical.

*The World is Idea*<sup>2</sup> is a forcibly-written but not very intelligible pamphlet, in which we are told, for instance, that "the world is an ever-present equilibrium of creative work" in which "system is the measure of its relation," and that "the world is work; work is the world." But these cryptic sayings do not afford us much information. The writer is an optimist, and as such is to be commended.

An *Ethical Calendar*<sup>3</sup> contains an elegant collection of sayings, most of which are familiar and stamped with the approval of universal acceptance. Extracts from the Bible form a considerable number, but we are glad to see that the compiler generously recognises the claims of modern writers to a place in such a collection.

This excursion into the highlands of thought (*Im Hochland der Gedankenwelt*<sup>4</sup>) is a very readable attempt to popularise some of the more abstruse teachings of modern science and thought. The author describes himself as an amateur who can devote to philosophy only the spare hours of a busy life, and his book as the result of his endeavours to form an idea of the world for himself. Whether he is more successful than any other deviser of systems may be doubted; but he certainly writes in an agreeable style. He tells us a little

<sup>1</sup> *Some Popular Philosophy*. By George H. Long. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *The World is Idea*. By Herman Gasser, M.D. Chicago: G. P. Engelhard.

<sup>3</sup> *An Ethical Calendar*. With a Practical Thought for every Day in the Year. London: Watts & Co.

<sup>4</sup> *Im Hochland der Gedankenwelt*. Von Ludwig Kuhlenbeck. Leipzig: Verlegt bei Eugen Diederichs. 1903.

of Kaut and Schopenhauer, and bases his opinions largely on poets, notably Byron, and the writings of Giordano Bruno, the latter of whom he appears to have translated into German. It is a book which will interest, even if it does not carry us very far.

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#### HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

For *Mediæval England*<sup>1</sup>—the latest of the “Story of the Nations” series—we can honestly express unqualified praise. Miss (?) Mary Bateson has treated a complex subject with singular sympathy and felicity, keeping social, rather than political, facts in view, in order that her work may form a chapter in the History of Social Evolution. Prior to the Conquest, English society was in a chaotic state, because no great jurist had yet appeared to systematise it by drawing hard and fast lines. For this reason Miss Bateson presents *Mediæval England* under three aspects, viz., Norman Feudalism (1066–1154), The Lawyers’ Feudalism (1154–1260), and Decadent Feudalism (1250–1350). Compared with ours, this period of nearly three centuries differs more in kind than degree. One remark of the author is particularly worthy of attention, *i.e.*, “It is noticeable that of England’s artistic kings, Henry III., Richard II., and Charles I., not one was in harmony with his subjects.” The book is both well and profusely illustrated.

*Questions d’Autriche-Hongrie et Question d’Orient*,<sup>2</sup> by M. René Henry, has now reached a second edition. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance to statesmen and students of history of this learned and closely-reasoned treatise, which embodies the results of several journeys, undertaken for a special purpose, to the countries of the Habsbourgs, and inquiries instituted in the Balkans, Russia, Switzerland, Holland, and England. The author has come to the conclusion that the Dual Monarchy, although suffering from grave national and constitutional crises, is by no means the “sick man” that her enemies delight in proclaiming her to be. But to ensure her existence—on which the peace of Europe depends—the Southern Slavs must be protected from the causes of destruction which threaten them, and also placed under conditions favourable to self-development. Austria-Hungary is the sole barrier against Pan-Germanic ambitions and intrigues.

By the generosity of M. Gabriel Lucas de Montigny—grandson

<sup>1</sup> *Mediæval England, 1066–1350*. By Mary Bateson. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *Questions d’Autriche-Hongrie et Question d’Orient*. Par René Henry. Paris: Librairie Plon.

of Mirabeau's adopted son—M.M. Dauphin Meunier and George Leloir have been enabled to publish the correspondence of Mirabeau and Julie Dauviers—his mistress for a single day—written during the former's incarceration at the Donjon de Vincennes between October 22, 1780, and April 10, 1781. *Mirabeau : Lettres à Julie*<sup>1</sup> consists of nearly a hundred letters, not only valuable for the fresh light which they throw on the complete and unscrupulous character of "L'ami du genre humain," but also serve to vindicate the reputation of the unhappy Princess de Lamballe from the malice of her enemies. The work, which is furnished with appendices and a dictionary of proper names, would be unintelligible without the running commentary with which the erudition of its editors have provided it. Mirabeau was opposed to the maintenance of hostilities with England: "S'il y a un beau plan dans l'univers, c'est celui d'associer la grandeur française à la grandeur anglaise en asseyant cette énorme puissance sur la base de l'équité." Mirabeau relieved the tedium of his imprisonment by learning Greek, English, and Italian, as well as by translating *Tibullus* and the *Life of Cn. Julius Agricola*, the MS. of which is preserved in the archives of the Foreign Office at Paris.

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#### BELLES LETTRES.

IN the department of Polish *belles lettres*, where much activity prevails, especially in Warsaw and Cracow, two very interesting works have lately made their appearance. Mr. Alexander Kraushar has published another volume of his history of the Polish Scientific Society (*Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk*), of which many eminent Englishmen were members—Campbell, the poet; Loudon, the botanist; Dugald Stewart, the philosopher; and Sir John Bowring, the author and diplomatist, among others. The book is full of material, and is illustrated with portraits of the members of this Society, which has existed more than a hundred years. We are brought, as it were, into close contact with many of the most illustrious men of the nineteenth century. The same editor has also published the Diary of the Polish patriot, Stanislaus Staszic, the manuscript of which is preserved in the University Library at Warsaw. The travels of Staszic lasted from 1777 to 1791. He visited Austria, Germany, Holland, England, France, Switzerland, and Italy. He everywhere appears as a man of lofty and philanthropic views. His accounts of

<sup>1</sup> *Mirabeau : Lettres à Julie écrites du Donjon de Vincennes.* Publiées et commentées d'après les manuscrits originaux et inédits. Par Dauphin Meunier avec la collaboration de Georges Leloir. Paris : Librairie Plon.

France and England are particularly interesting. In our country he does not miss seeing Oxford. He gives a description of the Radcliffe Library, the Ashmolean, and other buildings, and also visits Blenheim. The name of this patriotic Pole is unfortunately but little known in this country. He was born in Great Poland in 1755, and did much for the development of education in his native country. He died in 1826. Unfortunately the Polish language is so little studied in England, that the majority of readers know little of their chief men. Very valuable historical publications are issued by the University of Cracow. Mr. Alexander Kraushar, the editor of these volumes, is as conspicuous as ever for his minute accuracy. He has already published a series of valuable works elucidating obscure points of Polish history. He pursues his successful researches in the archives of many countries.

The late George Rodenbach, whose *Bruges-la-morte*,<sup>1</sup> Englished by Mr. Thomas Duncan, is now before us—possessed a dual personality which, whilst detracting from their artistic unity, nevertheless lent to his æsthetic writings a unique charm. By birth and education a Belgian, he developed, in course of time, into a Parisian of the Latin Quarter, without losing that deep sense of mysticism, inherited from centuries of Spanish dominion, which remains so marked a characteristic of the Flemish race. In spite of the havoc wrought by a Philistine municipality, Bruges represented to him, down to the tragic end of his hectic life, a dream-city, from whose towers still breathed the enchantments of the Middle Ages. Rodenbach was hardly less a *décadent* than a *symboliste*; both elements meet and clash in *Bruges-la-morte*, wherein modernity, as symbolised by a vulgar and venal beauty, jars against the rigid ecclesiasticism of the city of *béguinages*. Over all the brief drama broods :

“Toujours l'obsession d'un ciel gris de province.”

Rodenbach is to Belgium what Huysmans is to France and Pater was to England; indeed, in delicacy of word-painting, he is a rival of the last named, whilst possessing Thomas Hardy's singular genius for creating an atmosphere charged with latent tragedy. Mr. Duncan's translation has evidently been to him a labour of love; we hope soon to see other stories of Rodenbach done into English by the same skilful pen.

In his Preface to *Ireland at the Cross Roads*,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Filson Young informs us that the object of his “essay”—it might better be described as a series of essays—“is not to satisfy interest in Irish affairs, but to arouse it.” He is inclined to throw cold water on the objects of the Gaelic League: “Whether a nation restored to

<sup>1</sup> *Bruges-la-morte*. Translated from the French of George Rodenbach. By Thomas Duncan. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *Ireland at the Cross Roads*. By Filson Young. London: Grant Richards. 1903.

the prime of Celticism would be a desirable thing is a point upon which the most patriotic men might reasonably entertain some doubts; for the Celtic temperament may be likened to certain kinds of Maderia wine, admirable when blended with those of another character, but in themselves strangely unfulfilling the promise of their quality." In this we are in perfect accord with him. Towards the Catholic clergy of Ireland he shows himself unsympathetic throughout; he girds at the "iron morality" of a people whose chastity has won the praise of the civilised world. "Ultimately, of course, the people or their religion must go; their aims are antagonistic, and one must finally destroy the other." This is a hard saying, and those who know the Irish temperament best will be least likely to agree with it. Mr. Filson Young greatly exaggerates the poverty of the country; like many tourists, he confuses squalor with poverty. But the returns of the Savings' Banks tell quite a different tale. *Ireland at the Cross Roads* is a brilliant bit of journalism, more stimulative than convincing.

The late Mr. W. H. Widgery was a prolific writer on Pedagogy, and a strenuous reformer in respect to the teaching of foreign tongues. Although fifteen years have elapsed since *The Teaching of Languages in Schools*<sup>1</sup> appeared, yet the lessons conveyed by that clever and closely-reasoned pamphlet need, almost as much as ever, to be impressed on the minds of schoolmasters, who, as a class, still cling obstinately to antiquated and discredited methods. We, therefore, hail this reprint with unmixed satisfaction.

Anglo-Indians, as a race, were almost inarticulate until they found their sacred bard in Rudyard Kipling, who came and partly lifted the curtain that conceals India from the outer world. Whilst indisposed—as Mr. Kipling seems to be—to grovel at the shrine of the British subaltern or the junior civil servant, Mr. C. F. Keary pays *en passant*, in *India: Impressions*,<sup>2</sup> a just tribute of praise to either type. He saw India with a scholar's eyes, and has described it with a poet's pen. There is, however, nothing forced about these *Impressions*; indeed, their main value lies in an utter absence of word-painting or striving after effect. It is, perhaps, from this studied simplicity that they derive their peculiar charm. Now and again—as, for instance, when likening John Nicholson to the Achilles of our unsung Iliad, the Indian Mutiny—he seems about to strike a lyric chord; but, at the last moment, restrains his hand. Mr. Keary notices that British rule, and the Occidental scepticism introduced by it, are sapping the foundations of Indian religiosity. "I suppose that the Hindus might have begun before now to worship the British Raj had they not seen that we did not worship it ourselves—had they

<sup>1</sup> *The Teaching of Languages in Schools (1888)*. By the late W. H. Widgery, M.A. Second Edition. London: David Nutt. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *India: Impressions*. By C. F. Keary. London: R. Brimley Johnson. 1903.



not, in fact, discovered that we were as a nation profoundly irreligious"—a feature which has not escaped the notice of the author of *Ireland at the Cross Roads*.

To resuscitate a long-buried past—to make the dry bones of historical personages live and move and have their being after they have lain entombed two thousand years and more, is assuredly a heavy task for a story writer to take upon himself. Neither learning nor prodigious research, even when accompanied by a full measure of the artistic faculty, is sufficient to create that mysterious and most elusive quality to which artists have given the name of "atmosphere." It is, therefore, not surprising that Mr. Alfred Dickeson has, in *Tychiades*,<sup>1</sup> only partially succeeded in reproducing for us the myriad-hued life that was lived in the capital of the Ptolemies in the third century of the Christian era. The comparative failure of Flaubert in *Salammbô* would, one might think, have served to warn succeeding writers from venturing into similar fields of fiction. *Tychiades* is professedly a faithful translation from a Greek MS., written by Ornithovius, the hero's son. Considering the difficulties that beset him, we have no hesitation in saying that Mr. A. Dickeson has done his work with admirable craftsmanship. His style, though somewhat florid, bears no traces of having been modelled on that of Rider Haggard. *Tychiades* should appeal forcibly to the man of culture rather than to the "man in the street," whose tastes are nowadays too much studied by the novel-writer.

In respect of fulness of information, the second issue of *The Schoolmasters Yearbook and Directory*<sup>2</sup> is vastly superior to its predecessor; for instance, *The Directory*, in its revised form, contains over 2000 more names than last year. Means, too, have been taken to cope with the "bogus" American degree nuisance; no Transatlantic degrees, except of a *bond fide* character, being allowed to appear. "The Review of the Year," which is to become a permanent feature, begins with the Education Act of 1902, and then goes on to explain the London Act of 1903, which places practically the whole education of the Metropolis under the control of a single authority. "The Bibliography of Educational Books" should prove most useful to teachers distracted by the multiplicity of publishers' catalogues. We must not overlook one important addition, viz., the list of Secondary Schools is now provided with statistics as to the number of boys.

"My Snacks,"<sup>3</sup> says Miss (?) Esther Delaforce in her preface to a series of short essays on subjects so apparently unconnected as Soul, Cancer, and Commerce, "do not claim to be satisfying meals . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Tychiades: a Tale of the Ptolemies, written in the Third Century, B.C., by Ornithovius*. By Alfred Dickeson. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *The Schoolmasters Yearbook and Directory, 1904*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *Snacks*. By Esther Delaforce. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1903.

they are intended solely as 'bitters'—not the kind of thing which many people take for the sake of any pleasure in assimilating the thing itself, but as a means to an end." Avowedly pessimistic in their outlook on life, their tendency is at times anarchistic, *e.g.*, "The fact is that, at present, all that can be done is to destroy; there is nothing—nobody—left whose principles could with safety support any structure where honour could dwell." In discussing the increase of lunacy, the author, very properly, lashes the fashionable "philanthropic craze for presenting or endowing libraries without stipulating that the literature provided should be calculated to benefit those who frequent them: "although physical poison may not be sold by chemists, moral and mental poison requires no charter." How *Snacks* will serve to comfort the sick and the sorrowing—to whom it is dedicated—we confess our inability to see; but the cynic of the smoking-room will appreciate their causticity. Like "Rita," the author has some severe things to say about the characteristic foibles of the sex, which will not be allowed to pass unchallenged. *Snacks* bear much the same relation to Plato's *Convivium* as a cheap counter-luncheon devoured by a time-pressed clerk does to a banquet at "The Carlton" or "Prince's."

*Gillicolaine*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Grueber Ayles, is an altogether charming story, whose hero is the son of stalwart Somerled, Thane of Argyle and Lord of the Isles about the middle of the twelfth century. Gillicolaine woos and wins bonny Lady Gwy; after a son has been born to them, the young wife is kidnapped and carried to the English Court. All ends happily, but not without a series of stirring adventures. Around the whole story lingers the glamour and mystery of the Western Isles.

It is refreshing to come across such a book as the *Boudoir Critic*,<sup>2</sup> the perusal of which will afford many of its readers intense amusement. The book consists of a number of "essays in journalism" in the form of conversations between an aunt of professedly "advanced" views, who, we are informed in the preface, was "one of those fortunate and thrice-blessed women who enter this world cased in a shell of moral and intellectual complacency, that the fiercest onslaughts of the most piercing wit can never penetrate . . . serene in her stronghold of stupidity, the aunt remains, a massive figure, word-inflated, committee-swollen, preaching the cause of Woman, anti-everything, a scarecrow on the dumping ground of theories," and her niece a very candid young princess. Miss Smedley is witty, and gifted with a keen sense of humour. Many of the "criticisms" cannot be taken seriously, especially those on living politicians, writers, actors, &c. They are brightly and cleverly written, and those on "Attitudes,"

<sup>1</sup> *Gillicolaine*. By Grueber Ayles. Paisley: Alexander Gardner. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *The Boudoir Critic*. By Constance Smedley. London: Harper Brothers.

"Wives," "Relations," "Giving oneself away" are very amusing. The "princess" gives her opinions very dogmatically, and, whether she be right or wrong (for the much-abused aunt is sometimes right), she always emerges victorious from these "encounters."

The third and concluding volume of *The Saints in Christian Art* will prove extremely useful, giving in a clear and concise form the *Lives and Legends of the English Bishops and Kings, Mediæval Monks and later Saints*,<sup>1</sup> and the characteristics by which a saint may readily be recognised, and the reason thereof. Considerable space is given to the English saints and kings, while the second half of the volume is devoted to foreign saints. Among the latter, perhaps the prettiest legend is that of Elizabeth of Hungary, who died at the early age of twenty-four. All lovers of pictures should possess this book, in which the beautiful illustrations of the works of Murillo, Burne-Jones, Olivier Merson, Madox Brown and others, greatly enhance its interest.

We are pleased to welcome a second edition of *Riviera Nature Notes*<sup>2</sup> written by a keen lover of Nature,

"J'observe et je suis la nature  
C'est mon secret pour être heureux."—FLORIAN.

written during the "scanty leisure of a hard-worked schoolmaster," and to whom it is very evident it has been a labour of love. The book contains an excellent index, and the illustrations, about 125 in number, are admirable.

It is a matter of regret that the advantages of Falmouth<sup>3</sup> as a winter resort are not more widely known. This old town used to be one of the most important places on our western shores, where flourished the largest Packet establishment of any port in the kingdom, and its interesting historical associations are numerous. The book contains many interesting details of the inner working of the early G.P.O. service and the last of the coaches.

<sup>1</sup> *Lives and Legends of the English Bishops and Kings, Mediæval Monks, and Later Saints*. By Mrs. Arthur Bell. London: George Bell & Sons.

<sup>2</sup> *Riviera Nature Notes*. Second Edition. London: Bernard Quaritch.

<sup>3</sup> *Old Falmouth*. By S. E. Gay. London: Headley Brothers.

## POETRY

*A Dream of Realms Beyond Us*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Adair Welcker, is excellently printed on one side of the paper only. As it contains only 30 or 40 pp., the price of £2 seems a little high. There is no evidence, except the matter and style of the book, to show that it was written in a lunatic asylum; but if not, the author must be a philanthropist who bestows all his beneficence on paper-makers and printers, and is quite indifferent to readers.

In his introduction to *The Hundred Love Songs of Kamal ad-Din*,<sup>2</sup> exquisitely rendered into English verse by Miss (?) Ethel Watts Mumford, Mr. Louis H. Gray writes of Hafiz, Jami, and Firdausi in a strain of Oriental rapture: "Through them all, disguised in many chords and struck in many keys, the single note is Love, Love that kills, yet knows too how to die; Love impassioned, burning, sensuous, . . . like the Nightingale, with thorn-pierced breast, who sobs out his life to the heedless Rose, flushing only the deeper scarlet with the wine his heart pours out." These same features are, in a marked degree, manifest in the Rubaiyat of Kamal ad-Din, whose Beloved seems to have been the reigning beauty in the *demi-monde* of Isfahan. Perhaps he thought with the lover of Marguerite Gautier: *être aimé d'une jeune fille chaste, c'est la chose du monde la plus simple. Mais d'être réellement aimé d'une courtisane, c'est une victoire bien autrement difficile.* The measure of his infatuation is summed up in the seventy-fourth quatrain:

"More sacred is thy voice to me, O Love,  
Than all the words that God's great prophet spake,  
Sweeter to hear thy lips my poor name take,  
Than know it written in the Book above."

But the sadness and passion of love must yield to the Triumph of Death:

"But oh, forget not—insolent with glory—  
The wind that opes the rose, the tulip breaks,  
From off the bough the almond blossom shakes;  
And Death the ending of Love's sweetest story."

Kamal was tortured to death, in 1237, because he refused to reveal the hiding-place of treasures entrusted to his keeping. His *Divan* contains besides rubaiyat, ghazals, and kassidas, eulogising, for the most part, those petty kings, his patrons, whose names would otherwise have been long forgotten. The thanks of all book-lovers are

<sup>1</sup> *A Dream of Realms Beyond Us*. Seventh American Edition. By Adair Welcker. San Francisco: Cubery & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *The Hundred Love Songs of Kamal ad-Din of Isfahan*. Now first translated from the Persian by Louis H. Gray, and done into English Verse by Ethel Watts Mumford. London: David Nutt. 1903.

due to Mr. Nutt for producing for a limited public so sumptuous a volume of intrinsically excellent verse.

*Castalian Days*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Lloyd Mifflin, are a worthy supplement to the hundred and fifty sonnets which composed his volume entitled *At the Gates of Song*. Mr. Mifflin possesses a vivid imagination, kept under severe restraint, a delicate ear for rhythm, together with the faculty of pictorial presentation. These qualities, combined with a well-nigh faultless technique, render him unapproachable by any living English sonneteer. We shall be surprised if some of his lines do not, in course of time, become familiar quotations, as for instance:

“ And back from Hades comes no messenger.”

Perfect as, in mystic beauty, is “ The First Awakening,” wherein his lost love, like Dante’s Beatrice, met him at Heaven’s gate:

“ She led me by still waters, even those  
Foretold, and I was filled with peace and knew  
My troublous soul was entering Paradise:  
Then memory bloomed, a slowly-opening rose,  
And while I asked if Heaven indeed was true  
Her look of love answered from long-lost eyes ”;—

it yields the palm of sustained dignity to “ Reading from Milton ”:

“ Leave the dim casement, when the twilight gloom,  
Strange with great stars, hold us in charmed spell:  
Light the soft lamp, as in some hermit cell.  
And stir the back-log that it may illumine  
The brow of Pallas with a roseate bloom:  
Then let the Poet sound his classic shell  
Attuned to murmur the Pierian spell.  
And flood with melody the quiet room:  
Turn the rich page, and while the embers glow,  
Through arched groves Etrurian slowly tread,  
Reading the thunderous numbers, doubly dear:  
Full let the organ-tones of Comus flow.  
Nor fail to render that “ melodious tear ”—  
The Dorian threnody for Lycid dead.”

We heartily congratulate Mr. Mifflin on his latest achievement in the most exacting of poetic forms.

The appearance of a new volume of verse by Mr. Charles Whitworth Wynne is an event to which the literary world looks forward with interest. *Songs of Summer*<sup>2</sup> are chiefly noticeable for the grace rather than the vigour of their shorter pieces, for instance, “ The Little Archer ”:

“ Deftly the little Archer plies  
His shafts of light—

<sup>1</sup> *Castalian Days*. By Lloyd Mifflin. London: Henry Frowde. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *Songs of Summer*. By Charles Whitworth Wynne. London: Grant Richards. 1903.

Thou canst not hold him in disguise,  
He lurks beneath those summer skies,  
And revels in his victories  
Till set of night."

A deeper chord is struck in "The Tragedy of Beauty":

"Is there to womanhood a woe so deep,  
A moment that so ruthlessly congeals,  
As that, when rising from soft-lidded sleep,  
She first perceives that Time upon her steals?"

"Rejected" has the sense of "tears from the depth of some divine despair":

"You cast my soul to the four winds of heaven,  
You hurl me, passionate, upon the sea of life—  
And all that, in love, you have madly given  
Comes back to me in strife!

In "The Sou' Wester" a fine effect is produced by alliteration:

"Blustering, boistrous wind, that bloweth over the bracken,  
Hurrying, scurrying by, with slashing sting of the brine."

The influence of Heine's *Weltschmerz* is discernible in the musical stanzas entitled "From the Pass of Llanberis," whereas, in "Human and Divine Love"—reprinted from *Ad Astra*—the lines:

"O thou who somewhere braidest billowy gold,  
And look'st upon thyself with lowly eyes,"—

remain an unconscious reproduction of "In Memoriam" (vi., ll. 25–28), Mr. Wynne established his reputation as a writer of genius by his notable drama of *David and Bathshua*, a review of which appeared, some months ago, in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW. *Songs of Summer* are a distinct advance on his previous volumes of lyrical poetry, and give promise of future excellence.

In *The Gates of Silence with Interludes of Song*,<sup>1</sup> Mr. R. Loveman occasionally breaks the monotony of his doubts and fears as to a future beyond the grave by hymning the joys of love and life; but his *leitmotif* is:

"How is it, where is it,—what is it,  
Nirvana, heaven, hell?  
Shakespeare, Omar, Solomon,  
Will not God let you tell?"

His not very happy paraphrase of the dying Hadrian's "Address to his Soul"—*Animula, vagula, blandula*—is ruined by its cacophonous fourth line:

<sup>1</sup> *The Gates of Silence with Interludes of Song*. By Robert Loveman. New York: The Knickerbocker Press. 1903.

“ Poor rambling, shambling soul of mine,  
Beyond the night, beyond the day,  
When thou dost unto death resign  
This happy habitat of clay.”

Occasionally one meets with “ purple patches,” such as :

“ Or doomed to darkness, wilt thou whine  
A beggar at the gates of God ? ”

The influence of Herrick is patent, when, in happier mood, he sings :

“ I humbly thank the gods benign  
For all the blessings that are mine.”

The present collection scarcely shows an appreciable advance on his *Book of Verses* or his *Poems*.

THE  
WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

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KANT AS A DEMOCRATIC POLITICIAN.

MOST people know of the renowned Sage of Königsberg—the hundredth anniversary of whose death has just been celebrated all over Germany—only as of an abstract thinker in the region of philosophical speculation. Many do not take into account the wide range of his studies, and of his writings on Natural Science, on Astronomy, Physical Geography, Anthropology, on æsthetic questions, and kindred subjects. Fewer still are aware that he was an ardent friend of popular freedom in the most extensive sense of the word.

I will deal, in this brief paper, exclusively with the latter character of his, because it is least generally known. Yet, what he wrote in that connection might still serve as a very text-book for the cause of Democratic progress. Both in his philosophical ideas, and in his political views, he has, no doubt—considering that a hundred years have elapsed since he passed away—been overtaken, so to say, by modern science as well as by political and social thought, albeit it is not to be forgotten that, like Goethe, Lamarck, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, and Kaup, he had already a strong notion of the Evolution doctrine which Darwin has fully worked out, but which, after all, can be traced back even to classic, nay, to Indian antiquity.

Let us come at once to politics. In his *Metaphysical First Principles of the Science of Law*, Kant plainly declares that “the Legislative Power belongs rightly only to the united will of the people.” This is tantamount to saying that the State should be under the Sovereignty of the People—not under that of a ruler who claims a right



to govern "by the grace of God." Kant goes on to say that the lawful attributes of the citizens of a Commonwealth are freedom, civil equality, and civic independence.

At his time, a so-called "enlightened despotism" (*le despotisme éclairé*), was much talked about and written up. But he maintained that the alleged blessings of paternal government were to be spurned by men careful of their dignity; such government being, in his opinion, the most despotic of all, as it treated citizens like children.

This view of his is all the more noteworthy when we remember that men like Frederick II. of Prussia and Joseph II. of Austria, not to mention the Empress Catharine of Russia, often extolled freeminded philosophers and their teachings. Thus Frederick II. wrote to a professor who had dedicated to him his work on *Natural Law*: "It behoves philosophers to be the teachers of the world and the guides of princes. Theirs is, to think consistently; ours is, to act conformably." Joseph II. wrote: "Since I have mounted the throne, and am wearing the chief diadem of the world, I have made Philosophy the Lawgiver of my Empire. Austria, in consequence of your lyrical statements, will assume a different form."

These were fine and flattering sayings of monarchs who were enlightened enough to know, and to approve of, the better, but who in active politics not seldom followed the worse, course. Kant did not allow himself to be deceived by such well-sounding words. He avows that there was a time when he, too, thought that progress was only to be wrought by a select circle of what we might call an intellectual aristocracy. In those days he confesses, he despised the mere ignorant populace. But then he became aware that such a state of things was not enough for the true honour of mankind.

"*Despotism*," he writes, "has *vous sur moi*. The dazzling superiority [of an intellectual aristocracy] vanishes away; I have learned now to honour humanity at large and I would look upon myself as far less important than the commonest labourer, if I did not believe that the most meritorious deed to be done is, to establish the Rights of Mankind."

In pursuing his ideal of a true Commonwealth he pushed first of all for the introduction of a judicial system of justice. This was, I need not say, originally an old German institution. It was in active operation still at the time of our great master-singer, Hans Sachs, as may be seen from a poem of his. There Hans Sachs makes a miller reprove his son who had studied Roman law, for the reason that by it which that law began to be applied in the German Empire—means, I may add, our Emperor, who brought it from their Latin universities as a means of saving the independent spirit of freedom of the people. Hans Sachs pleads for the maintenance of justice which give their simple verdict in the open air under the

linden tree." He puts into the miller's mouth a wrathful speech against the pettifogging, intriguing, money-grasping way of learned but unscrupulous expounders of that foreign Roman law :

" Der Müller gleich im Zorne red't ;  
Solche Kunst achten wir Dorfleut nicht,  
Besitzen doch unser Gericht  
Unter dem Himmel bei der Linden ;  
Oft kurzer Zeit ein Urtheil finden  
Nach der wahren Gerechtigkeit,  
Damit Ihr umgeht lange Zeit,  
Sucht darin euern Gewinn und Nutz,  
Haltet der Gerechtigkeit wenig Schutz."

Then the indignant miller tells his son he will not spend another penny for his law studies, and that the son had better throw up all this foreign pettifoggery, and earn his livelihood honestly with his hands.

Kant, though unaware of such testimony in our older literature, strongly contended for the introduction—properly speaking, the reintroduction—of a system of dealing out justice by the voice of the people. A saying of Montesquieu may here be quoted : " The liberties of the people have come from the forests of Germany."

Incidentally, I may mention for those who disapprove of lotteries, that Kant wanted them to be forbidden by law. Those who work for the disestablishment of a State Church, and for a non-denominational system of popular instruction, will be glad to hear that Kant said the expenses for the maintenance of Church communities " should not be put as a burden upon the State, but should be borne by that section of the population which confesses this or that creed—in other words, by any special religious community in question."

Of the aristocracy, Kant wrote that it was a " baseless prerogative." He thus anticipated decrees made, during the German Revolution of 1848-49, both by our National Parliament in Frankfort, and by the Prussian Legislative Assembly of the same time. These decrees, like much else, were set aside by the subsequent sanguinary reaction with its court-martial procedures, and its imprisonment and virtual banishment of hundreds of thousands who had to seek safety abroad, or who, from dissatisfaction, underwent voluntary exile.

A pioneer of Democratic principles, as Kant thus was, he went still further. He declared *the pure Republic to be the only legitimate Constitution*. And he added : " Every true Republic is not, and cannot be, anything else than a representative system of the People, so that, in its name, and by the union of all citizens, their rights are properly taken care of by its deputies." There could not be a stronger assertion of the Sovereignty of the People.

Consistently with this view, Kant was not in favour of the declaration of war and peace being the privilege of a Monarch, a Crown, or a Cabinet. He said the People itself must give its free assent, in such cases, by its representatives in Parliament.

He also wished, wherever possible, to see international disputes settled by arbitration. The horrors of war had made a deep impression upon him. In his ardent and truly humane desire to see their repetition made impossible in the interest of suffering humanity, he would fain hope that all war would at last be abolished. In this he, certainly, did not sufficiently reckon with the ambitions and passions of rulers, parties, and peoples. In various treatises of his, dating from the years 1793, 1795, and 1798, his noble wishes for Arbitration and Peace are strongly expressed. He would not give up these ideas, even though Germany had undergone bitter experiences for centuries past from aggressive foes.

Morality and practical reason, he imagined, should enter their irrevocable veto against war. "The fittest Constitution for bringing about an everlasting peace (*Ewige Frieden*) is perhaps the *Republicanisation of all States without exception.*" He hoped the day would come when a Democracy Federation of this kind would be established.

Meanwhile, he advocated the fullest freedom of the Press—the "liberty of the pen," as he called it. This, he said, is "the very palladium of popular rights." Already, in his *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), he had asserted that there could be no civic freedom without the right of publicly uttering one's thoughts and doubts, by way of contributing to the formation of public opinion and judgment, and that this was "a sacred right of human reason, which must in no way be diminished." To curtail this right would be "tantamount to raising the head of the State over mankind at large, as if he could not err and were gifted with heavenly inspirations." To "claim obedience without admitting the spirit of freedom, which wants to be convinced of the rightfulness of the State's compulsory laws, is," in Kant's words, "the fruitful source of all secret societies."

He was a sympathiser with the first great French Revolution. In this he was at one with most of the great thinkers, poets, and writers of Germany; for instance, Schiller, who was nourished with Kantian philosophy; Klopstock, Wieland, Alexander von Humboldt, Jean Paul Friedrich Richter, Forster, and many others. The best minds of our country hailed the upheaval of 1789 as the promising dawn of a better time for nations in general, even as the American War of Independence had been similarly hailed before. Kant described the French Revolution as "a phenomenon in the history of mankind, which can never be forgotten." He said that phenomenon "showed a tendency and a capacity in human nature which no

politician would have suspected from the course of affairs such as it had gone on until then." He called it, "not so much a Revolution than an Evolution of a Constitution based on *natural law*."

Schiller, who took his cue from Kant's ethic idealism in politics, makes Wilhelm Tell say :

"Nein, eine Grenze hat Tyrannenmacht.  
 Wenn der Gedrückte nirgends Recht kann finden,  
 Wenn unerträglich wird die Last—greifter  
 Hinauf getrost den Muthes in den Himmel  
 Und holt herunter seine ew'gen Rechte,  
 Die droben hangen unveräusserlich  
 Und unzerbrechlich wie die Sterne selbst.  
 Der alte Urstand der Natur kehrt wieder,  
 Wo Mensch dem Menschen gegenüber steht—  
 Zum letzten Mittel, wenn kein andres mehr  
 Verfangen will, ist ihm das Schwert gegeben.  
 Der Güter höchstes dürfen wir vertheid'gen  
 Gegen Gewalt."

It may be mentioned for the honour of the present Liberal party in Germany, even of its moderate section, that these words from Schiller's most popular drama have been referred to in the Progressive Press of Berlin by its most widely circulating organ, on the recent occasion of the Kant centenary.

Though regretting the later excesses of the French Revolution, Kant held them to be rather the inevitable outcome of explosive forces generated by tyrannic oppression. This was, in a large measure, also the view of the great poet Klopstock.

In Germany, at the time of the Revolution of 1789, and later on, there were many thousands of highly cultured men—among them, also, Freemasons and members of the so-called Order of the Illuminates—who held views highly favourable to the revolutionary movement in France. Had the Assembly at Paris not arbitrarily annexed, by a stroke of the pen, the remnant of German territory in Alsace, thus completing the work which the despotic Sun-King (*le Roi-Soleil*), Louis XIV., had begun by force and fraud; had the Girondins not egged France on to war against Germany—a policy in which they were at first opposed by the more advanced Jacobin section of the Republican party, who felt that war would bring on a dictatorship and a new despotism; had the Girondin Committee of the Assembly not declared, by the mouth of its delegate speaker, the absurd doctrine that every special State of the German Empire was a separate national body (*un corps de nation séparé*), and that, therefore, in a case of annexing German territory to France the German Empire and Parliament had no right of voice, much subsequent misery would have been spared to France herself. Unfortunately, that hankering after the Rhine frontier, which her kings began centuries before, soon came out also in the Revolution, as it

did again in recent days, when France was once more defeated and humiliated.

Kant only saw the commencement of this grave error of the Revolution and of the Republic. When conversation touched upon the atrocities committed during the terrible upheaval, he would, after a very few words, dwell solely upon the good the popular movement had done. In his quiet, calm, philosophical way, which some might have mistaken for academic frigidity, he kept firmly to the principles of national self-government, of political equality, and of care for the welfare of the masses, from whose ranks he had risen to such high intellectual eminence. On these questions the son of the poor saddler always remained true to the good cause of freedom, even as he did to the cause of the emancipation of reason from the thralldom of theological dogmatism.

He had had a hard struggle for mere livelihood; first, after his University days—when he had exchanged his original study of theology for that of philosophy and natural science—as a mere domestic teacher. It took a long time before this powerful thinker, who at any rate cleared the way to more advanced enlightenment, could obtain a professorship. There came a moment when even persecution did not spare him, though martyrdom, such as others have had to suffer, was fortunately not to be his lot.

Yet the man who, from a kind of internal impulse, and not on grounds of Church doctrine, still clung to a belief in a Creator and the immortality of the soul, was denounced by pietistic bigots, and at one time was prevented from publishing his thoughts.

To-day an Imperial Chancellor and a Minister of Public Worship have joined in celebrating his memory, and monuments in marble are set up in his honour. Universities and Philosophical Societies emulate with each other in proclaiming his praise. Patriotic speakers dwell on the fact of his ethic teachings having largely contributed, in the beginning of the last century, to the revival of Germany, her deliverance from a foreign yoke, and her strivings for a worthy existence as a free and united nation.

It is always so. Long after a powerful mind and champion of the rights of the people is gone to eternal rest and freed for ever from petty cavillings, or persecution, his merits are acknowledged—often by the very successors of those who once tried to restrict his generous utterances, and thus to paralyse his courageous action.

KARL BLIND.

1904.

## THE LEFT WING—PAST AND FUTURE.

“ONE should take care lest in quenching the spirit of Midlothian we leave sovereign mastery of the world to Machiavelli.” Mr. Morley, in this word of warning, strikes a keynote. The unblest gospel already finds acceptance among the statesmen of the day, and the absence, in England, of an instrument to give effective expression to liberalising ideas is only too apparent. A big fight is in progress now as in 1879. The country looks in vain for an awakener of its conscience. The only missionary yet to be discerned is an apostle who preaches unlimited self-assertion and the aggrandisement of the few at the expense of the many.

It is, happily, now possible to speak of the era of cross-currents within the Liberal party as ended. Days of Wrath there were, and human experience shows that there is no direct road to the promised land for those who have been under the ban. Consequences that go deep down into the reality of things remain. We may be well advised to take what consolation there is in the thought that past is the past, and look towards the future cheerfully, and in the sure and certain hope that, with the shattered array of Liberalism re-organised and re-equipped,

“something ere the end,  
Some work of noble note may yet be done”

in the glorious cause of liberty.

Two new factors have emerged as the result of the period of *Sturm und Drang* through which the Liberal party has just passed. One of these is the break-up of Radicalism in the country, to be followed by the disruption, more or less complete, of the historic Left Wing in the House of Commons. At first sight the disintegration of Radicalism is sufficiently serious. Its immediate cause is obvious. A National Labour party has come and come to stay. This new organisation already claims a membership of a million trade unionists and others, most of whom are ex-Radicals. The outward movement, which has assumed the proportions, though not the character, of an exodus, is still going on.

Liberals of all shades of opinion are, happily, agreed that when in doubt we should go back to Gladstone. Some years ago—perhaps twenty—our late revered leader laid it down that the principle of Liberalism was trust in the people, qualified by prudence.

Whereas the principle of Conservatism was distrust of the people, qualified by fear. For all earnest Liberals and Radicals these were the words of a master-teacher. We took them to heart. We tried to realise something of what they meant for us in our common plod through life. For example, when the Home Rule problem came up we interpreted it in the light of Mr. Gladstone's truly democratic proposition. We became convinced of the justice of the Irish solution. Whate'er betide, we are so still. Again, when the question of direct labour representation began to force itself on public attention more than ten years ago we applied the Gladstone gauge. In this matter, too, were found the elements of political justice. So it came about that the direct representation of Labour was included by Liberals and Radicals—leaders and rank and file alike—as one of the most important parts of their programme. We have all along said, and say now, that if in a working-class constituency there is a genuine demand for a Labour candidate we, as Liberals and Radicals, will sympathise with the aspiration and do all we can be expected in reason to do by giving it our practical support. In theory that is the correct attitude. After all we have said, any other would be simply pharisaical. Why, then, have we got into a tangle with our Labour friends? Largely because of the Labour "pledge." The new Labour candidates have agreed, if elected, to support the Labour policy of the Labour group to be independently organised in the House of Commons: in the constituencies to associate themselves with neither of the traditional parties. But where do we Radicals come in? Where, indeed? What a bitter blow to all our hopes! The officials of many of the Liberal Associations recoil from the Labour pledge, as from "a serpent's sting"—the tragic words were used officially. "No terms are possible," they say in effect. "The Labour pledge must go, or we fight to a finish." Here is a fine state of affairs! But let us go back to Gladstone's principle of trust in the people, qualified by prudence. "Ah, it is too late," they reply. "If to 'trust the people' means to support the new Labour candidates we shall have to cast away our glorious heritage—the Liberal 'Tradition.' We cannot, we will not, do that."

The position is intolerable. As a Radical who was a keen, and still is an unrepentant, adherent of the Birmingham school of 1880–1885; who deeply deplored the apostasy of Mr. Chamberlain; who has viewed with regret the sequence of events that has led to the transformation of a former democratic champion into a mere Protectionist; and who is in active sympathy with all the friends of progress by whatever name they call themselves—I venture to submit that it is time we took stock of ourselves. In the first place, the Liberal-Labour question has been allowed to drift. The chances of a settlement were better almost at any time during the

past ten years than they are now. Doubtless there was a tide which, taken at the flood, would have led on to victory. For instance, a working arrangement might conceivably have been made before the "khaki" General Election, if the Liberal leaders had devised a Liberal-Labour policy on bold and generous lines. But cross-currents were the order of the day. Policy was relegated to the limbo of unfulfilled duties. Defective leadership was bad enough. A catastrophe was to follow. Those whom we were accustomed to look to as leaders deserted their posts. Deserted? Yes. Why, among soldiers, it is deemed an utterly discreditable act even for a private to leave the firing line. Yet, in the sphere of politics, Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt and Mr. John Morley—whom Mr. Gladstone left as trustees of the Liberal cause—basely, as I hold, left the firing line. With the passing of the years, the retirement of these three from active service as Liberal leaders, is seen to stand out in high relief as well-nigh the basest of all the base deeds recorded in the recent history of political parties. The Biography alone was surely not a sufficient excuse for Mr. Morley's withdrawal from leadership in a party then in Opposition.

This brings us to the second of the two factors which mark an important phase in the new and difficult situation that has to be faced. The one paramount mind in British politics is now Mr. Chamberlain's. It need not have been if our leaders had done their duty. The disappearance of Lord Salisbury below the political horizon may be said to have given Mr. Chamberlain his chance within the ranks of the Unionist party. Disunion and inaction among Liberal leaders left the wider field open to him almost unchallenged. With what audacity and skill he has availed himself of the double opportunity! As chief of a Conservative following Mr. Chamberlain's aims must now in the main be moulded by those of the forces of reaction which he has let loose. His hour may strike. The issue is yet on the knees of the gods, but Mr. Chamberlain may become the representative British statesman in world-politics. The temperament of the latest in the line of Conservative leaders is that of an opportunist of a distinctively Machiavellian type, and this defect of his distinguishing quality would find easy scope in the high politics of the nations, among whom the Florentine secretary's doctrine that "whatever policy may demand justice will allow" is for the time being dominant. A period of Chamberlain rule would, indeed, fill up the cup.

Mr. Chamberlain's predominance in Birmingham is due, in part, to a quite Machiavellian instinct which led him, consciously or unconsciously, to snuff out the lesser lights which in the early days gave promise that they might shine with brilliance equal to his own. But it has been rendered easier to achieve because of the



want of a Liberal school of political thought, and the absence, on our side, of leadership that instructs. Birmingham is as Radical now as it was in 1885. All it wants is education. In the wider sphere Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt and Mr. John Morley might have hindered the ill-omened ascendancy. They are the men who, during these pregnant years, might have been tracking Chamberlain step by step, meeting him at every point, exposing him to the nation—not as hermits or solitary ploughmen, but as chiefs armed for the fray, with the knowledge that they were the trusted leaders of the people's party. The neglect of aggressive leadership is just as noticeable with regard to the Liberal-Labour question. Rosebery, Harcourt, Morley, with Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith, Grey and the others, if they had been working harmoniously together, could not have failed to grasp the importance of the Labour advance, and have laid their plans accordingly. The worst would at any rate have been known, and the miserable bickerings which are now going on in several constituencies for the amusement and to the advantage of our political enemies would have been materially reduced, if not avoided altogether. That such matters of discipline should be allowed to transcend even the great tariff issue is enough to make Mr. Gladstone turn in his grave. "Oh, for an hour of Gladstone!" we bitterly cry.

Whenever the Liberal-Labour question had been dealt with it would have presented one difficulty that would have severely taxed the genius of statesmanship. It is this—How to enlist the vast membership and resources of the trade unions on the progressive side without sacrificing the word "Liberal"? This purpose cannot be effected now. Radicals had foreseen for a long time how desirable it was that the trade unions should come into the progressive line. But the Labour organisations, which are associated with the National Labour Representation Committee, include in their membership some Conservatives as well as Liberals, and also a small minority of Socialists and I.L.P. men. Whatever hope there was of a satisfactory settlement on a Liberal basis has gone. These trade unions cannot now be incorporated either as "Liberals" or "Radicals." No practical politician would make that proposal at this late stage.

There is a disposition in some of the constituencies to blame the new Labour party for the friction which has arisen locally. But it must be admitted that the constitution of the central Labour Representation Committee is, on its practical side, thoroughly Liberal. There is no caucus in London, or elsewhere. Each constituency forms its own local Parliamentary Representation Committee, which has full autonomy with regard both to the advisability or otherwise of running a candidate, and to the selection of the right man when a decision has been arrived at. Exception cannot fairly be taken on either of these grounds. But, speaking generally, it

surely was the business of Liberal leaders to take the initiative and approach the new comers with a plan for joint action, such as could have been discussed while the movement was in a state of transition. The expedient finds support in another Gladstone message. In a warning, spoken of historic institutions in the sphere of culture, but applicable also to the present condition of affairs in the Progressive ranks, Mr. Gladstone said: "Their future cannot be a future of somnolent predominance. Youthful and active companions have come into the field to extend the range of culture (say political action) and to ensure its adaptation to modern wants: perhaps also to forbid lapses into lethargy, and to provide a fresh access of material for the finishing hand to work on. To secure this position as well as to attain their proper ends, the nation will ask a constant increase of energetic action." We have seen no "energetic action" in the treatment of the Liberal-Labour question by Liberal leaders. And among the Liberal Associations there is a tendency, which cannot be viewed without alarm, to ostracise the "youthful and active companions," instead of giving them a hearty welcome. Nor will salvation be found in the doctrine of strait-gate Liberalism enunciated at Newcastle.

The formation of an aggressive Left Wing—the theoretical basis of which is implied in Mr. Gladstone's pronouncement—must always be an essential part of Radical policy. The historic Left Wing has been split up. Is it not time steps were taken to organise a new one? The need for a Left Wing is as great as ever. A threefold mission awaits it: to rouse the public from apathy, to revivify in the spirit of Midlothian the moral force of the nation, and to supply propelling power to Liberal officialdom. Propulsion will be all the more necessary in the immediate future because the admixture of Free Trade Unionists—rendered inevitable by the hysterical attacks which are being made on our commercial policy—will lower the specific gravity of the whole. And Mr. Chamberlain in Opposition, as he may be, will be an alert, ubiquitous, and exacting critic, who will not allow himself to be left out of account.

It will be a lasting reproach to Radicals and advanced Liberals if no united effort is made to deal with the new situation. The period of stagnation has passed, and the time for action has come. Our hopes are high. First of all, neo-Chamberlainism has to be laid low; but that herculean labour is the incidental rather than the ultimate aim. We want to see the arrears of social legislation worked off; the methods of Radical finance restored; liberalising principles of improvement and advance introduced into the work of the administrative departments; and the foundations firmly laid of a sane foreign and colonial policy adjusted to the conditions of the time. May we not also reasonably expect, in the not very distant future, to see Parliament become in reality the executive committee

of the nation, perhaps also of the commonwealth of nations; a settlement of the Irish question, and much beside? A re-constitution on the basis of Radicalism only, without regard to the newcomers, is out of the question. No competent observer of political meteorology would say that this expedient is within the bounds of probability. A solution then will have to be found in the re-organisation on broad lines of all the forces of "Liberalism"—using the word in its most general political significance. The needs of the time demand a New Model. That is a subject beyond the scope of an outside observer. But the sagacious conduct of the chief Liberal Whip and Mr. John Morley's declaration at Nottingham in favour of a working alliance with the new Labour party, are indications that a new and conciliatory spirit is at work. Great reforms may be in the making.

What imperatively concerns us is the creation of a strong Left Wing. If it be admitted that Radicalism, in the form in which it has hitherto been known, has no future as a ruling force in the country or in the House of Commons, two alternatives remain—*alliance or absorption*. Isolation may be mentioned only to be dismissed as an unworthy stop-gap. Radicals must either co-operate in some direct way with the trade union political movement; or find their political salvation, or otherwise, within the ranks of an official Liberal party which at present has no declared policy on social, political or land reform, and, apart from the defence of the Free Trade citadel, confines its attention to the revision of the Education Acts and opposition to the licensing proposals of the present Government. The cases of the northern miners and a few other trade unions should be mentioned as being, for the present, exceptional.

The Labour party has already annexed its million ex-Radicals. The process will continue if things remain as they are; for what may be called the Radical mind is being prepared for the change. The outward movement is most noticeable in those constituencies in which a Liberal-Labour split has occurred. A typical instance will serve to illustrate the issue as it presents itself to a Radical or advanced Liberal elector in one of the single member boroughs of an industrial area. The Conservative member is an average specimen of his order, and he was returned at the last election by a substantial majority. He is a so-called tariff reformer. The nominee of the Liberal Association is an amiable gentleman of the upper middle-class, rich, but with no pretensions to political knowledge. The nominee of the local Parliamentary Representation Committee is a trade union official of fair culture and a well-furnished politician. Both are Free Traders. The representative of Labour is sound on the leading questions—education, temperance, and Radical finance—and boldly advocates social, political and land reform. In fact he accepts the

Radical programme of 1885, and goes one better. True the Liberal candidate is vigorous in his denunciation of neo-Chamberlainism, and advocates Liberal views on education and licensing. But all he can offer beyond the official programme is a series of promises which, in view of the policy of the Clean Slate, may be barren. The personal merits of the two men may also be compared. Mr. George Meredith has voiced an opinion, which has been popular with Radicals in other times than our own, about the qualifications of Liberal candidates. He declared, in an interview published a year or two ago, that what we did not want was men who represented the stability of property. We wanted, he added, a break in the selection by working men of their representatives from "provincial lords of acres and the sons of the heads of firms who, having inherited a good deal of money, spend some of it at our too costly elections, in entrance fees to the club-house at Westminster." The leanings of a Radical, in the typical cases, must on all the grounds here mentioned be towards the Labour side.

In 1871 Mr. John Stuart Mill ardently supported a candidate who avowedly came forward to maintain the cause of Labour as against both Whigs and Tories. The balance of argument, now as then, is in favour of the direct representation of Labour wherever a general demand has arisen. Radicals who follow Mill's example may fairly claim to have a strong case. The position thus attained becomes less unassailable from the fact that Liberal candidates are frequently selected by Liberal Associations on the "caucus" plan. A Birmingham Radical of the days of 1885 must naturally be more than a little sensitive on this point. The Birmingham type of Liberal Association, which still prevails, is based on the American "boss" system, and is, of course, contrary to the spirit of Liberalism. It seemed to serve a purpose in the past. It was Mr. Chamberlain's nursing, and one does not like to close any loophole that charity may suggest in defence of the peccant turncoat. But the caucus is wrong in principle. It is a survival of the Chamberlain-Schnadhorst era—a fossilised deposit which succeeding ages of Liberals will curiously scan. Happily the policy in evidence at Liberal headquarters seems to aim at the establishment of a new and better way of selecting candidates. The reform would be a sound and righteous one, and must be the work of some considerable time. Meanwhile "caucus" associations will continue to be a hindrance to the adjustment of the relations between Liberalism and Labour.

We ask, how is the break-up of Radicalism to be checked, and how is a strong Left Wing to be formed? Not by antagonism to the aspirations of the National Labour Party. That is certain. The path to victory must in this case, as in many another, lie along the line of least resistance. A few Radicals who are in open sympathy with the English school of Socialists may find an easy road by

becoming members of the Fabian Society. But the constitution of the L.R.C. makes an alliance on give-and-take lines impossible for the majority. The question then arises, Cannot a Radical and Liberal-Labour combination be projected on the basis of a policy which, after negotiation, the L.R.C. might be willing to submit for the consideration of their local affiliated committees, or for discussion in accordance with the terms of their constitution? The scheme would be bitterly opposed by the extreme sections of the Labour movement. But the trade unionist majority is neither Socialist nor I.L.P.

The hope is not so forlorn as might appear. Radicals, Liberal-Labour leaders with their supporters, and the northern miners' members, have common aims, and their political demands are akin to those of the majority of the new Labour Party. The notion of an "Independent" Labour Party is un-English. If Liberals and Radicals are true to themselves no such group is necessary. The success of the L.R.C. propaganda has been, in part, due to the era of cross-currents in the Liberal Party, and to the absence of an authoritative declaration of the faith that is in us in the "large dialect of a definite scheme"—to use Mr. Morley's apt phrase—on the Liberal-Labour issue. The conference at Bradford last month made it abundantly clear that a large number of the delegates present were in favour of such a modification of the constitution as would make joint action with Liberals and Radicals possible. The vote when taken in this sense was 533,000 to 422,000 against any alteration. But the division shows that there is a large body of opinion within the movement ripe for the discussion of a practical proposal.

Already a common ideal is foreshadowed. If we are to prevent the sovereign mastery of the world being left to Machiavelli, we cannot afford to despise ideals. The hope that the interests of the various sections of the progressive movement can be harmonised and practical unity of action secured, lies in the ideal in which all believe. Bad as is our present condition—says a writer who gives clear expression to the progressive aim—"we may reasonably hope for a better future if we will but cease to rely on a mere natural and unconscious evolution, and strive to deflect the Titan forces with which the modern world is armed from purely economic to partly ideal ends." The writer drives home the truth:

"The good new world must be made, it cannot grow, and it can only be made on two conditions now conspicuously absent. First, a political party that believes not in *laissez faire*, but in action—a party led by men who are reformers themselves, and have lived in an atmosphere of social endeavour; secondly, by the enthusiastic efforts of individuals in the spheres of economy, social work, religion, science, education, literature, journalism, art, and all parts of the variegated whole of which the glorious world of the future will be built up, if man will be true to himself."

Here is the inspiration. I suggest that the first practical step

towards attainment is the formation of a strong Left Wing either of, or acting with, the traditional Liberal Party.

The point at which we have arrived is that we want unity of action, though not necessarily disciplined action, amongst the progressive forces. Three-quarters of mankind nowadays do not want to consider a line of conduct so much on the ground of theoretical consistency as of practical expediency. It has been shown that there are many prudential reasons why a Radical or advanced Liberal should ally himself with Labour. Another of similar import may be added to those already urged. Whenever a Liberal majority in the House of Commons has available time, it will doubtless do its utmost to redeem a long-standing promise, and to pass through Parliament—*pace* the House of Lords—a Reform Bill to provide for payment of members and the reduction of official election expenses. This measure would release a large portion of the Labour Parliamentary Fund, which would then be devoted to the promotion of fresh candidatures, and give a new impetus to the movement. The Liberal-Labour question is pressing now; it may be more urgent still in the future.

But there is in the history of the English Radicals a sanction which may be claimed as a theoretical justification for the course proposed. Before taking a brief survey of that period two preliminary observations may be made. The first is that the trade union political movement—the manifestation of which is the formation of the new Labour party—is not aggressively or even nominally socialistic. But it is intimately identified with the exponents of the English school of Socialism, and a probable, though not certain result of the intercourse, may be its acceptance of socialistic principles. The second remark is that for practical purposes there is identity of interest between the objects of the National Labour party, organised under the L.R.C., and those of modern Radicals and advanced Liberals. What Radicals want is to “effect very real alterations in the opportunities of life of the masses and in the present methods of wealth distribution” (Mr. Charles Trevelyan, M.P.) The old distinction that the Radical seeks the bettering of institutions, the Socialist to recast them, has no meaning now except to the few remaining individualist Radicals, on the one hand, and to the so-called militant Socialists on the other. Individualist Radicalism is gradually being permeated by new ideas. Where ultimate aims, Socialist or otherwise, are concerned, the exigencies of party conflict intervene; and it may safely be affirmed that the regeneration of society after the Utopian model is very far outside the region of practical politics.

The Radical record of the past one hundred and forty years, with its faiths and its scepticisms, its heroes and its martyrs, its successes and its failures, with its Peterloos, its Manchesters, and its Birmingham, discloses in progression of thought upon thought one

salient fact. The object avowed throughout was the political emancipation of the people. This may fairly be claimed as the splendid achievement of the Liberal party under Radical guidance and inspiration. But the corollary of the *political* enfranchisement of the people is their *social* emancipation. To this the Radical tradition commits us. For this the historical basis is provided. The movement dates from 1761. Wilkes, Cartwright, "the father of Radicalism," and the men of the decade previous to the French Revolution, carried on an agitation over the attempt of the House of Commons to escape from the control of the electors, and provided the raw material for the speculative thinkers. Tom Paine and the firebrands of the Revolution epoch, with their "chaos of clear ideas," unsettled men's minds and evoked a period of coercion. But the thread was taken up by the Priestleys, who foreshadowed the utilitarian school of philosophy. The great Jeremy Bentham, a generation later, placed Radicalism on a scientific basis with his ignoble half-truth that the greatest happiness—not "goodness"—of the greatest number was the foundation of morals and legislation. Then came James Mill, who amplified the utilitarian theory. With the advent of the Parliamentary reformers a definite cleavage between Whigs and Radicals was made, but the mechanical theory that men's actions are always determined by what they conceive to be their worldly interest was as firmly believed in as ever. The ultimate aim was always the same. They desired control of Parliament from without. Events between 1789 and 1832 had turned Radicals into an angry, persecuted sect. Their campaign became anti-aristocratic. The abolition of the House of Lords seemed the prime object of reform. The Whig Reform Act of 1832, which was indirectly their work, was accepted for what it was worth. Saintry J. S. Mill followed. The altruistic element in his character enabled him to "free philosophical Radicalism from the reproach of sectarian Benthamism," but he proclaimed the sovereignty of the individual as an essential principle of Radicalism. He was opposed to the selfishness of governments and the oppression of numerical minorities, "to see which things," he said, "and to seek to put an end to them by means, among other things, of giving more political power to the majority, constitutes Radicalism." Up to this point the issue remains clear. The *political* enfranchisement of the people was aimed at. But Mill, in his later writings, developed new ideas. He favoured the enlargement of the sphere of legislation, and became the lineal ancestor of the modern school of English Socialists. His ideal of ultimate improvement, he declared, went far beyond democracy, and would class him under the general designation of socialist. The Manchester school of Radicalism was, in some respects, a back-water in the main stream, though always instinct with the moral force. Lastly, it was the mission of Joseph Chamberlain to take, in the

Radical Programme of 1885, the forward step that links historic Radicalism with State Socialism. Here is one epoch-making thought from the Birmingham teaching: "New conceptions of public duty," said Mr. Chamberlain in his preface, "new developments of social enterprise, new estimates of the natural obligations of the members of the community to one another, have come into view and demand consideration." What this meant was explained in detail in the Programme. "This," says one of the writers, "will be called Socialism with a vengeance, but the path of legislative progress in England has been for years, and must continue to be, distinctly socialistic."

Man passes: truth is. Mr. Chamberlain is now a recusant, but the declaration of socialistic opinion to which in the last dominant phase of Radicalism he signified assent, may be quoted in vindication of the theoretical consistency of the Radicals of 1885, who now find themselves more in sympathy with the aims of the National Labour party than with those of any other existing political organisation, and feel impelled to throw in their lot with the new and youthful companions who have come into the field to extend the range of political action and to forbid lapses into lethargy, rather than run the risk of absorption in Liberal Rip Van Winklism.

Can no means be devised for harmonising the two "interests," and laying, in the large dialect of a definite scheme, the foundations on which can be raised the structure of a new Left Wing? Surely the answer is, "Yes."

A RADICAL OF '85.



## A DISHONEST POLICY.

## INJURING THE MANY TO BENEFIT THE FEW.

WHEN seeking in human motives for the cause or causes of Protectionist tariffs, we ought never to lose sight of the ultimate fact that every producer has a natural aversion to industrial rivals. It may be doubted whether his objection to them is one whit less strong than that of lovers to rivals of another kind. Fear of rivalry is one of the weaknesses of human nature. On this feeling the Protectionist works. He knows that we like to have our rivals kept out of the running, and he panders to our meanness by promising to keep them out. Had this gentleman been consulted when the world was formed, there would have been no biological evolution, and consequently no human race containing its encouraging examples of god-like intellect. To please his inordinate affection for the cowardice that objects to rivals, there would have been no struggle for existence, the root and cause of which is rivalry in one shape or another; industrial and commercial competition being but the economic aspect of that needful process of selection by means of which the human species, like the rest of the organic world, is advanced towards higher and higher reaches of mental and physical activity through the general survival of strength and the general elimination of weakness generation after generation and age after age. For, thanks to natural ordinances which nothing human can change, the strong in mind and in body do survive on the whole, while the weak on the whole assuredly go to the wall. For this folly weeps, but the wise who love their race will rejoice and evermore rejoice. Only by the constant elimination of such of its constituents as vary towards mental and physical inefficiency, only by the constant selection of and propagation from those that vary in the opposite direction, is the human race itself preserved, just as the individual body is preserved through the throwing off of the used-up tissues that, if not got rid of, would compass its destruction. This process is the impersonal saviour of humanity, and although, of course, to outward appearances it may be circumvented for a time, yet in the long run there is no dodging it. As happened under the sentimental despotism of the ancient empire of Peru, mental and physical inefficiency may be shored up, so to speak, and saved from the immediate consequences of itself until the whole community has

become saturated with it, and ready to collapse at the slightest touch of foreign aggression. This is why the teaching of nature to those who seek the truth to live by it may be summed up in these two words: Be strong.

Every producer dislikes competition in his own particular line of business. He is always, however, glad enough to let it cheapen all products and services in which he is not commercially interested. In this respect he resembles the Scotchman who believed that Free Trade was good in everything except herrings, those being the commodities he happened to deal in. His object is to do as little as possible for the consumers and get as much as possible from them. The consumers, it must be remembered, are the general public, and therefore the interest of every individual producer, considered as such, is an anti-social interest, because it means the sacrifice of the public good (which lies in abundance and cheapness) to private gain, which, to the individual producer, lies in the scarcity and dearness of the articles in which he deals. Of course, it is perfectly true that the producer is also a consumer. The Protectionist need not remind us of this fact, for it does not in any way invalidate the elementary economic truths just set forth. The producer is undoubtedly a consumer, and this is the very reason why he is always in favour, secretly or openly, of Free Trade and open competition in every kind of business except his own; it being to his own private advantage to buy cheap what others produce, while at the same time selling dear what he produces himself. If not checked in some special manner at some particular point, the levelling and equalising tendency of competition is to deprive him of this advantage by compelling him to sell cheap if he sells at all, and thus preventing him from sponging on the services of others without giving them just value in return.

From this it logically follows that what is called Protection, which at bottom is only the legislative shielding of producers from the competition of their rivals, is an appeal, not to any desire for the public good, but simply to sectional greed, either organised or unorganised, for anti-social objects. As a matter of fact, wherever there is Protection there is organisation for these objects. There is scheming to exploit the public and to corrupt and control the Legislature. There is banding together of sectional interests bent upon giving as little as possible to the public and exacting as much as possible in exchange for it. Such was Protection sixty years ago when it flourished in this country. Such is it to-day in America, France, Germany, Italy, and other countries where it exists. Everything, says Mr. Chamberlain, has changed during the last sixty years. But Protection has not changed. Its nature and the consequences of its nature are exactly what they were. It is still the same anti-social system. It is still the same legislative device by

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
 WAS RATIFIED BY THE STATES ON SEPTEMBER 17, 1787.  
 IT IS THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND.  
 ALL LAWS MADE IN ACCORDANCE WITH IT SHALL BE THE SUPREME LAW.  
 THE STATES SHALL GUARANTEE TO EACH OTHER THE ENJOYMENT OF EQUAL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES.  
 NO STATE SHALL INFRINGE THE RIGHTS OF OTHER STATES.  
 THE STATES SHALL NOT PASS LAWS OF BARRERS TO COMMERCE.  
 THE STATES SHALL NOT PASS LAWS OF BARRERS TO TRADE.  
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"tried to bring home to the people [of America] that a protective tariff is a tax upon the whole nation for the benefit of a few sections, that it brought a revenue to the Government far exceeding all possible needs and resulting in all manner of scandalous public expenditures on pensions, public works, and the like. But it was too late. The pap of public bounty had raised up monsters of such strength and power, with tentacles interlacing such diversified ranks of life, as to make them practically unassailable. . . . The McKinley Bill . . . was attended with so many scandals as to disgust the great majority which had made it possible."

When a protective tariff is being made,

"to Washington come bodies of manufacturers or chambers of commerce from some district which holds its leading factories to be in need of a little more Government aid in the shape of a tax upon the foreigner. . . . Representatives of all the great protected trades have come to Washington, taken sumptuous apartments at the hotels, and begun a season of lavish hospitality to inconspicuous members of Congress whose votes may some day be of great service for what looks like an unimportant little line in a schedule, but which really means millions and millions to the sugar refiners or the steel kings."

This hospitality includes card games at which the trust people always lose to the members of Congress. It also includes help in financial difficulties and gifts to wives and daughters. According to Mr. Chalmers Roberts,

"it is one of the saddest things in public life to see some single man, hitherto without reproach and supposed to be against the increase [in the tariff] in question, silently and without reason giving his vote in its favour. No one says anything about it, but every one knows that another honest man has fallen. Not only men but whole districts are corrupted. . . . Neither economic theory nor patriotism endures long in the light of such self-interest."

In his *Lectures on the History of Protection in the United States*, Professor G. W. Sumner bears similar testimony.

Whatever else may have changed, Protection assuredly has not changed. But if the people of this country, knowing how it injured their fathers, and knowing also what a costly struggle was needed to get rid of it, allow themselves to be deceived by power-and-office-seeking politicians into readmitting it, there will be no doubt whatever that they at least have changed, though whether for better or worse is another question.

The professed objects of those who desire it cannot in the least degree alter its vicious character, or in any way lessen the injurious consequences of this character, if once again it becomes part and parcel of our political life. "Fiscal Reform" is a very seductive catchword, but when it is used as a cover for the introduction (or, rather, the reintroduction) of a corrupting system based upon unsound economics and necessarily involving public robbery at the hands of organised monopoly, such a phrase is only a snare laid by political mendacity and dishonesty to entrap the unwary. All



black could be proved to be white, he would assuredly prove it to be so. But there are limits even to Mr. Balfour's ingenuity. By seeking to use a protective, even a slightly protective, tariff against the foreigner, he is placing himself in an utterly false and absurd position. How can he consistently request others to go against the very principle which he is himself adopting? Whosoever would induce others to be honest must himself abstain from theft.<sup>1</sup> Whosoever would induce others to speak the truth must at least speak it himself. "Why, John," the foreigner would say to John Bull, if ever that worthy should be mad enough to follow Mr. Balfour's lead; "Why, John, what is it you are asking me to do? You are asking me to turn against the very same 'accursed thing' which you have yourself just embraced, or which you fully intend to embrace if I choose to disregard your request. Come now, my good fellow, if you have got any convictions on this subject of tariffs, try at least to be a man and be true to them. Protection is either a good thing or a bad thing. You say, and for sixty years have been saying, that it is a bad thing, and yet, curiously enough, you are now ready to take it into your household simply because I refuse, at your bidding, to turn it out of my doors. Your conduct, as a thoughtful critic has recently pointed out, is very much on a par with that of a professing Christian who should say to a Jew, 'If you do not at once embrace Christianity, I shall adopt Judaism.' Really, John, consistency—even the Birmingham sample of it—should be made of stronger stuff. If you now think that Protection is good enough to be taken in, you can scarcely in reason object if I think it is not yet bad enough to be kicked out. Do you know what retaliation, as preached by Chamberlain and Balfour, practically amounts to? It amounts to a confession on your part that during all these sixty years my policy has been right and your policy has been wrong. Imitation is the sincerest flattery. It is a compliment paid to the imitated. It is an encouragement to him to continue in the practice that is admired and adopted. It confirms badness in its badness. Reform, my dear John, is made of better stuff. Sturdy originality, not servile imitation, is the true reforming agency. When Sir Robert Peel said, 'Let us fight protective tariffs with free imports,' he was a reformer in the true sense. When Chamberlain and Balfour say, 'Let us go back to the discredited system of sixty years ago; let us imitate the foreigner in his badness; let us practically confess to him that he is wiser than we are,' and so forth (for all their

<sup>1</sup> And also from the intention of theft in any eventuality. This, however, is not Mr. Balfour's view. "The object which these fiscal inducements are intended to attain is increased Free Trade and nothing else; and yet, simply because the 'fiscal inducement' may, *if it fails of its effect but not otherwise*, involve duties not required for revenue purposes, or in certain cases may carry with it some element of protection to home industries, we are to turn away from it as from an accursed thing. This seems to me, and always has seemed to me, extraordinarily foolish" (*Economic Notes*). The italics are Mr. Balfour's.

arguments only amount to this), these gentlemen are certainly not reformers, whatever else they may be. They are reactionaries so far as fiscal matters are concerned, and preachers of retrogression, and promoters of degeneration. And what, after all, my dear John, does retaliation as proposed by them actually mean for me? A mere pin-prick, I do assure you. What! do you really think that after having put up for years with hostile duties amounting to 20, 30, 40, 50, and even in some cases to over 100 per cent. *ad valorem*, I am now going to allow myself to be frightened with your paltry 2s. per quarter on corn, and 10 per cent., on the average, on manufactured goods? No, John, old birds are not to be frightened with sawdust. If you mean to do some execution you must have a high tariff, and this your misleaders dare not propose. This your countrymen dare not adopt. Unfortunate situation! You desire to injure me and dare not strike the blow through fear of its rebounding with greater force upon yourself. The Balfour-Chamberlain pistol is a mere pop-gun when compared with what I have learnt to stand. Two shillings on corn and 10 per cent. on manufactured goods will not hurt me half as much as they will hurt consumers and producers in your country. The greater part of what I send to you consists of food and raw material, and I can far better afford to do without your manufactured goods than you can afford to do without the bulk of what I send. I keep you going to a much greater extent than you keep me going, though those now seeking to deceive and mislead you will move heaven and earth to prevent you from seeing this unflattering truth. They tell you that you would be much better off if, by some means or other, you could only keep my cheap steel and iron and manufactured and partly manufactured stuff from coming into your country. This is the principal burden of their song. They tell you that keeping these things out would increase your productive power and give your people more and better paid employment. It is a plausible fiction. Nearly everything I send helps your production in some way or other in the workshops and homes<sup>1</sup> of your people, and just in proportion as you managed to keep my goods out, in that same proportion you would smite your own exports, either visible or invisible, either in the form of goods or of services; thus causing serious loss to all who are interested in producing and sending them to me. Considered as a whole of producers and consumers, your people have nothing to gain, and much to lose, by any departure, in the direction of Protection, from the sound fiscal system connected with the honoured memory of Sir Robert Peel.<sup>2</sup> He went in for the

<sup>1</sup> The cook who fries a pancake in a foreign frying-pan is as much a producer as is the workman who uses a foreign machine.

<sup>2</sup> On page 163 of *A Short Text-Book of Political Economy*, by J. E. Symes, M.A. (London: Rivingtons, Waterloo Place. 1889), there are some striking figures given to show how intimate is the connection between imports and exports, and how difficult it is to diminish the former without producing a corresponding diminution in

policy of fighting hostile tariffs with free imports. I adopted the Balfour-Chamberlain policy of the fiscal pistol. And yet, after all these years, do other Protectionist countries now treat me better than they treat you? With all my battery of tariffs, not of 10 per cent., but of 40, 50, 60 and 100 per cent., how much more have I done than you have done towards frightening them into reducing or removing their tariffs in my favour? No, John, there is a reason why hostile protective tariffs produce little or no effect upon other hostile protective tariffs. The home interests behind these arrangements are too strong and active. Trust them for seeing to it that nothing is done to seriously injure the pampered industrial plants which these tariffs have nursed and coddled into existence. It is much easier to put protective duties on than to take them off, or even reduce them when they are on. The wise course is never to begin putting them on, under any pretext whatever. They are applications of a rotten principle, and true statesmanship consists in the application of principles that are sound and good. Be true to your old creed, John. Like those who gave it to you, it is better than that of those who are now seeking to frighten you out of it."

It will be noticed that in what has just been written Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain are coupled together. The reason is that there is no difference *in principle* between them. Both aim at the same object, namely, a Protectionist majority in the country and in the House of Commons. This is all that Mr. Balfour really asks for when he pleads for what he is pleased to call "freedom of negotiation." It is true that he is here using inaccurate phraseology, but this is convenient at present. What he really seeks is not freedom of negotiation, but power to reverse the fiscal system of Cobden, Peel and Gladstone. The British Parliament has always possessed

the latter. Up to a year or two ago New South Wales was a Free Trade colony, while Victoria lived under the policy of Protection. "The following table," says Mr. Symes, "will show the value of imports and exports (in millions of pounds) at quinquennial periods :

	1867.	1872.	1877.	1882.	1887.
New South Wales—Imports . . . . .	6·6 ...	8·5 ...	14·6 ...	21·2 ...	18·8
Exports . . . . .	6·8 ...	8·0 ...	13·1 ...	16·7 ...	18·4
Victoria—Imports . . . . .	11·6 ...	13·6 ...	16·3 ...	18·7 ...	18·5
Exports . . . . .	12·7 ...	13·8 ...	15·1 ...	16·1 ...	11·7

To diminish our imports (normally) involves a diminution of our exports, except so far as either represents a gift or the discharge of some liability," says Mr. Symes, and if this elementary economic truth were generally understood it would be clearly seen that, in the words of the same economist, "to encourage one native industry by a tax or other burden on the foreign competitors generally involves the discouraging of another native industry." In addition to this, it ought to be pointed out that Protection, in proportion to its extent and success, promotes scarcity and dearness for the entire body of home consumers, that is, for the general public, thus causing a net loss to the protectionist country. Capital and labour in this country obtain a less abundant supply than they would obtain if importation were free. The protected interests, the trusts, the millionaires, the landlords, the special friends and hired champions of monopoly, and perhaps a few outsiders gain, but the people as a whole lose, and they are neither so well employed nor so well paid in *real* wages as they would be under a system of free importation.



freedom of negotiation. It has always, or at any rate for a great length of time, been free to place protective duties on foreign imports. It has always been free to use such duties as means of negotiation with protective countries. Nobody proposes to deprive it of such freedom. When, quite recently, it placed the slightly protective duty of 1s. per quarter on all imported corn, there was nothing whatever to hinder it from entering, to please Mr. Chamberlain, into negotiation with Canada, for example, and saying to the Canadian Government: "In exchange for certain alterations in our favour in your tariff we are prepared to drop this duty so far as your corn is concerned." *The power to levy taxes, both protective and non-protective, is vested under the constitution of this country in the House of Commons.* So long, however, as the majority of the representatives in this House are against Protection, no protective taxes of any great amount are likely to be levied; and even though the Ministry of the day may be composed almost wholly of Protectionists, they will find themselves powerless to carry out anything in the nature of a distinctly Protectionist programme. Mr. Balfour knows this, and it is because he knows it that he is seeking for power while ostensibly pleading for freedom. The same fact fully explains why he and the ex-Colonial Secretary are on such friendly terms with each other. Both are doing the same work. One is doing it with greater energy, the other with greater caution, not to say cunning. But both are doing it. And both are aiming at the same end, namely, the conversion of the majority of the electors to Protection; the ultimate outcome being a Protectionist Parliament and a Protectionist Ministry.

But let Mr. Balfour tell in his own words what it is that he is aiming at. Only on very rare occasions does he speak with a definiteness approaching that of his energetic friend, the ex-Colonial Secretary; but once in his Sheffield speech he permitted himself to indulge in this luxury, and the words he then uttered have been reprinted in one of the party leaflets.<sup>1</sup> Here they are:

"Do you desire [an inquirer may ask] to reverse the fiscal tradition, to alter fundamentally the fiscal tradition, which has prevailed during the last two generations?"

"Yes, I do."

"And how do you propose to alter that tradition?"

"By asking the people of this country to reverse, to annul, and to delete altogether from their maxims of public conduct, the doctrine that you must never put on taxation except for revenue purposes."

"This country should again have what every other country in the world possesses, and that of which no other country in the world would think of depriving itself, the liberty to negotiate, and something to negotiate with."

<sup>1</sup> Issued by the Conservative Publication Department, St. Stephen's Chambers, Westminster, S.W., in connection with the Conservative Central Office and the National Union.

"Why do you want to resume this liberty of negotiation, seeing how well the country has prospered for all these years without it?"

"My object is to mitigate, as far as circumstances allow, the injury done to us by hostile tariffs."

"Will the remedy you propose be complete?"

"It will not be complete, even if it can be tried in its integrity; and it cannot be tried in its integrity, because I believe the country will not tolerate a tax on food."

"Then do you think it is of any value?"

"Undoubtedly it will be useful! There have been plenty of occasions in the past, there will be plenty of occasions in the future, when a British Minister, having to conduct a great commercial negotiation, will feel his hands strengthened . . . if he can say . . . 'Common justice and fair treatment we do ask, and if we do not get it we will take our own measures.'"

It may be noticed in passing that a would-be retaliator considerably weakens his own case when he admits that in spite of the absence of what he is pleased to call "the liberty to negotiate," and in spite of the lack of "something to negotiate with," the country has well prospered during all these years of "one-sided Free Trade that is free only to the foreigner," as rabid Protectionist journals like the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* are so very fond of putting the matter. In *Economic Notes* Mr. Balfour makes also the same damaging admission that appears in his Sheffield speech. "Judged," says he, "by all available tests, both the total wealth and the diffused well-being of the country are greater than they have ever been. We are not only rich and prosperous in appearance, but also, I believe, in reality. I can find no evidence that we are living on our capital, though in some respects we may be investing it badly."

Overwhelming evidence might be adduced in support of this admission, but there is no space for it here. Why cannot the chief Minister let well alone, and brave the anger of his more pushful friends? Because he is not his own master. Because he is in the power of another. When it is remembered that Mr. Balfour wants the people of this country to discard the Free Trade doctrine that taxation must never be put on except for revenue purposes, it is not at all difficult to understand the true character of the measures which he desires to take, should the people, through lack of the requisite penetration, be foolish enough to give him the opportunity of taking them. Let his Unionist friends who are Free Traders ask him to give an example of what he means by them.

If we are to credit the chief Minister's professions, although these measures might be, in fact, inevitably would be, protective in their consequences, yet would they be the very reverse of protective in their intention. This is a subtle distinction, and one that is worthy of a philosophic mind, but of what practical value is it? Well, I dare say it pleases Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and other "Free Trade" Unionists.

Protection is legalised robbery. This in plain English is the bottom fact about it. No truth is more certain. If, then, the people are robbed, if, under the pretence of giving them more employment and executing justice upon the convenient foreigner, money is taken out of the pockets of the entire body of consumers, and dropped into those of certain protected interests—namely, the landlords, the trusts, the millionaires, the steel kings, the corn kings, the brass kings, the glass kings, the kings who appoint and direct unofficial Tariff Commissions; the cutlery rings, the hardware rings, and so forth—it is, or, if they are in their right minds, it certainly ought to be, no satisfaction whatever to these consumers to be told that those who are responsible for the measures that lead to such results, or at any rate render them possible, are wholly uncorrupted by even the very shadow of an intention that anything of the kind shall take place. Were there but one strong man in the House Commons on the side of Free Trade, he would drive home this truth with such force that Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain with all their host would be unable to stand against him. A Peel, a Gladstone, a Cobden, or a Bright would have torn aside this hollow mask of pretended good intention without pity and without hesitation, and would have shown that all the talk about retaliation, getting foreign-tariffs lowered, and extending the area of Free Trade, is but an excuse for introducing Protection, with all the sinister consequences that necessarily follow from it in every country where it exists, in proportion of course to its extent and the degree to which it “protects.”

By all means let Mr. Balfour lower or remove foreign tariffs if he can. Let him adopt any form of retaliation which he thinks will best achieve this end, provided always that it is not calculated, like Protection, to inflict greater injury upon the trade, the shipping, and the general prosperity of the whole of the people of this country than the benefit it confers upon certain sectional interests, be those interests rich or poor, workers or non-workers. To adopt a general scheme of Protection because certain industries are hardly hit by foreign dumping (which encourages other industries and benefits consumers), is like smiting one's whole body, because one's little toe is trod upon. Protection injures the whole more than it benefits any part. The ultimate question for every sensible man is this—“Are such and such measures likely to benefit the whole country, or are they not likely to benefit it?” Only a fool will injure himself for the satisfaction of inflicting profitless injury upon another. No doubt our return to Protection would injure foreign Protectionist countries. But it would injure us more than it would injure them. It did so in the old days, and those who ask us to return to it are bound to show that it would not do the same again. Up to the present moment they have not even attempted to do this. When

do they propose to set about it? When will Mr. Balfour table a tariff that will not injure the whole country more than it will benefit any particular interest?

"The road to hell," says an honest old Tory, "is paved with good intentions." The thief who picks your pocket may have the most praiseworthy motives for picking it. But you are not concerned with his motives. They are his own affair. You are only concerned with his thieving. Stop him at that you ought to, and will if you do your duty. It is of the very essence of a protective tariff (unless indeed it is so high as to be absolutely prohibitive) to consist partly of public and partly of private revenue. The nearer the tariff is to being prohibitive, the larger is the part of it that goes into private pockets. This is only another way of saying that with a prohibitive tariff the home producer monopolises the whole of the home market, and pockets the highest possible price that monopoly can give him. Such a law-made price is not, of course, called a tariff, but that part of it which would not be obtained if there were open competition practically amounts to one. It is a private tax which the Government, by means of Protection, enables the home producer to levy upon the home consumer, and this tax gets less and less in proportion as the Protection given is of a less and less prohibitive character. To say, then, that Protection is legalised robbery is but to plainly state the truth. The privileged commercial, financial, and industrial interests that are to go shares with the Government in the proceeds of the contemplated protective duties, will no doubt fully appreciate the noble disinterestedness and lofty patriotism of Mr. Balfour's desire to execute justice upon the Protectionist foreigner, or equally Protectionist colonial, but they will pocket the private tax, and possibly contribute no small portion of it towards the political war chest of those to whom they are indebted for it. The chief Minister will protest and hold up his hands in holy horror at the mere hint of such corruption. But it will exist nevertheless, and it will laugh in its sleeve at his simplicity.

Mr. Balfour, of course, asks for nothing but fair play. He seeks only to obtain justice at the hands of the foreigner. He does not wish to protect any sectional interest whatever. It is not his object to rob the consuming public, or to help anybody else to do so. He does not wish to enable a single landlord or a single capitalist to pocket a penny more than he would obtain under a system of free importation. "But things," as Bishop Butler says, "are what they are, and the consequences of them will be what they will be. Why, then, should we wish to be deceived?" The necessary consequences of the measures which Mr. Balfour appears to have in contemplation are clearly and unmistakably in the direction of injuring the many for the benefit of the few, of robbing the public to enrich certain privileged interests, and he is thoughtful enough to know that they

are. In fact, there can be no question that he does know this. Why, then, it may be asked, does he contemplate such measures? The reason is that a large section of his party desire them. He must either break with his party or support Protection. Unfortunate Mr. Balfour! This painful alternative is not of his seeking. He would have let "Fiscal Reform" rest for many a year to come. But it was not to be. A cry was wanted. Something new, strange, attractive and seductive was needed to turn a nation's thoughts away from a bad Government's record of dishonour, crime, and inefficiency. Protection is anything but new, as every economist knows, but it looks like new to many in this country after sixty years of Free Trade. Anyhow it was the best red herring that a guilty conscience could think of. The story is told of a certain little girl who had been very naughty, and when her mama proceeded to take her to task for her conduct, she showed a strong aversion to having it talked about. "Let's talk of dolls, mama," said she. The Tory Government are in a similar fix, and they are adopting a similar device. Hence "Fiscal Reform." Through injustice and dishonour, through the stifling of truth to shield guilt in high places, the Tory Government, with the aid of traitor Liberals, brought on a war which could have been avoided by justice, honour, and good statesmanship. I allude to the sham inquiry into the conspiracy that resulted in the Jameson Raid. I allude to the refusal to bring to the light of day the documents in the Colonial Office that would have settled the question as to whether that office was or was not implicated in that conspiracy. In a word, I allude to the real cause of the war. "Don't mention it," says guilty, dishonoured inefficiency. "Let's talk about Fiscal Reform." The trick is undoubtedly a clever one, but clear mental vision is not deceived by it. Consols have sunk from 106 to 88 and a fraction. "Let's talk about Fiscal Reform." The National Debt has gone up from £635,000,000 to £798,000,000. "Let's talk of Fiscal Reform." The yearly expenditure has risen from £85,000,000 in 1896 to £127,000,000 in 1904. "Let's talk of Fiscal Reform." This enormous growth of expenditure is crippling the commerce of the country. It is increasing the rate of interest. It is lowering the value of securities. The conducting of the war was so bad that even the supporters of the Government condemn it. Life and treasure were wasted for an end that was not achieved. Unconditional surrender was sought for, but a compromise was made, and conquest not obtained over the miniature foe. "Let's talk of Fiscal Reform. Are you a Fiscal Reformer; and, if not, what can we do to induce you to become one? Three cheers for Joe, and for muddling on down the same old road to national bankruptcy and imperial ruin."

Yes, this is the true explanation of the new Protectionist agitation. If John Bull cannot see through the wretched imposture he

can see through nothing. If he will take this thing lying down he will take anything. A record of dishonour, injustice, and inefficiency is sought to be blotted out by a seductive but dishonest scheme for robbing the many to enrich the few; a scheme that will injure the total trade and shipping of the country without strengthening the empire; that will establish Protection here without lessening it in other countries; and that will only introduce into politics, into government, and into foreign and colonial relations, difficulties and dangers and corruptions from which adherence to the sound and honest policy of Sir Robert Peel would keep the country free. But if, seeing all these undesirable consequences that must follow from the application of a vicious principle, as see them he may if he will only use his brains, John Bull again places in power the shameless, discredited, and unscrupulous politicians who are now agitating and scheming to bring them upon him, he will deserve to suffer even more than he suffered in the bad old Protectionist days of sixty years ago. "Once bit, twice shy," says the proverb. If the present agitation is pushed to an issue at the polls, we shall see whether the people of this country have sense enough to exemplify it. After all the compulsory "education" they have had, they ought to be wiser than their fathers. We shall see whether they are. A better test it would be difficult to devise.

M. D. O'BRIEN.

PS.—Since these pages were written several local elections have taken place, the results of which are not encouraging to "Fiscal Reformers," and consequently Mr. G. Balfour has tried to make the country believe that a Government, *composed largely of Protectionists*, is against Protection! Nobody is taken in by such tactics. It should be noted that, according to Mr. G. Balfour, this "Free Trade" Government proposes to stop "unfair competition." The door is thus left wide open to a large system of Protection against "unfair competition," which may be made to cover a great deal in the hands of "Fiscal Reformers."—M. D. O'B.

## THE BURDEN OF EMPIRE.

## II

THE PRICE OF EMPIRE—(*continued*).

WE have seen that the pecuniary burden, which Empire imposes upon us may be taken to be not less than £64,000,000 per annum, or more than one-half of our total net annual expenditure. Let us next ascertain whether there is anything to lessen the burden—whether we have any and what Imperial assets or revenue.

We own certain shares in the Suez Canal, and as the cost of these is included in our National Debt, which has been debited to Imperialism, we must give credit for their present value, estimated at about £28,000,000, and producing a revenue of about £870,000. Relatively, however, it is a bagatelle and makes no appreciable difference. Beyond this we possess our armaments, partly requisite for national and partly for Imperial purposes; but an apportionment need not be attempted, seeing that they produce no revenue and do not therefore lighten our expenditure. And last, though it will not be considered least, there is our Empire, which we own in some sense—though one it would be difficult to define—and the inquiry therefore takes the form of what revenue can be discovered emanating from this source.

And first, do our Colonies help us? Seeing that a very large proportion of the expenditure is incurred for their protection, and that we are now asked to tax ourselves still further for the express purpose of drawing them closer to us, we should naturally expect that they would send us a substantial contribution. We hear a great deal of their loyalty and disinterested services, based on the fact that they assisted in devastating the Transvaal, at a proportionate cost to us of about five times the hire of our own soldiers (although, so far as Canada is concerned, Mr. Carnegie has pointed out that she sent many more thousands of her sons to fight in the Northern ranks in the great Civil War, and that at the same rate as paid to the American regular); let us see what that loyalty amounts to measured in pounds sterling. The Colonies maintain armies at their own expense, and, with the exception of Canada, also incur a certain naval expenditure; but as these disbursements have not been taken into account in ascertaining the amount of our own

Imperial burden, the latter is not thereby reduced. As an interesting comparison, however, it may be mentioned that whilst the naval and military expenditure of the United Kingdom works out at over 30s. per head, that of the Colonies averages less than 3s. per head.<sup>1</sup> From the Cape—the one colony charged with disloyalty—we get a contribution of £30,000 (now increased to £50,000); and Australia helps defray the cost of a local naval squadron, which, however, is under her control, so that instead of this assisting the Mother Country the position is reversed. And this is the extent of the colonial share of the burden; their contribution to our own Imperial expenditure is comparatively infinitesimal. Comment on the facts need not be carried beyond Mr. Chamberlain's own observation at the Colonial Conference, when he intimated that it was inconsistent with the dignity of the Colonies as nations that they should leave the Mother Country to bear almost the whole of the expense of Imperial defence, and that no one would believe she would for all time make this inordinate sacrifice;<sup>2</sup> or Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's confession that he was a little tired of the paroxysms of mutual admiration and the innumerable perorations about unity and loyalty, and injunction to show the Colonies in our dealings with them that we could take care of the advantage of the United Kingdom just as much as they took care of their advantage in their dealings with us<sup>3</sup>—utterances which if made by a "Little Englander" would no doubt have been denounced as treason.

Turn we now to India, where we have a true instance of Empire. Our Colonies, not being ruled by us, cannot be made to share our burden; all we can do is to indulge in (apparently futile) appeals to them. But where Empire exists, toll can be levied by the dominant race upon the subservient race, and is only limited on the one hand by the will of the former and on the other by the capacity of the latter; the second limitation, as all history shows, being the only effectual one. The Indian people simply groan under the pressure of taxation, and it is doubtful whether much more could be extracted from them, having regard to their impoverished condition and to the fact that periodically millions die of starvation.

<sup>1</sup> It is instructive to note, in passing, how the cost of our recent great Imperial enterprise was apportioned. The Boer War cost Great Britain about £225,000,000; it cost the American and Australian Colonies £1,500,000; to the former it worked out at over £5 7s. per head, to the latter it ranged from 2s. 3d. to 8s. 8d. per head, or on the average 5s. 3d. So that in proportion to population the burden imposed upon the Mother Country as compared with the Colonies is twenty times as great, whilst in amount it is about a hundred and fifty times as great. However, of the total we are supposed to get £34,000,000 from the new Colonies, but in view of the method by which this interesting arrangement was effected, and of the fact that those Colonies did not, and do not at present, enjoy self-government, and that protests were urged in every district, it is perhaps safer not to regard this as an asset until we get it. The Cape and Natal, it will be remembered, both petitioned against the war, so that the "loyalty" of the other Colonies took the form of assisting in the coercion of their fellow colonists in a matter in which the former were only remotely and the latter were vitally interested.

<sup>2</sup> Blue Book Cd. 1299, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Speech at Bristol, September 29, 1902.



Their average annual income is less than £2 per annum, whilst the average annual income in the United Kingdom is about £40. Yet despite the amount extracted from India, it cannot be said that Great Britain derives any substantial national pecuniary benefit from the ownership of the country. For it is one of the features of Imperialism that the exploitation it fosters conduces, as a rule, to the benefit of only a comparatively small section of the Imperial race; the British working man, for example, pays no less in taxes because tribute is levied on the unfortunate ryot. Practically the only direct national gain (if it be one) derived from India is due to the fact that she is made to maintain a huge army, far out of proportion to her own requirements, which is largely utilised for service in other parts of the Empire; but, if this were not the case, it is doubtful whether we should proportionately increase our own enormous military expenditure or whether we should not rather dispense (to our advantage from many points of view) with the additional means thus afforded of gratifying our aggressive or bellicose proclivities. The bulk of the remaining burden imposed upon India represents the cost of government—that is, the amount which goes into the pockets of the officials—the spoils of the ill-paid and hungry native subordinates who “prowl about the villages and gradually fatten themselves by plunder and extortion,” expenditure on public works, and interest paid on British capital which has been sunk in enterprises that yield no equivalent economic return to the people. Despite, then, the price which India has to pay for British rule, there is to us, nationally, no pecuniary gain that can be earmarked and treated as a contribution towards our own expenditure.

And if neither from the Colonies nor from India do we obtain any appreciable contribution, it is in vain to look to the remaining minor portions of the Empire. Nor do we derive any indirect pecuniary gain, as is commonly supposed. The delusion that Empire promotes our commercial prosperity, based on the dictum that trade follows the flag, has been subjected to detailed investigation elsewhere, and need not therefore here detain us.<sup>1</sup> There is no escaping from the fact that our Imperial expenditure of £64,000,000 is paid by us—that it is unattended with any appreciable return—that half the amount of our taxation represents the price of “glory”—that we are spending this enormous annual sum because we are an Imperial Power.

#### THE REDUCTION OF IMPERIAL EXPENDITURE.

Nor can we get rid of the burden. We may forget the follies and crimes of the past, but we have to pay for them in the present;

<sup>1</sup> See “Commercialism and Imperialism,” WESTMINSTER REVIEW, November 1903.

we may exult in the recent expansion of the Empire, but the penalty of expansion will be exacted. We have mortgaged our property, and the interest must be met; it is written in the bond, and the earnings of this generation and of future generations have been hypothecated. At best we can in time lighten the burden; at least we can see that we add not to its weight. By further sacrifice we can reduce the principal; by wise reforms we can prevent leakage and waste; by altering our policy we can lessen our military expenditure. If we cannot repudiate our National Debt, we can take care not to increase it; if we cannot abandon the Empire we possess, we can refrain from acquiring new dominions; if we cannot relinquish the duty of Imperial defence, we can discharge it in a less reckless and expensive manner; if we cannot ensure immunity from attack, we can avoid inviting it. Or, on the other hand, we can in all these matters pursue exactly the opposite course—the course we have been pursuing for so many years—and thereby make the burden more oppressive. And we can also, in the endeavour to extricate ourselves from the bog into which we have floundered, continue to follow the will-o'-the-wisp by whose glamour we have been caught, as he seeks to place us into a new quagmire with the mocking promise that we shall find a surer foothold. Which is it to be?

The motives from which Imperialism springs are mixed, and the preponderating one differs with individuals. With some it is a desire for personal gain, attained directly or indirectly; and to such the national cost does not count, seeing that though they may have to bear a share, this is far outweighed by the benefits they derive. With others an honest desire to promote the progress of the world exercises the chief influence; and to such, if they still cling to the delusion that conquest and arbitrary rule make for progress, the inquiry may be put whether the results are commensurate with the cost, and whether the object would not be more largely promoted by other and less expensive methods. Neither of these classes, however, is in the majority, though probably the views of each partly enter into consideration with all. But the bulk of Imperialists are mainly animated by racial pride and arrogance; a feeling of satisfaction at belonging to a nation which is greater, or is thought to be greater, than other nations; satisfaction at exercising dominion, real or assumed, over a quarter of the globe, satisfaction at being able to bid defiance, and if need be to challenge; in short, pride of place, prestige and power. And of such, ignoring the moral offensiveness of pride, the question can be pertinently asked—May not that pride be gratified at too high a price? Is it worth taxing ourselves to this enormous extent mainly to indulge in a morbid and paltry sentiment which has been, not perhaps too severely, described as the “never failing vice of fools?” Reasonable men can give but one

answer to such a question : to unreasonable men, such as those who were prepared to fight the Boers to the bitter end, though it cost not £250,000,000, but ten times that amount, it would of course be useless to put the inquiry. But the majority of men in their calmer moods, and when not under the influence of passion such as war provokes, are more or less influenced by common sense, and are in the habit of counting the cost ; and hence it may not be altogether futile to emphasise the wisdom and necessity of a reduction of Imperial expenditure.

Obviously it is all-important that we should avoid everything calculated to add to the burden, whether further territorial aggrandisement, or offering bribes to our colonial possessions, or courting the hostility of other nations. We must therefore absolutely reverse the policy by which we have been dominated for many years past, emphatically veto the latest development of that policy, and honestly endeavour to cultivate international friendship and goodwill ; for in this way only can we hope to prevent a growth of expenditure. Empire has been forcibly described by Mr. Morley as a State system that ruins itself by wasting its capital<sup>1</sup> ; and if we wish to escape ruin we must cease to waste our capital, and we can only cease to do this by ceasing to seek Empire. What benefit we are ever likely to derive from our latest acquisition, which has so largely contributed to our present incubus, would be as difficult to discover as the converse benefit we are ever likely to confer upon those we have conquered. Imperialism is twice cursed, it curses him who takes and him from whom is taken. Self-interest, not less than the golden rule, bids us stifle earth-hunger, aggressiveness, and vindictiveness ; we must recognise the right of others to the liberty and independence we claim for ourselves ; we must abstain from insult, injury, and provocation, and aim at promoting cordiality, friendship, and brotherhood amongst nations.

But we can attain, at any rate eventually, more than the negative result of not adding to our burden ; we can take active steps to lighten it. The resuscitation of the Sinking Fund is an obligation we owe to posterity, and ought to be discharged in a more liberal spirit than is proposed ; but of course this, so far from diminishing, in fact increases the demand upon our resources. Of the methods of effecting a reduction, the most important is to cut down our military expenditure—an expenditure which Imperialism has caused to mount by leaps and bounds, and which could be materially abridged if we curbed the spirit of aggrandisement, and still more abridged if we adopted a less defiant attitude to other Powers, and paid more regard to international comity. Of the need of War Office reform it is scarcely necessary to say a word after the recent report of the South African Commission, but the moral is that

<sup>1</sup> Speech at Montrose, April 13, 1903.

reckless militarism begets extravagance, incompetence, and waste, and that nations which engage in robbery must expect to be robbed in the process. It is a fitting incident in a campaign of blundering and plundering—blundering in the Cabinet, blundering in the field, plundering of territory, and plundering of independence—that the like blundering and plundering should extend to the incidental equipment; but if a tithe of the indignation expressed at the revelations affecting ourselves had been expressed at the revelations affecting others, it would have been more to the purpose. Certain it is, however, that we can, if we like, practice an extensive economy in two directions, namely, in the reduction of outlay and in the avoidance of waste. Upon both these points, as well as upon the general policy of pacification, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach may again be appropriately quoted, since the counsels of a Conservative and Imperialist, and one who has had control of the public purse, may command attention on the part of some of those with whom party or patriotic bias discounts appeals to pure reason.

“He had always told his constituents that he was not in favour of the maintenance of a large permanent army in this country. He did not believe it was necessary. He looked upon our fleet as our great defence. But he knew very well that such a sentiment would arouse the deepest indignation on behalf of the service members of the House of Commons and military experts. . . . There might very easily be a reduction in our military estimate . . . if the War Office properly expended their money. He doubted if there was any one outside that Office who believed that they did.’ . . . ‘There is a great difference between an effective and an expensive army. One may have a military system which is perfect, and which at the same time is founded on wise economy. The military establishment which we sanction should be a model rather than a force adequate to any great occasion which might hereafter arise.’ . . . More than this, let them remember that the safety of the country depended not only upon our material strength, but upon our policy. . . . Let us carry out the golden rule of doing to others as we would wish them to do to us. Let us, while keeping our powder dry, be careful to avoid provocation, whether of word or action. Let us estimate at their true value, which was nothing, the vapourings of the sensational press, whether at home or abroad, and let us not always consider it a menace or an injury to ourselves if a foreign nation followed our example by founding some station for the benefit of its trade, or even annexing a certain territory in a country which hitherto in barbarous hands had yielded nothing to the welfare of mankind. Whatever our wealth, and whatever our strength, it was on that policy, and on that policy alone, that the welfare of our people could be secured and the greatness of our Empire maintained.”<sup>2</sup>

This truth is clear, we shall have to work out our own salvation. To our Colonies it is vain to look for help; and, although we are bound to defend them if attacked, and although the chief of them

<sup>1</sup> This was spoken before the publication of the Report of the South African Commission.

<sup>2</sup> Speech at Bristol, September 29, 1902.

aided with us in our last gigantic Imperial enterprise, there is at least this to be said on their behalf, that they did not create our National Debt, that they have not the slightest control over our expenditure, and that they possess no effective voice in the determination of our policy. But in any case they give not the slightest indication of an intention to come to our assistance; and whilst tradition, kinship, and the ties of race partly operate in the direction of maintaining the *status quo*, there seems little doubt that their allegiance is largely based upon self-interest, and that if and when they thought it to their advantage to sever the connection, they would not hesitate to sever it. Is this rank heresy? Then listen to the colonial view as expounded by a colonial:

“It is the present writer’s opinion that unless a reconsideration of the relations between the two great sections of the Empire—the Islanders and the Outside—is made, unless the Englishman is prepared to . . . abdicate some part of the title of ‘Predominant Partner,’ which the history of the past has naturally enabled him to assume, this vast agglomeration called the British Empire will prove to be, not a living organisation, but a mere aggregation of units, bound together by no common tie, and liable to destruction at the first moment of stress. . . . [The Colonies] must either be taken into the joint business on terms that recognise their responsibilities and also their rights, or they must withdraw and set up business for themselves. ‘But,’ says the Englishman, ‘that happily cannot occur. The Colonies have shown their loyalty to us in unmistakable terms: they sent us contingent after contingent with the utmost readiness and enthusiasm. If a war broke out to-morrow they would unhesitatingly throw in their lot with us.’ That is a pleasant and a comfortable faith. The only unsatisfactory point about such a complacent bulwark of self-satisfaction is that such a belief is quite unfounded. Here the Englishman suffers from that radically wrong point of view which apparently is the inevitable result of his regrettable insularity. The Colonies are not loyal to *England*. The fact has been insisted upon again and again; apparently it is necessary to insist upon it till the end. . . . No; the loyalty to his own particular island, of which the Englishman is so assured, does not exist save in a complacent belief due to a wrong sense of the colonial’s opinion of him. . . . And it is surely unnecessary to point out that in the event of a vital difference between the United Kingdom and one of its unfranchised Colonies the loyalty towards England would not survive five minutes after the first angry word was spoken. Then the Motherland would have an opportunity to test the loyalty of its colonials—to themselves, to each other. And in a large conflict of opinion between England and any of her great colonial Governments, there is little doubt in the minds of those who know colonial feeling that the event would be the signal for an outbreak of sympathy between the Colonies directed *against* the Mother Country. . . . It must be quite apparent to such an astute statesman as Mr. Chamberlain that he cannot hope to obtain one penny from the Colonies without proffering them some very real privilege in exchange. How, then, is he going to induce the Colonies to take upon themselves the burden beneath which the United Kingdom is so pathetically staggering? Certainly not by an appeal to their gratitude. The Colonies, though swift in sympathy and generous in their charities, are not of a grateful frame of mind. They have too confident a belief in themselves to admit that there is need of their gratitude. The colonial is assured of his ability to protect.

himself, and of the splendid future before his colony. He is a grown man now, with a man's conception of his advantages."<sup>1</sup>

The remedy propounded by the writer of the above for preventing the threatened disruption (he discovers no enthusiasm for reciprocal tariffs) is the establishment of an Imperial Federal Council for Imperial affairs, consisting of a lower chamber in which the United Kingdom would possess twenty representatives and the Colonies six, and an upper chamber in which the United Kingdom would possess nine representatives and the Colonies twelve, the two houses in case of conflict to sit as one, giving the United Kingdom twenty-nine votes to eighteen; the apparent effect of which would be to make Ireland master of the situation (what an opportunity for "wiping off old scores") since a transference of her five votes to the Colonies would leave Great Britain with a bare majority of one, and of course result in an *impasse* if not in disintegration. What, however, here concerns us is the frank avowal that the Colonies are not loyal to the Mother Country, that they pursue their own interests, that they would stand by each other against Great Britain, and that they can face the possibility of severance with equanimity. Nor can it be truthfully retorted that this is an isolated opinion and in no way representative, for there are too many indications that it is not far from accurate. Nor would it alter facts to offer censure, if censure could be properly offered by a nation accustomed to pursue its own interests or supposed interests and to impose its will upon others when too weak to resist. The present position is that we incur a heavy expenditure partly for the protection of the Colonies, and that the latter are not prepared to share it. And Mr. Chamberlain steps in and significantly tells us that the United Kingdom cannot for all time make this inordinate sacrifice.

We are thus face to face with one possible development by which the burden of Empire might be materially further reduced, namely, by the withdrawal of the most costly section. It is a possibility which a "Little Englander" would scarcely dare on his own initiative even to hint at, and it is certainly not a consummation devoutly to be wished. But, since it is a possibility candidly recognised, both by Colonials and British Imperialists, to briefly suggest what it would mean, if realised, may not be unprofitable. Probably it would involve a loss of prestige, a diminution of influence, and a decrease of power. Yet, seeing the shock administered in South Africa to our prestige, influence, and power, the experience would not be new, and apparently would not even be chastening. The mere political status would not after all be materially altered, for our Colonies are now independent sister

<sup>1</sup> "A Colonial View of Colonial Loyalty." By Arthur H. Adams. *The Nineteenth Century—and After*, October 1903, p. 525.

nations—to quote Mr. Chamberlain again—not controlled by us; and, unless the termination of our nominal suzerainty resulted from previous ill-feeling, there is no reason why the sisterly regard should diminish. Kinship, at any rate, must remain; and even now we could as ill afford to quarrel with our American cousins as with our colonial brethren. But progress, after all, consists in paying less regard to racial ties and more regard to the common bond of humanity. What is race, that men should range themselves in hostile camps according to their petty distinctions and ignore the great fundamental community of interest as human beings? We ourselves are composed of diverse elements and not a little of our virility is due to the fact. Our very language, on which the larger hope of the unity of the “English-speaking race” is founded, exhibits the like characteristics, and why those whose speech is the result of a somewhat different blend should be excluded from this larger hope is not easy to understand. Defoe, who in his caustic *True-born Englishman* unkindly describes our progenitors as “an amphibious ill-born mob,” tells us that they left a “shibboleth upon our tongue,”

“By which with easy search you may distinguish  
Your Roman-Saxon-Danish-Norman-English,”

and the satire is worth reviving. The emphasising of racial variations by so composite a people as ourselves is not without its humour, but it has its grave aspect in being distinctly antagonistic to the nobler ideal. In any case, if we are to base union upon kinship, let it be a kinship of affection and not of selfishness. That our Colonies should remain attached to us and we to them, every one must desire, but if the attachment is to be made the subject of bargaining, and is to result in antipathy to the foreigner, it is robbed of its ethical value. Certain it is that, if we are wise, we shall in no case take upon ourselves a greater share of the burden of Empire; if we cannot continue to make this inordinate sacrifice, if we “cannot go on in this way,” it is clear that we must not add to the sacrifice, and must find a more excellent way. And that way we must devise for ourselves.

Whilst our Colonies exhibit no inclination to come to our rescue, it is, we have seen, equally vain to turn our eyes to India. Although we do rule that impoverished country, we cannot in all conscience attempt to exact more than we do, even if it were possible to exact more. Indeed, our obvious duty is to exact less, and to initiate such reforms in government as shall afford material pecuniary relief. In doing this we need not increase our own taxation, for whilst India is “bled,” the British taxpayer, as has been pointed out, does not derive benefit from the bleeding. But, at the same time, he cannot and ought not to look to India for any relief; she is not responsible

for the burden, has had no voice in its creation, and is prostrate under her own burden. With all our pride of possession and glory of dominion, we stand alone, a weary Titan staggering under the weight of Empire ; there is none to help us in our "splendid isolation," and amelioration can only come from ourselves.

Empire means bondage not less for the Imperial than for the subservient race. In dictating to others we ourselves succumb to a dictator ; in fostering parasitism we become its victims ; in imposing our yoke upon the weak we tax our own strength. And Empire has always spelt decay, if not ruin ; Athens, Sparta, Rome, Spain, all tell the same tale. Militarism, by which alone dominion is maintained and expanded, eats into the heart of the Empire. We have vast wealth, abundant internal resources, and bright potentialities—a goodly heritage which cannot be squandered in a day. We can no doubt make long the broad road that leads to destruction ; but the destination is the same, and must ultimately be reached if we pursue the journey. Or we can, if so determined, arrest our steps ; we can to some extent regain lost ground, and we can seek a nobler path. Our safety lies where our honour lies ; not in fostering empire, dominion, predominance ; but in promoting autonomy, liberty, brotherhood. Egoism, not less than altruism, bids us abjure the doctrine of racial supremacy.

J. G. GODARD.



## A SPANISH ROMEO AND JULIET.

## PART II.

CALDERON found it in Antinomianism of the most extravagant kind.

All the Latin nations have long shown a predilection for stories of souls whom a single word, uttered at the last, has saved from Hell. It was not how life was lived but how death was died which mattered to salvation. Prominent in the representations of the Last Judgment which rose over the doors of every Romanesque church, was the figure, borrowed, maybe, from Egyptian legend, of the angel who weighed the souls. The tale of the Penitent Thief was the most popular part of the story of the Passion, the "smell of the fire of Hell" or at least of Purgatory had passed over the garments of almost every one of the great saints from St. Patrick onwards, and in the vast galleries of the "Gesta Romanorum" and of the "Divina Comedia," no figures were better known than those who, like Dante's Buonconte da Montefeltro, could say :

"My voice ceased at the name of Mary; there I fell, and my flesh was left alone. God's angel took me, and he of Hell kept crying: Thou from Heaven, why dost thou rob me for one poor little tear, which takes him from me."

A plot, then, which turned on the "point of honour," and on the means by which "a brand was snatched from the burning," whilst it gave scope for the uncontrolled revulsions of feeling natural to a Juliet who had been reared in the Spain of the seventeenth century, could not fail to be popular, especially in view of the success which had been obtained by Tirso de Molina's *El Condenado por Desconfiado* (*Damned for Want of Faith*), a play which practically put forward the Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith in a very beautiful and poetic form, and which had left a deep impression on Calderon's mind.

Eusebio, the hero, is a foundling, who, having been discovered by some shepherds at the foot of a cross, has inherited the wealth of a rich foster father, and has won the love of Julia, daughter of Curcio, a poor nobleman of Sienna, who had been Ambassador from that Republic to Pope Urban III. (A.D. 1185-1187). During his absence, his wife found herself pregnant. Curcio's suspicions

were wrongfully, as he owned afterwards, aroused, and on his return home, he decoyed her into the mountains, where he intended to murder her. His heart failed him, however, and "he cut and slashed i' th' air," leaving her for dead at the foot of a cross. On getting back home, to his utter surprise Rosmira, his wife, met him at the door:

"In her arms she held Julia, and as a god-sent mark the child she had borne had on its breast a cross wrought of blood and fire. But yet her happiness was tempered by the thought that another babe was left upon the mountain, for she, amidst the pains of labour, had felt that she had brought forth two."

Julia grew up, and was ardently and clandestinely wooed by Eusebio "through infamous go-betweens." Her brother Lisardo found her lover's letters, arranged with his father that Julia should go into a convent, and then challenged Eusebio to a duel. Like Romeo when called out by Tybalt, Eusebio, who does not know the reason of the challenge, is most anxious not to fight. Lisardo throws down his letters to Julia before him, and he consents. However, before the battle, he explains his history to Lisardo, stating that he was "Eusebio of the Cross," for he had been born at the foot of a cross, was marked on the breast with the Holy Sign, and had been saved by a cross in many accidents of his life. Strong in the belief that he was ennobled by the special protection of Heaven, he feels himself Julia's equal, and means to show it:

"This is who I am, and though I know what is right, and though I can give you sufficient satisfaction for your wrongs, I am so blinded by hearing you speak as you do, that I will neither excuse you, nor admit your accusation to be just, but as you would prevent me from marrying her, know that, though her own house may guard her, and though a convent shelter her, yet she cannot be safe from me, and the woman who was not good enough for my wife shall be good enough for my mistress, to punish your contempt and to slake my vengeance; such is the purpose of my love which you have driven to despair, and of my patience which you have outraged."

They fight, and Eusebio mortally wounds Lisardo, who cries (a detail borrowed from Lope de Vega's *Otavio*), "You will not let me die unshriven."

*Eusebio.* Die, you scoundrel!

*Lisardo.* Do not kill me, by that Cross on which Christ died.

*Eusebio.* That cry saves you from death. Rise from the ground, for when you ask in that name anger loses its harshness and my arms their strength. Rise.

*Lisardo.* Then I give you my word in thanks for the mercy which you show me, that, if I merit the sight of the Divine Presence of God, I will ask that you shall not die without confession."

On this Eusebio carried him off in his arms to a priest.

Julia is then found in Curcio's Palace at Sienna, lamenting to her maid Arminda that her father, after Lisardo's discovery of her correspondence with Eusebio, had arranged to send her into a convent, but adds that she will rather die than forget her lover.

Eusebio enters, hoping to get Julia to fly with him before she hears of Lisardo's death. The scene, part of which we have already quoted, contrasts strangely with the scene after Tybalt's death in *Romeo and Juliet*.

Eusebio continues :

"I know how much my suit offends thy father, who has learnt of our love, and intends that thou should'st take on thee to-morrow the state which he desires, so that my happiness and my hopes may both go down the wind. If that which thou hast shown me hath been liking, if it hath been love, if it be true that thou hast loved me, if it be sure that thou hast cherished me, come with me, for thou seest that otherwise thou must obey unresistingly thy father's will. . . . If thou would'st give me life, if thy love is true, be bold or my pain will make thee see my death."

Julia hesitates, but they are interrupted by Curcio, who is coming to tell her that she is to take the veil on the morrow, and she is forced to hide Eusebio in another room.

Curcio enters and, in words copied from a hymn of St. Teresa's, informs his daughter that he expects her to give him her thanks for arranging that she is to go into a convent. The scene is not unlike that between Juliet and Lord Capulet when she rejects the marriage with Count Paris.

"Julia. What am I to do! [*Aside.*]

*Eusebio* [*within*]. I shall kill myself on the spot if she says yes. [*Aside.*]

*Julia*. I know not what to answer. [*Aside.*] Well, my Lord, a father's authority has the first claims, and has absolute power over my life, but not over my liberty. But would it not have been better had I known your purpose first, and had you, too, my Lord, first known my wishes.

*Curcio*. No, for my will alone for right or wrong must needs be your wishes.

*Julia*. Has a son alone liberty to choose his state in life; shall impious fate constrain free will? Leave me some space to think and to consider what you say, and do not be afraid because I ask for time. A life's calling is not settled in a moment.

*Curcio*. 'Tis enough that I have looked to this and said 'yes' for you.

*Julia*. But if you are to stand in my shoes, take this state of life on yourself for me as well.

*Curcio*. Silence! you evil woman! Silence! you mad woman! or I will make your hair a noose for your neck, or tear your rash tongue out of your mouth with my hands, for it angers me to hear you.

*Julia*. I am defending my liberty against you, my Lord, but not my life. End its sad course and your sorrows will end, for I cannot well refuse you the life you gave me. What I refuse you is the liberty Heaven gave me."

Calderon had good reason for representing Curcio as forcing his

daughter into a convent instead of proposing to her a marriage with some Count Paris.

In the first place, neither her father nor her lover necessarily represent Julia as actually married to Eusebio; for in Spanish (as in German) the expressions used would apply equally well to a betrothal as to an actual marriage, so that Julia's resistance to her father's proposal would have had no adequate motive; whilst, secondly, in the Spain of Philip III. a marriage secretly contracted under the conditions described by Shakespeare would have been null and void in law under the Tridentine Canons, and, consequently, Julia need not have threatened to resort to suicide in order to avoid being forced into bigamy. Lastly, seeing the condition of morality at the time, an adulteress, who had sinned after being forced into an unwelcome marriage, would scarcely have been capable of such tremendous revulsions of feeling as would a nun who had irrevocably broken her vows at her lover's bidding.

Curcio replies that Julia's language proves to him that his suspicions about her mother are just, and goes on to relate to her the history, down to the point where she had taken Rosmira into the mountain to murder her, when he is interrupted by Arminda, who rushes in to announce that Lisardo's corpse is being carried by some shepherds into the house. The scene may well be compared with that in which the nurse announces Tybalt's death to Juliet.

"*Arminda.* My Lord.

*Curcio.* Go on, for suspense hurts me most.

*Julia.* Why do you stop? Speak!

*Arminda.* I would not be the voice of my pain and of your misfortune.

*Curcio.* Fear not to tell it, since I do not fear to hear it.

*Arminda.* Lisardo, my Lord . . .

*Eusebio* [*within*]. This is the last stroke. [*Aside.*]

*Arminda.* Is being carried in, bathed in his blood, by four shepherds from the country. Alas! my God! he has been stabbed to death. But even now he is being brought into your presence. Look not at him.

*Curcio.* Good heavens! So many sorrows for one poor wretch! Woe is me. [*The peasants carry in the corpse of Lisardo on a litter.*] Tell me, friend, tell me! Who robbed me of this life?

*Gil* [*A peasant*]. I only know that he called him Eusebio when he was fighting with him!

*Curcio.* Can any dishonour be greater? Eusebio has robbed me of life and honour. [*To Julia.*] Now find excuses for his cruel and ambitious desires, say that he cherishes chaste love, since, for want of paper, he writes his lusts with thy blood.

*Julia.* My Lord!

*Curcio.* Answer me not as thou art wont to do! Prepare thyself to take the veil this day, or prepare rather for thy beauty a hasty burial with Lisardo. My perverted feeling means to bury you both at one time this day. He, dead to the world, liveth in my memory; thou, alive in the world's eye, art dead in my memory. And whilst I am preparing for thy funeral, that thou mayest not fly, I shall shut this door. Stay beside him that thus his death may give thee lessons how to die."

A splendid scene follows, obviously suggested by Romeo's address in *Bandello* to Teobald's body.

Eusebio enters the room and converses with his betrothed in the presence of her brother's blood-stained corpse. It is, indeed, the reverse of Romeo and Juliet's talk on their wedding night, yet, in places, recalls echoes of Juliet's previous conversation with her nurse.

*Julia.* A thousand times I strive to speak with thee,  
Tyrant Eusebio, and a thousand times  
My soul halts, my breath stays, my tongue grows dumb,  
I know not, yea, I know not how I can  
Speak : for, at once, rage mingled with pity,  
And tender mercies that are cruelties  
Come o'er me. Gladly would I close my eyes  
To guiltless blood which loud for vengeance calls,  
And idle pluck the daisy's fateful petals,  
'He loves me, loves me not.' Yea I would find  
Thine excuse in the tears thou shed'st : in truth,  
Wounds and our eyes are mouths which never lie,  
Whilst, on this hand my love, on that, the wrath,  
The hour makes seemly, urge me on at once  
To strike thee dead and die in thy defence.

Bethink thee what the world will say of me :

'Twill mutter that I aye before my eyes  
If not my wrong have him, at least, who wrought it.  
Mayhap oblivion would entomb him, yet  
The very sight of thee clasped in these arms  
Would be his monument to mind me of him.  
I then, I, though I worship thee, will change  
To anger Love's disports, and pray for vengeance.  
How would'st thou that a soul, thus buffeted  
By passions so contrary, still should live  
And, hoping for thy punishment, yet long  
Thou may'st escape. It must suffice, Eusebio,  
That I forgive thee now because I loved thee,  
But think not thou shalt see me e'er again,  
Or speak with me as long as life is ours.  
This window looks upon the garden. See  
It lends thee passage : thus canst thou escape.  
Fly from the danger. If my father come,  
Let him not find thee here. Leave me, Eusebio,  
And see that thou bethink thee not of me,  
This day thou lovest me because thou chocest  
To lose me. Go and live so happily,  
That thou may'st own thy happiness freehold,  
Nor pay a tribute of thy weal to woe.  
For I will make a cell my life's cramped prison,  
If not my tomb, seeing my father wills  
My burial . . .

*Eusebio.* . . . . When Fame cries,  
My crime and doom 'twill say that 'This man dies,  
Because he loved too well,' seeing my crime  
Is only that I love thee. Think thou not  
I would excuse me lest that thought alone  
Should seem to show I hoped pardon. I would  
Only that thou should'st slay me, and avenge thee.

Take then this dagger, lady, pierce this breast.  
It wronged thee. Tear a soul from out her body  
That worships thee, and shed the blood that's thine.  
And, if thou wilt not slay me, that thy sire  
May take his vengeance, I will say this chamber  
Is now my refuge.

*Julia.* Hold, let the last word  
I ere shall speak thee here or hereafter  
Be, 'Thou must do my bidding.'

*Eusebio.* I consent.

*Julia.* Then leave me, go where thou may'st ward thy life,  
Thou'rt rich, hast servants who will fight for thee.

*Eusebio.* 'Twere better I should lose life, for in life  
I ne'er can cease to worship thee. The walls,  
E'en of a convent, shall not keep thee safe  
From him who loves thee.

*Julia.* Look thou to thyself.  
I can defend me.

*Eusebio.* Shall I e'er again,  
Behold thee?

*Julia.* No.

*Eusebio.* I may not hope pardon?

*Julia.* Hope not pardon.

*Eusebio.* Then thou dost hate me now?

*Julia.* I'll strive to hate thee.

*Eusebio.* Wilt forget me, lady?

*Julia.* I know not.

*Eusebio.* Shall I see thee?

*Julia.* Through all time.

*Eusebio.* But that past love?

*Julia.* Yes, but that reeking blood——

They're opening the door, leave me, Eusebio.

*Eusebio.* I'll leave thee to obey thee. Ne'er again

Shall I then see thee?

*Julia.* Ne'er again shalt see me.

[*Exeunt. Servants enter and remove Lisardo's body.*"]

Eusebio, at the beginning of the second act, appears as the captain of highwaymen in the mountainous country round Sienna. He has been banished from the city for the alleged murder of *Lisardo*, and his property has been confiscated. He is determined, like *Tirso de Molina's* hero, *Paolo*, that since he has been unjustly and irretrievably condemned, he will at least deserve his doom by his wicked life, yet, unlike him, he has not lost his faith, and still retains the deepest reverence for the Cross. The mental attitude of Eusebio is one which is not unintelligible to any one acquainted with the habits of the criminal classes in Southern Europe at the present day. The present writer well recollects the rhapsodies of devotion in which one of the vilest murderers who ever disgraced Madrid indulged when placed "in chapel" before his execution, and pious bandits are amongst the commonplaces of every traveller in the Two Sicilies in the middle of this century. Meanwhile *Ricardo* and *Celio*, Eusebio's companions, have shot at and apparently wounded a

priest, the Bishop of Trent, who had fled from his see to found an order of hermits in the Maremma. His life was, however, saved by a book, which he was carrying in his bosom, which arrested the shot. This book proved to be *The Miracle of the Cross*. In astonishment Eusebio released him, and in gratitude Bishop Alberto promises that he shall not die without confession. Shortly afterwards Eusebio learns that Curcio has raised the country against him, and that Julia has entered a convent as a lay sister. Stung to madness he exclaims :

“I will storm the convent that guards her: no fear of punishment can deter me, for, that I may see me the master of her beauty, tyrant Love forces me to deeds of violence, to break the cloister’s law and to violate the sanctuary, for now I am beyond all hope. Well, if Love had not driven me to this, I should have done it only for the pleasure of committing so many crimes at once.”

It is the Holy Ecstasy of Sin which seizes upon him, the descent of an Infernal Paraclete, but the necessary compliment of a religious system which can train up a St. Theresa or a St. Francis of Assisi

“Who, in his thirst for martyrdom, erst preached  
Christ and his followers in the very presence  
Of the proud Soldan.”

Meanwhile Curcio is guided by the peasants to Eusebio’s hiding-place, and, to his horror, recognises the very spot where, as we have already heard, he had attempted the murder of Rosmira.

His conscience was stirred to its depths, and, in a long soliloquy, he relates the remainder of the history, which has already been told.

Eusebio, however, had escaped from his pursuers, and was busied with his preparations for breaking into Julia’s convent.

At midnight he, with Ricardo and Celio, was beneath its walls, and the scene which ensues not only resembles that between Mercutio and Benvolio before Romeo enters the garden, but also the incidents connected with his visit to Julia on his bridal night :

“*[Enter RICARDO, CELLO, and EUSEBIO with a ladder.]*

*Ricardo.* Creep up quickly and set the ladder up here.

*Eusebio.* I shall be a wingless Icarus, a fireless Phæton. I would climb to the sun, and if Light helps me I shall get beyond the firmament. Love teaches one to be a tyrant. When I am up, take away the ladder and wait until I signal to you.”

Now comes a touch which shows how carefully the old Castilian authors studied their Italian. One would hardly have expected to find the wall of fire which parted Dante from his Beatrice on a Madrid stage.

"*Ricardo.* Why do you wait ?

*Eusebio.* Don't you see a burning fire threatens me ?

*Ricardo.* My lord, these are phantoms born of fear.

*Eusebio.* I and fear ?

*Celio.* Go up.

*Eusebio.* Here I am at the top ; though blinded by these rays, I must pass in through the flames, for all the fires of hell cannot stay my steps.

'Pon giù omai, pon giù ogni temenza,  
Volgiti 'n qua, e vieni oltre sicuro.'

("Lay now aside, lay now aside all fear,  
And turn thee hither ; come beyond secure.")

*Eusebio* enters the convent and finds his lady sleeping in her cell.

"*Eusebio.* Through all the convent, heard by none, I made  
My midnight round, led by my guardian star,  
But though I visited a thousand cells  
Of nuns, who kept ajar their narrow doors,  
In none of them was Julia. Whither hopes,  
Delusive ever, would ye lead me thus ?  
How awful is this place ! How deathly still,  
What depths of darkness hiding woes to come.  
See, here's a light ! It is a cell it lightens,  
And in it Julia. What doth stay my hand ?

[*Draws back a curtain. Julia is found sleeping.*]

Thus little then my heart can speed my courage,  
That now I falter when I fain would speak ?  
What is it I can hope for ? What await ?  
So shifting is the current of my mind  
That if I steel my courage to rashness,  
My very courage maketh me a craven.  
The very meanness of her humble garb  
Doth but enhance her beauty, for in woman  
Her greatest beauty is her fair repute.  
Her strange, strange beauty which my sluggish love  
Hath made his quarry, works on me the more  
That at one time two thoughts cry on my love,  
The loveliness I crave, the fair repute  
I worship—Julia !"

It is strange, perhaps, to see the language which Bandello puts into Juliet's mouth about Romeo, placed by Calderon in that of Romeo about Juliet, but the strength necessary for his purpose could never have been obtained unless Julia had been endowed with masculine and Eusebio with feminine traits. His imagination was not powerful enough, perhaps, to enable him at the age of nineteen to conceive with truth a state of society beyond his own experience ; consequently strong contrasts instead of delicate gradations of light and shade, were indispensable to his earlier plots. This was, as has been said, probably why Julia was made to take the veil, though he may have also felt it impossible to work up the character of Friar Lawrence on the original lines without giving offence to the Inquisition. All inves-



tigations connected with medicine and simples had been in the hands of either the Jews or of the Moriscoes, who but nine years before had been expelled from Spain, for centuries, and a great "distiller" of pure Spanish descent might easily have incurred a charge of magic, of which in those days even naturalists were liable to be suspected, as Gesner in Lucerne had found to his cost. Friar Lawrence, then, had to be toned down into the comparatively colourless Alberto, whilst Julia and Eusebio had to be comparatively heightened.

Julia starts up and replies :

"Who hath called my name ?

But, Heavens! What is that I see? Art thou  
The shadow of my wish or my thought's shadow ?

*Eusebio.* Can then the sight of me affright thee thus ?

*Julia.* Who is there but would seek to fly from thee ?

*Eusebio.* Stay! Julia, stay!

*Julia.* What wilt thou here, feigned form,

Sprung from th' idea aye coursing through my brain,

Feigned form apparent to the sight alone ?

Art thou sent to torment me, voice that voicest

Imagination? Thou, Illusion's portrait,

Embodied Fancy? Phantom midnight-born ?

*Eusebio.* Julia, give ear. I am, I am, Eusebio,

Who kneels in flesh and blood before thy feet,

For, were I Thought, I had been ever with thee.

*Julia.* I undeceive me as I hear thy words,

And do bethink me my wronged modesty

Would rather have thee feigned than real, Eusebio.

Here where I die weeping and live in pain,

What wilt thou? I am trembling! What dost seek ?

I die! What is thine end? I dread to hear thee.

What is thy purpose? I suspect, forsooth——

How cam'st thou hither ?

*Eusebio.* Love is all extremes.

Both my pain and thy harshness must this day

Win over me a triumph. Till I here

Beheld thee, I suffered with hope assured ;

But, when I saw thy loveliness was lost,

I trampled under foot the cloister's law,

And reverence which befits the sanctuary.

Of what is done, or rather of the wrong done,

We two must bear the blame, for in me meet

The two extremes, Necessity, Free Will.

My claim, in truth, cannot displease high Heaven,

For ere thou took'st this pledge, wast secret wed,

Nor can one mouth frame vows as wife and nun.

*Julia* The amorous tie which joined two wills in one

So happily, and, as its destined end,

Made me call thee 'Loved spouse,' this I deny not'

And that this all befell, as thou hast told it,

That I confess. But since, within these walls,

By a nun's vows I gave my hand and word

To Christ to be His Bride, now I am His.

Would'st thou then share me with Him, thou, Eusebio ?

Leave me thou dread, thou terror of a world

Thou fill'st with murdered men, with ravaged homes,  
 Leave me, Eusebio! and no longer look  
 For fruit from thy mad love. 'Twill make thee shudder!  
 Bethink thee, I am here in sanctuary.

*Eusebio.* The more thou would'st defend thee, the more grows  
 My appetite. Thou see'st I've scaled the walls  
 That guard thy convent: thou see'st I have seen thee.  
 It is not Love that lives in me. The cause  
 Was one more hidden. Do thy will or I  
 Will tell the world that thou thyself hast called me  
 And made me inmate of thy cell for days.  
 But since my sorrows drive me to despair  
 I'll cry aloud. Know nuns! I'll call——

*Julia.* Be silent,  
 Eusebio! Hark! Alas, I hear steps coming.  
 Some one is walking through the choir! Good God!  
 I know not what to do. Quick, shut this cell,  
 Stay there, for one fear tramples down his fellow.

*Eusebio* [*within*]. How mighty is my love!

*Julia* [*within*]. How harsh my star?"

The shadow of fate is over Shakespeare and Calderon alike, but how unlike its effects. As little do the cypress shaded gardens of Verona ringing with the song of the early lark resemble the lamplit corridors of Julia's convent, ever echoing "Misereres," as does the grimness of the etiquette and Inquisition-ridden Spain of Velasquez, vainly trying to drape itself in a forced gaiety, recall the courtiers and ladies of the "Merry England" of Shakespeare, of that land just bursting into a new life, whilst over Spain hung the blackness of the coming death.

The next scene between Ricardo and Celio has, however, not a little of the same spirit which created Dogberry and Hamlet's gravedigger.

"*Ricardo.* It's struck three already. What a long time he is.

*Celio.* When darkness is bliss, Ricardo, 'tis folly to wish for light. I'll bet he thinks the sun never rose so early before, and that he has hastened to come forth.

*Ricardo.* The watcher always thinks dawn breaks too late; the lover that it comes too soon.

*Celio.* Don't think the sun he is watching for is the one we see in the east.

*Ricardo.* He's been there two hours already.

*Celio.* I don't think Eusebio would tell you so.

*Ricardo.* You're right: for i' faith, whilst he is loving, you are longing."

But Eusebio was not loving. He had seen the mysterious cross on the neck of his beloved, and his awe for the sacred sign had chased him from her arms though unpossessed, and turned his longing into loathing. Together they hurry into the gangway on the convent wall, and the woman, failing to understand Eusebio's sudden transformation, which he is too dumbfounded to explain intelligibly, pleads in vain for his permission to fly her convent with him. For all response he hurries down the ladder, slips and falls, and is

carried off half senseless by Ricardo. Julia lingers awhile, deterred alike by her reverence for herself and for her Maker. Then love conquers; she, too, hurries down the ladder, and away into the night, but soon, awestruck, seeks to go back. Meanwhile Ricardo has removed the ladder, and she finds all hope of returning lost for ever. It is the sop of Judas; her brain, already shaken by her lover's unexplained betrayal, gives way under the blow. The devil enters into her, and, with a cry like that of the demoniac in the Gospels, she yields herself to her new lord, and swears to become the worst amongst the worst.

The convents of the day teemed with cases of demoniacal possession, and it was often the merest chance which determined whether a conventual seer of visions was to figure as a canonised saint like the blessed Marie Alacoque, or whether her transports were to lead her to end her days in some *Auto de Fé* at Seville or Madrid. St. Theresa of Avila, like St. Ignatius Loyola, had learnt by personal experience what it meant to fall under the suspicions of the Holy Office, whilst the saintly prophetess of Lisbon, who had received the stigmata on every Friday for years, and who had done more than any one else to induce Philip II. to continue his preparations for the Armada after the death of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, had eventually perished in its dungeons, after being proved guilty of the grossest fraud.

Inspiration, as the Inquisitors knew from experience, might come from Hell beneath as well as from Heaven above. Even in the eighteenth century the Portuguese convents contained inmates like Sor Isabel do Menino Jesus or the venerable Mother Rosa Maria Serio de Santo Antonio, who, had they yielded to the hordes of devils by whom they imagined themselves assailed, might easily have turned into Julias, who pass in a moment from

" I will return  
 Into my convent, and there for my sin  
 Gain pardon, for God's mercy is so great,  
 This I believe, that all the lights in heaven,  
 All the sea-sands and motes that dance i' th' air,  
 Summed up together make a sum as naught  
 Beside the sins God knoweth yet forgives "

into pitiless viragos, when, driven to bay, they find themselves exposed to the utmost vengeance of the Church, both as escaped nuns and as women who had perjured themselves by taking conventual vows, although betrothed.

The third act, written almost wholly under the influence of Tirso de Molina, with touches drawn from Lope de Vega and Bandello, represents the triumph of the "point of honour," and of religious faith by which Calderon has sought to replace the mere pathos

which, in his predecessors, marks the death-scenes of Romeo and Juliet, whilst he gives a reconciliation between man and Heaven, instead of that reconciliation between men, which sprang into life beside the corpses of the hapless lovers.

Eusebio is discovered meditating in the mountains on the cause which had robbed him of Julia, and recognises that their common possession of one birthmark must be the outward sign of some hidden mystery known only to God. His followers enter dragging in a captive with muffled face, who refuses to disclose his name or rank. It is Julia, who, after committing a series of murders to escape detection on her flight, has robbed a huntsman of his dress and taken it for her disguise. Left alone with Eusebio she immediately challenges him to single combat, when he replies :

“I fight rather to defend myself than to hurt you, for your life is now of consequence to me, seeing that if I kill you in this fray, I know not the reason, and, if you kill me, 'tis the same. Discover yourself, then, if you please.

*Julia.* Well hast thou reasoned, for honour is only avenged when punishment overtakes the offender, otherwise the wrong remains unsatisfied. [*Unmuffles herself.*] Now thou hast seen me.

*Eusebio.* Yes, and the sight of thee has increased my confusion . . . Thou, Julia, in this mountain ! Thou in this profane garb, twice over violent against thyself ? How hast thou come hither alone ? What meaneth this ?”

Julia replies by vaunting the murders, which she has committed to save herself from discovery, in a speech which the Spanish critics find inconsistent and improbable, but which we think we have shown to be perfectly in accordance with nature.

It is modelled on a tirade in Tirso de Molina's play which was destined in later times to be copied as the catalogue of the amorous successes both of Don Juan and of Count Almaviva, but Julia has passed beyond the stage when love alone can sate over-excited passions.

Just as she has finished her tale, the highwaymen rush in and announce that Curcio is about to attack them. Julia flies, but Eusebio stands firm and is assailed by Curcio himself, who has far outstripped his followers.

“*Eusebio.* This time Heaven has not been wrath with me, Curcio, in granting me this meeting, for if your heart has come wronged, it will go home punished and wronged. Though I know not why you have inspired me with an awe which made me fear your anger more than your steel, and though your stout onslaughts could still affright me, I only fear when I gaze on your white hairs, which turn me craven.

*Curcio.* Eusebio, I confess that you have in great part tempered the anger with which I gaze on you as one whom you have wronged, but I do not wish that you should think that my white hairs alone make you tremble, when my courage can do so. To your sword, again, for a star or some

other sign is not enough to snatch from me the vengeance which is within my reach. To your sword, I say.

*Eusebio.* I and fear? You have in your presumptuous folly deemed respect fear, although, to tell you the truth, the victory I crave is, that I may kneel at your feet, to ask your pardon, and I lay at them the sword which has been the terror of so many a foe.

*Curcio.* Eusebio, think not I wish to kill you by unfair means. Here is my sword. (Thus I lay aside the chance of slaying him.) Come and wrestle."

Curcio's followers rush in and urge him to strike Eusebio dead.

"*Curcio.* Look, listen! (what ill luck!) How much better it would be that he should be led prisoner to Sienna. Surrender yourself, Eusebio; for I promise and swear as a noble to stand by you and be your advocate, although I am a party in the cause.

*Eusebio.* I would surrender myself to Curcio, as Curcio, but I cannot, as to my judge; for that is respect, and this is fear.

• *Octavio.* Death to Eusebio.

*Curcio.* Bethink yourselves . . .

*Octavio.* Well, then, you would defend him? Are you turned traitor to your fatherland.

*Curcio.* I a traitor? Since they insult me thus, forgive me, Eusebio, for I must be the first to bring you to a miserable end.

*Eusebio.* Leave me, my Lord, that the sight of you may not confuse me, and that, seeing you, I may not think your people have you as their shield. [Exeunt omnes, fighting with him."

Curcio's attitude is in the true spirit of Spanish chivalry—that of the Cid exiled from his country as a traitor, who lays the crown of Valencia at the feet of a master who has reviled him "more than all," rather than that of a cool-headed Italian or English statesman, of a Farinata degli Uberti or of a Sir Francis Walsingham. Burleigh would never have hesitated to incur the reproach of treason if he could gain a point by sparing a traitor, and thus Lord Capulet is hardly a Curcio.

But Curcio feels something akin to himself in Eusebio, and cries, as he gazes on him being forced back over a precipice :

"I must fly to him; for that cold blood, which is calling me with its faint voice, has something of mine, for blood, which was not my own, would neither call me nor should I hear it. [Exit."

Meanwhile Eusebio, bleeding with many wounds, is in full flight. Suddenly he sees a cross before him, and, heedless of his pursuers, stops to adore it, though the delay may cost him his life. His magnificent address to the cross is probably the finest passage in the play :

"Once more this vengeful horde doth press me hard,  
Since life must leave me, I must slay or die,  
Though 'twill be better that I should speed hence  
Thither where I may Heaven's pardon crave.  
But lo! the Cross doth stay my flying feet,

Yet, though man give me one brief pang of death  
 The Cross will give me life which aye shall last,  
 Tree, which the Heavens had willed to yield the fruit  
 Of Life as healing balm for man's first greed,  
 Flower of the newly opened Paradise,  
 Rainbow whose light above the deluge drear  
 Peace and forgiveness published to the world,  
 Thou beauteous sprout, thou vine with clusters laden,  
 Our David's harp, our second Moses' table,  
 I am a sinner, and, as justice, I  
 Demand thy favour, since upon thee God  
 Suffered only for sinners. 'Tis to me  
 Thou ow'st thy glory, since for me alone  
 God had died, had the world been bare of men  
 Save me alone. Mine art thou, then, O cross,  
 For God had not died on thee, had I been  
 Aught but a sinner. Thou know'st nature planted  
 Such kindly rev'rence toward thee in my breast  
 Which ever prayed to thee with glowing faith,  
 That thou wilt not permit me, Holy Cross,  
 To die unshriven—nor am I the first  
 Who on thy breast confessed him thief to God.  
 Thus seeing we are two—this I deny not—  
 Me too that saving work, erst wrought on thee,  
 Can fail not. In these arms I once, Lisardo,  
 Had slain thee in requital of my griefs,  
 Yet place I gave thee for to shrive thyself,  
 Ere one brief moment loosed the bands of life.  
 Bethink thee, too, my soul, of that old man  
 Though now with God. Of both I hope the pity.  
 See how I die, Lisardo! Hear, I call  
 Thee to me, Albert! Albert!"

But Carcio enters and Eusebio's death-scene is in striking contrast to that of Romeo. To the Italian of the Borgian days, death was but the gate to the grave, or, at best, rest from strife; to the Spaniard of the seventeenth century, a death-bed, blessed by the Church, was the entrance to the light and activity of Eternal Life. Such was, at least, one gain which the Catholic Reformation had brought to Southern Europe.

*Curcio.* He's somewhere hereabouts.

*Eusebio.* If you have come to kill me, you do a brave deed, forsooth, in taking from me a life on which I have lost my hold.

*Curcio.* Is there any bronze so hard that this bloodshed would not soften it?  
*Eusebio,* yield your sword.

*Eusebio.* To whom?

*Curcio.* To Curcio.

*Eusebio.* Take it [*Gives it him*], and I, too, ask thy pardon at thy feet for that past wrong. I can speak no more, for a wound is taking away my breath and covering my soul with awe and dread.

*Curcio.* I am overwhelmed! Can any human aid avail you?

*Eusebio.* Methinks the best medicine for the soul is God's.

*Curcio.* Where is the wound?

*Eusebio.* In my breast.

*Curcio.* Let me put my hand on it to see how your heart beats. (Woe is me :) But what beautiful and God-sent sign is this? For my whole soul was stirred when I recognised it.

*Eusebio.* It is the arms which this cross granted me. I was born at its foot. Of my birth I know no more. My father, whom I cannot name, denied me even a cradle, for no doubt he foresaw that I was to be so wicked. Here I was born.

*Curcio.* Here, too, I balance my grief and my content; my sorrow and my joy; alike sent by a destiny ruthless yet kind. Woe art thou, my son! I feel pain and joy in seeing thee. Thou art my son, Eusebio, as I see by these many concordant tokens, so that I have now a right to grieve and to weep thy death. I gather from thy words what my soul divined. Thy mother abandoned thee here on the spot where I have found thee; where I committed my sin, Heaven has punished me. The very place itself calls back my sin to my mind. But what greater token can there be than this cross which matches that which Julia bears. 'Twas not without some mysterious cause that Heaven gave you it, to show you both as miracles to the world.

*Eusebio.* I cannot speak; father, good-bye. The black death-veil already covers me, and death, hastening on, denies me a voice to answer thee, life to know thee, and a soul to obey thee. E'en now the shrewdest stroke is falling! E'en now the last struggle is come. Alberto!

*Curcio.* Strange I should weep in his death, him whom I hated in life!

*Eusebio.* Come, Alberto!

*Curcio.* What a dreadful struggle! What an unjust war!

*Eusebio.* Alberto! Alberto! [*Dies.*]

*Curcio.* Now hath he yielded up his breath at death's stroke. May my white hairs pay for my grief. [*He tears his hair.*]"

But Curcio has not yet drained the cup of sorrow to the lees, nor has Heaven deserted Eusebio; Divine Mercy will not suffer him to die "unhouselled, disappointed, unaneled."

Curcio has but just learnt of the flight of Julia from her convent when his followers rush in with the news that the highwaymen are returning to the attack "led on by the devil of a man, who hides his face and name even from them." In vain he proposes to give Eusebio Christian burial. His followers remind him that he died under the Church's ban, and, whilst the father rushes away weeping, throw the corpse into a thicket and cover it with boughs. But soon Alberto enters and a wonderful miracle is wrought. A faint voice calls him; it is Eusebio who has risen from the grave and asks for absolution. Alberto uncovers him.

"*Alberto.* Now thou art uncovered. Tell me, in God's name what wilt thou.

*Eusebio.* My faith in Him called thee, Alberto, that before I die, thou mightest hear my confession. Some little space already I had been dead, and my corpse was loosed from my spirit, yet though the stroke of death had deprived it of the usage of its limbs, it had not parted soul and body. [*Rises.*] Come where I may confess my sins Alberto, which are more countless than the sands of the sea and the motes in the sunbeams, so powerful with Heaven is a devotion to the Cross.

*Alberto.* Well, I give thee all the penances I have done until this day, that they may serve as some satisfaction for thy sin."

They go on one side, when Julia rushes in, still in her man's dress, at the head of the bandits to attack Curcio. All of a sudden she is interrupted by Gil, the comic peasant of the piece.

*Gil.* There are people all round about. Let all know from my voice the most wondrous accident the world e'er saw. Eusebio came forth out of his grave, calling aloud for a priest. But why should I tell you what you can all see for yourselves? Look with what devotion he is on his knees.

*Curcio.* It is my son! Great God! What wonders are these?

*Julia.* Who ever saw a greater miracle?

*Curcio.* Just as the holy old man pronounced the form of absolution, he fell dead a second time at his feet.

[Enter ALBERTO.]

*Alberto.* Amidst all God's mighty acts, let the world know this crowning miracle, and my voice shall extoll it. After Eusebio had died, Heaven replaced his spirit in his body until he had confessed himself; for such power with God hath a devotion to the Cross.

*Curcio.* Alas! Son of my soul! He who deserved such happiness in his tragic death was not unfortunate, no, a thousand times no. Would that Julia may have thus learnt to know her crimes.

*Julia.* God help me! What is this I hear? What miracle is this? I sought Eusebio's love and am Eusebio's sister. Let, then, Curcio, my father, know, let the world know, and let all here this day know my great sins. I myself, dumbfounded at these horrors, will cry aloud. Let all alive this day know that I am Julia, the worst amongst the worst. But just as my sin has been till now notorious, so, henceforth, shall my repentance be, whilst I humbly crave forgiveness from the world for my ill example and for my ill life from God.

*Curcio.* O marvel of wickedness! With my own hands will I kill thee, that thy life and death may be alike terrible.

*Julia.* Help me, Cross of God, for I give thee my word to go back to my convent and do penance for my sin.

[*Curcio is in the act of striking her, when she throws her arms round the cross which stands on Eusebio's grave, and flies up with it in the air.*]

*Alberto.* What a mighty miracle!

*All.* And thus its author happily ends with this wondrous *finale* this tale of devotion to the Cross.

[*Curtain falls.*]"

Such are the transformations which the tale of *Romeo and Juliet* undergoes when it is treated by a sceptic of the Italian Renaissance, by the poet who is the last echo of the dying religion of the England of the Middle Ages, and by the great singer of the Catholic Reformation in Spain. Strange contrasts which place side by side the spirit of Plato and the spirit of St. Bernard, tempered by the gentler devotion of a Grosseteste or of a Colet. Yet the religion of Calderon and his contemporaries, such as Palafox, Bishop of Osma, San Luis of Granada, and Sor Maria de Agreda, was, after all, nearer of kin to the English popular religion of to-day than it was to the religion of Shakespeare,



for through very devious channels their writings, of which *Devotion to the Cross* is no unfavourable sample, came through Ken and Law to exercise no small influence on the founders of English Methodism. Even the grim spirit of the Inquisitor is more congenial to the heart of the religious Englishman of to-day than is the airy scepticism of the Italian Renaissance, and Cromwell himself, had he known him, would have found much to admire in the unswerving faith which saved Eusebio from amongst the lost.

HUBERT READE.

1904.

## RENT: ITS ABUSE AND USE.

— Street.

To be Let, a newly erected Building of seven floors, in  
— Street, and containing a floor space of 5450 feet;  
rent, £680, on lease, or will be let separately, as follows:  
Ground Floor and Basement . 2052 feet sup., Rent, £410  
First Floor . . . . . 761 " " 180  
Second Floor . . . . . 761 " " 140  
Third, Fourth, and Fifth Floors 1876 " " 180  
(*Advt. in Daily Paper*).

DURING last autumn the *Daily Chronicle* published a significant correspondence entitled "Are Tradesmen Dishonest?" The whole tenour of the discussion pointed to a general consensus of opinion that they are. It is submitted that the advertisement quoted above is their justification and their charter. A dishonest landlord makes a dishonest tenant; and the public pays. Nothing else is possible—as things are.

There is nothing exceptional about it, and this is merely a typical instance. Taking the ground floor and basement, we see that for what is no doubt a mere ordinary shop the rent is £410, while the whole building, as set out above, is rented at £910 per annum. No one, of course, would pretend that this sum represents only the legitimate interest on capital invested in erecting the building, and it can only be described as the development of the game of grab, founded on a vicious system of land tenure, the origin and development of which were perhaps inevitable. While, however, it is impossible to go back upon the past, it is proper to try to profit by experience, and in considering the consequences to ask if the time has not arrived when we may endeavour to shape the future differently.

The monopoly of land is at the bottom of it, and rent is the tribute levied on the whole community by the landlord for his own private gain. Be it considered, too, that the standard of price of commodities is largely fixed by the highest rent exacted for land in the parts most favourable to business, and that this standard is approximately maintained throughout the country, notwithstanding that the value of land varies immensely in different localities.

We have said that the advertisement quoted is but a small example of insignificant premises, but we remember to have read in a recent annual report of the great trading concern known as Spiers and Pond, that a reason for the declining dividend was the ever

enhanced rent demanded for their business premises. Now be it observed that the premises, the land occupied, remains the same, and the landlord expends not a penny more on behalf of the tenant. He does nothing. Any improvement has to be effected by the tenant at his own cost, and the landlord merely levies increased tribute, because increasing competition, consequent on increasing population, enables him to exact it. So this new tribute is levied on every customer and every shareholder, for nothing, and without the slightest justification. Then more recently there was the example of the West-end tradesman, who at the expiration of his lease was required to pay an additional rent of £335 (making his total rent up to £5,200), to pay a premium of £50,000, and to expend no less than £50,000 in erecting new premises, at the demand of his landlord. In order to comply with these exorbitant demands, he converted his concern into a limited company with a huge capital, and thereby put the burden upon the general public, who became shareholders, and the tribute was thus levied upon them, and upon all who purchased from the new company. These demands are the universal practice of landlords, and they are the expedient by which to suck the life blood of the community.

It is a common custom, farther removed from the heart of London, to demand as the rent of a shop having any prospects, for the first year a certain sum, for the next year a larger sum, and for the next still more. Now the rent for the first year does not represent a loss to the landlord, and these progressive increments are mere extortion from the unfortunate tradesman, who in turn is compelled to extort it from the public, and are a direct premium on dishonesty. While some tradesmen no doubt make a handsome living, still it is due to their own efforts, and in no way to the landlord. On the other hand, many have a long continuous struggle, and many succumb, so heavily handicapped are they by rent and rates. There is no reason in the nature of things why shop property should be more heavily rented than private dwellings, except that local conditions enable it to be put to more profitable use. So long as land remains private property, this enhancement of value not only confers no benefit on the community, but it is a positive drain upon it, insidiously extracted from us all—a mere conduit pipe from our pockets into the unworthy pockets of the landlord. But did this rent accrue either to the State, or to the local authority, then its amount would be immaterial, as it would enure for the benefit alike of those who paid it both directly and indirectly, and thus it would be regulated by the public demand. No greater or more far-reaching reform could be instituted.

The shopkeeper, the tenant, is the person legally and primarily responsible for the payment of the rent, but it is actually paid by every person who buys from him, and upon it his prices are based.

If this point could but once be firmly grasped, if the general public could be persuaded to give the little time and attention to think the matter out for themselves, they would find that it is not only a private affair between the shopkeeper and his landlord, not only in a lesser degree a private affair in respect of their own private dwellings, as between themselves and their own landlords; but that in all their transactions of purchase, they are paying tribute, in the bulk exorbitant tribute, to the remote landlord class, who do nothing whatever for them, but who have got possession of the land, which is the common heritage of us all, and which derives an ever increasing value from wherever we men congregate and increase in numbers.

In London, what is called greater London, the question is being intensified every year by the fact that the population annually increases by about one hundred thousand, and the same thing is occurring in every growing centre, which means in almost every city and town, if not every village, throughout the kingdom. But this very fact of a steady growth of population, coupled with the tendency to flock to the centres, affords scope for considering the application of a remedy. Were the population stationary no remedy would appear to be possible, since with fixed conditions society becomes stereotyped, and a radical change of system cannot be adopted, at least in this respect, short of something like confiscation, which would inflict an injury on the community as great, perhaps, as the benefit it was proposed to confer.

Supposing, for a moment, that a civilised and organised community such as our own, with all our accumulated experience, had an opportunity of starting afresh in a new and unoccupied country, it is not to be imagined that the first proceeding would be to grant the whole of the land to a few individuals, in order that they might subsist upon the proceeds of the labour and industry of all the rest. No intelligent and free community would pass such a self-denying ordinance, which offered them no advantage, but which, having regard to the prospective increase of population with which we have become familiar, they would foresee would subject them to grave future disabilities. Were it a phenomenon of population to remain stationary, merely replacing itself by reproduction as it became exhausted, it would be possible to adopt a different principle, and to allot a proportion of the land to each. But experience is contrary to this, and it is therefore probable that our community, with its exact knowledge of the conditions, would so ordain that the user of their common stock of land should enure for the benefit of all.


This would appear to be a comparatively simple matter, to be attained by the expedient of constituting the State the landlord and paying the rent to it. We shall perhaps be told that this is a

revolutionary measure, subversive of established principles, which have been tried by the test of time, and are sanctioned by almost universal adoption. It may be answered, however, that they have been tried and found wanting, and for the word "revolutionary," since neither injustice nor violence would be necessary for the proposed change, we would substitute "progressive," submitting that in the light of experience it is possible to move forward in the direction of ameliorating our conditions. We are still in the feudal stage, only personal service is now commuted for money payment to the lord of the land, which we spell "landlord," and forget its significance, since it has become part of our hackneyed parlance. It is time we progressed, and the manner of doing it need not shock the most timid, if they will but permit themselves to remember that it may be done by merely extending a principle which is consecrated by the most conservative associations.

We are all familiar with the expression "Crown lands," and, without knowing much about it, perhaps the generality of people might be inclined to imagine that they are rather more sacred than commoner clay. English Crown lands are somewhat extensive, and the important point is that they yield a substantial revenue to the Treasury, the net receipts for the year ending March 31, 1902, amounting to nearly half a million (£439,379). This is essentially land belonging to the State, and to the State accrue its rents and profits for Imperial purposes.

It is surely not revolutionary to contemplate a condition of things in which all the lands of a country should be held by the State, and for the State. Tenants of Crown lands, we venture to declare, are no more conscious of revolutionary, of socialistic, of subversive principles, than are those of the most harsh and arbitrary landlord in the realm. They are subject to no special disabilities, and they have no special grievances. Indeed, so far as is known, the whole thing works admirably, and if an inquiry were held we have but little doubt that Crown tenants would be found to have a better and less exacting landlord than most, and that the Crown estates were more generously managed, and managed more in the public interest and for the public good.

But besides these lands, there are the other great estates, bringing in an enormous aggregate rent, which, in this sense, are not private lands, that is, are not owned by private individuals. We are thinking of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, of the Corporation of the City of London and its livery companies, of the many charities, of some of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, of one at least of the London hospitals, and of other like bodies which it is not necessary further to indicate. The tenants of these estates, we dare say, would be found, as the tenants of the Crown lands, to have superior landlords, and the estates likewise to be more generously administered.



Where is the injury to the State? We look for and we find benefit. Their revenues, in one way or another, are devoted to the public good, and as the value of their lands has increased with an increasing population, so has their capacity for beneficial public expenditure. Their land has been their wealth.

Then, the prodigal extravagance of it! Look at the policy which has given practically the whole of the lands of the United Kingdom into private hands. The annual value of property assessed under schedule A (which comprises almost entirely lands and houses) of the income and property tax for the United Kingdom in 1900 was £228,383,906, that for England and Wales alone representing £191,112,811. Even the last of these figures amounts to about forty millions more than the whole of the Imperial taxation, taking its present bloated total, now put upon the kingdom. This means that did the annual revenue of our lands pass into the coffers of the State, the people of these islands would not need to be subjected to any Imperial taxation whatever, which would add immensely to their resources, while there would remain a huge surplus for public works and public purposes. But it is too late, and we must console ourselves with admiration for our wealthy landowners, their stately residences, and magnificent estates. Dukes and others have, it must be confessed, a rare charm and fascination, though in these degenerate days, when the divine right of kings is not seriously maintained, it cannot be pretended that they are much more than mortal; and when some profane person asks if they are worth their price, we confess, perhaps with some notable exception, that we are filled with doubt. But the worst of it is, landowners are not even all dukes, and sometimes one does not know what to make of them, and sometimes they are slum landlords, and sometimes they are trustees and they have no souls. And then we revile, and wish for a new state of things; and that is worse than being a tenant of the State, and is bad for the State.

But if the State cannot come back into its own, a remedy is not entirely wanting, a little palliative. With a population still increasing the value of land also increases, and therefore indirect relief may be found by empowering the local authorities to acquire town lands, that is lands on the outskirts of growing towns, at their present pasture values, in order that as they are required for building purposes they may be rented from the local authority, which would thus, as time went on, find itself in the possession of an ever-increasing revenue, to be applied for local purposes in lieu, or rather as things are, in relief, of the growing burden of rates. Surely this policy of endowing the community with highly remunerative estates would be wise, far wiser than permitting the enhanced value of the land to continue passing into private hands, which are shrewd enough to seize an advantage conferred upon them entirely by the

augmenting numbers of their fellows. Our eyes are open to the fact that not only private persons, but public or semi-public bodies and corporations owning estates in the neighbourhood of London, are adding enormously to their incomes every year, as those estates become built upon. If the City of London owns land, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and Eton College, why should not the County of London, the London County Council, and other like bodies be permitted to invest in land, to acquire it by purchase on loan, and so endow itself, for the public good, with rapidly developing wealth? for we know that London has for years been increasing by about one hundred thousand inhabitants a year, and this seems likely to continue. Why should not London derive the benefit, and with it the power effectually to control public works and public improvements, at least upon its new estates? Had this power been assumed in the past there would not have appeared the same difficulty in widening old thoroughfares to meet new needs, and we should not have been, as we are, idle and impotent witnesses of the pitiful scandal of seeing our necessary squares, which have been really dedicated to the public use, put up for auction. This bitter wrong should determine us to abandon a shameful pusillanimity, and to insist that, at all cost, it shall not occur again. Londoners have given value to the land, and to London it should belong. But we can now only look to the future, and that only through the municipalities. Of the wisdom of this and of the sound finance, there can be no doubt, and there is no occasion to be deterred by the awful spectre which will be conjured up of huge loans necessary for giving effect to this policy. There is no better investment than real estate in the vicinity of growing communities, and rich men know it and act upon it.

A further advantage of municipalising land would be this. It is commonly recognised, without discussing the matter in detail, that the land laws, our system of land tenure, with all its complications of title and multiplications of involved interests, greatly increase the difficulty, delay, and expense of dealing with it, and various conflicting proposals are afoot for mitigating the evil. This plan for taking the land off the market altogether would surely be the only effective means of simplifying title, for all transfers of permitted interests would be registered with the local authority, and the raising of loans by tenants would be far cheaper and more expeditious than the existing mortgage system. Municipal loans raised for the purpose of acquiring land would afford ample scope for investment of a far more desirable kind than the present cumbersome and complicated system of settlements and charges, since it would substitute for it dealings with stock, with marketable securities like Consols, which are negotiable with incomparably less expense and delay than land.

In its financial aspect, the change, it is thought, would merely appear as a change of proprietorship, and if this is so it would not involve a serious dislocation of the money market, since there would not be any great creation of new capital, and of course it would only gradually take effect. It may be considered, too, that in Ireland the State has intervened on a large scale to expropriate one class of owners in order to replace them by another ; and though we are disposed to think that in this case a great opportunity has been missed for erecting the State into the superior landlord, still it seems difficult to understand why a similar principle should not be applied in England, of expropriating urban proprietors in favour of the municipalities, especially as, if this were done, there would be a practical certainty, apart from other advantages, of endowing the municipalities with estates of immediately increasing value. In Ireland, on the other hand, this consideration is certainly more remote, though if the policy there adopted is to justify itself by success, that is to say to render the country more prosperous, this will attract population and increase concurrently the value of land.

In an old country such as the United Kingdom, where established usage, custom, and therefore an inherent prejudice against change, are so strong, the difficulties in the way of reform may appear almost insuperable. Hence we must be content with comparatively insignificant progress. But in a new country the opportunity offered is magnificent. We look to South Africa, which is practically uninhabited, and where vast tracts of land are yet in the possession of the State, and where other lands, the population being so sparse, could, if desired, be re-acquired for a comparatively small expenditure. Dismissing this last point, however, we wish to urge that the State should maintain possession, as paramount and actual landlord, of such lands as it now holds, in order to deal with them as an ordinary landlord, and in order to receive the revenues derived therefrom, for and on behalf of the State, administering them precisely as the Crown lands in this country are administered. Supposing, as is thought, that the country contains immense undeveloped mineral resources, these alone would in time yield an enormous revenue ; but apart from this, the proved resources are such as to enable us to look forward to a not distant future, when, under good government, there must be a great growth of population, and a rapid development of new towns and cities. If the State is wise in time to seize the accruing rental, and to foster all the wealth thus at its disposal for State purposes, it is imagined that its resources would be such as to render any form of taxation unnecessary. Were this to prove so, the economic advantage conferred upon the country would place it upon an unassailable basis of superiority in its competition with rival States, excepting, no doubt,



Australia, which is still in a position to adopt a similar policy. As we write, indeed, we have read in the *Westminster Gazette* of a proposal to grant Government land to the city of Johannesburg in order to endow it with real estate. This is only mentioned incidentally *à propos* of the issue of the city loan, and it is with great satisfaction that we have seen it, believing it to represent the highest wisdom. All that we venture to advocate is a great extension of the principle in Africa, and in England that the local authorities may be permitted so to endow themselves by purchase. If it is good there, it is good here; and of the good there can be no doubt.

Personally the writer is no optimist, Utopias find no favour in his eyes, and experience teaches one to doubt the perfectibility of human nature; but it is impossible to be blind to the defects and inequalities displayed in all the human societies we know, and it is but the impulse of mere ordinary human sympathy which compels one to hope against hope for a better state of things. So our eyes turn towards Africa, with all its unpropitious origins, and there we see scope for putting society on a new basis; the only new basis possible. Poverty, in some degree, there will probably always be, as there will be human incapacity and inequality; but it is perhaps not illegitimate to associate many of the ills of society with a system of land tenure which enables one small class to levy an elastic tribute on all other classes, and to think that if this tribute were paid by all for all—to the State and not to the individual, we might see arise a new and happier community, containing within it not only the seeds of greater prosperity for the individual, but having, as has been said, an immense advantage in its industrial competition with the world.

It is commonly felt by thinking men that the present stage of economic development is far from admirable and leaves much to be desired. Perhaps the individual now labours under more onerous conditions than ever before, and certainly never were the forces which oppress him more remote and impalpable. The "small man," the prosperous tradesman, the successful individual merchant, are becoming more and more things of the past, almost extinct, and the vast majority of dwellers in towns are mere employés, with not the faintest hope of ever attaining comparative independence. The only possibility is for them to become superior employés. No more—always employés. Now the incentive to the employé who knows that he is only one of a vast crowd, a mere unit in a thousand, to work, to develop himself in accordance with a natural and honourable ambition, and with a reasonable hope of success, is wanting. It cannot live. He has become a mere specialist in monotonous drudgery, always working, hopelessly working, not for an individual but for a "concern" which is the sport of financiers. He works

for a "living," and he barely gets it. The tendency is to accentuate this industrial degradation of the race, and the more acute it becomes, the more marked will be the deterioration which is now thought to be observable amongst the generality of the community.

The diagnosis of an obscure disease in an extremely complex organisation is beset with the greatest difficulty. It is essential to get to the root of the matter. The basis of society is man, and land. When, therefore, we find society afflicted with ills, since it is not practicable to alter the nature of man or land, the conclusion must be that the laws of relation of the one to the other are not just. This is our conclusion, and upon the reorganisation of this relation depends the good of all.

EVELYN ANSELL.

## BYZANTINE GREECE.—II.

THE tenth century witnessed not only the recovery of Crete for the Byzantine Empire and for the Christian faith, but also the spread of monasteries over Greece. When Nikon had concluded his Cretan mission he visited Athens, where he is said by his biographer to have enchanted the people with his sermons, penetrated as far as Thebes, and then returned to Sparta, where he founded a convent and established his headquarters. Thence he set out on missionary journeys among the Slavonic tribes of the Melings and Ezerits, who had again risen against the Imperial authority and had again been reduced to the payment of a tribute. Those wild clans continued, however, to harry the surrounding country, and the monastery of St. Nikon was only protected from their attacks by the awe which the holy man's memory inspired. Long after his death he was adored as the guardian of Sparta, where his memory is still green, and the Peloponnesian mariner, caught in a storm off Cape Matapan, would pray to him, as his ancestors had prayed to Castor and Pollux. For Central Greece the career of the blessed Luke the younger was as important as that of St. Nikon for the South. The parents of this remarkable man had fled from Ægina, when the Cretan corsairs plundered that island, and had taken refuge in Macedonia, where Luke was born. Filled with the idea that he had a call to a holy life, the young Luke settled as a hermit on a lonely Greek mountain by the sea-shore, where for seven long years he devoted himself to prayer. A Bulgarian raid drove him to the Peloponnesos, where for ten years more he served as the attendant of another hermit, who, like the famous Stylites of old, lived on a pillar near Patras. After further adventures, he migrated to Stiris, between Delphi and Livadia, where the monastery which bears his name now stands.

The absorption of the Christianised Slavs by the Greeks was occasionally interrupted by the Bulgarian inroads, which now became frequent. Since the foundation of the first Bulgarian Empire towards the end of the ninth century, the power of that race had greatly increased, and the Byzantine sovereigns found formidable rivals in the Bulgarian tsars. About 929 the Bulgarians captured Nikópolis, and converted it into a Slavonic colony, which was only reconquered by considerable efforts. Arsenios, Metropolitan of Corfù, who was canonised later on, and was for centuries the

patron saint of the island, where his festival is still celebrated and his remains repose, fell into the hands of these invaders, but was rescued by the valour of the islanders,<sup>1</sup> and a new tribe, called Slavians, probably an offshoot of the Bulgarians, made its way into the Peloponnesos. The troublesome clans of Melings and Ezerits seized this opportunity to demand the reduction of their tribute, which had been raised after their last rising. The Government wisely granted their demand, and so prevented a formidable insurrection. Athens was also disturbed by a domestic riot. A certain Chases, a high Byzantine official, had aroused the resentment of the people by his tyranny and the scandals of his life. Alarmed at the threatening attitude of the inhabitants, who had been joined by others from the country, he took refuge at the altar in the Church of the Virgin on the Akropolis, the ancient Parthenon. But the sanctuary did not protect him from the vengeance of his enemies, who stoned him to death at the altar, thus showing less reverence for the Virgin than the ancient Athenians had once shown under somewhat similar circumstances for the goddess Athena.

The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who wrote about the middle of the tenth century, has left us a favourable sketch of the Peloponnesos as it was in his day. Forty cities were to be found in that Theme, and some idea of its resources may be formed from the statement that the Peloponnesians excused themselves from personal service in an Italian campaign by the payment of 7200 pieces of gold and the presentation of 1000 horses all equipped.<sup>2</sup> The purple, parchment, and silk industries, as well as the shipping trade, must have yielded considerable profits to those who carried them on, and the presence of many Jews at Sparta in the time of St. Nikon, who tried to expel them, shows that there was money to be made there. His biography represents that city—of which the contemporary Empress, Theophanó, wife of Romanós II. and Nikephoros Phokás, was perhaps a native<sup>3</sup>—as possessing a powerful aristocracy, and as having commercial relations with Venice. The reconquest of Crete, by freeing the coast-towns from the depredations of pirates, naturally increased the prosperity of Greece. Schools rose again at Athens and Corinth, and from that time down to the beginning of the thirteenth century the country improved, in spite of occasional invasions. Thus, the Bulgarian Tsar Samuel captured Larissa and carried off many of its inhabitants, as well as the remains of the Thessalian Archbishop, St. Achillios, which had long been the chief relic of the place. His standards were twice seen south of the

<sup>1</sup> Mustoxidi : *Delle Cose Corciresi*, 409.

<sup>2</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus : *De Administrando Imperio*, 51, 52.

<sup>3</sup> The two large tombs in the crypt at Hósiós Loukás are perhaps those of Romanós II. and Theophanó. Leo Didkonós calls her "the Laconian"; some say she was of low origin, others of a noble family of Constantinople. I noticed a great number of Hebrew inscriptions at Mistrá, near Sparta, during a recent visit.


Isthmus, and Attica was ravaged by his forces. To this period we may refer the statement above quoted that "all Epiros and a large part of Hellas and the Peloponnesos were occupied by Scythian Slavs." But when they arrived at the river Spercheiós on their return march, they were surprised by a Byzantine army and utterly defeated. The Emperor Basil II., surnamed "the Bulgar-slayer," completed the destruction of the first Bulgarian Empire, and on his triumphal progress through Northern and Central Greece in 1019 found the bones of the slain still bleaching on the banks of the Spercheiós. After inspecting the fortifications of Thermopylæ, he proceeded to Athens, which no Byzantine Emperor had visited since the days of Constantine II. The visit was an appropriate sequel to the campaign. For the first time for centuries the Byzantine dominions extended from the Bosphoros to the Danube, and the Balkan peninsula once again was under Greek domination. In the Church of the Virgin on the Akropolis, the very centre and shrine of the old Hellenic life in bygone days, the victorious Emperor offered up thanks to Almighty God for his successes, and showed his gratitude by rich offerings to the church out of the spoil which he had taken.<sup>1</sup> The beauty of the building, which he seems to have enhanced by a series of frescoes, traces of which are still visible, was justly celebrated in the next generation, and one curiosity of that holy spot, the ever-burning golden lamp, is specially mentioned by the author of the so-called *Book of Guido*, and by the Icelandic pilgrim, Saewulf. Other persons imitated the example of Basil, and the restoration or foundation of Athenian churches was one of the features of the first half of the eleventh century. Freed for the time from corsairs and hostile armies, Greece was once more able to pursue the arts of peace unhindered. During the great famine which prevailed at Constantinople in 1037, the Themes of Hellas and the Peloponnesos were able to export 100,000 bushels of wheat for the relief of the capital. The chief grievance of the Greeks was the extortion of the Imperial Government, which aroused two insurrections after the death of Basil. The first of these movements took place at Naupaktos, where the people rose against "Mad George," the hated representative of the Emperor, murdered him, and plundered his residence. This revolt was suppressed with great severity, the archbishop, who had been on the side of the people, being blinded, according to the prevalent fashion of Byzantine criminal law. Some years later, the inhabitants of the Theme of Nikópolis murdered the Imperial tax-collector, and called in the Bulgarians, who had risen against fiscal extortion like themselves. While Naupaktos held out in the West, the Thebans, then a rich and flourishing community, abandoned their silk manufactories, and took the field against the Bulgarians.

<sup>1</sup> Cedrenus, 717; Zonaras, ii. 227.

But they were defeated with great loss, and it has even been asserted that the victors occupied the Piræus with the connivance of the discontented Athenians.

This surmise, which has, however, been rejected by the German historian of mediæval Athens, rests upon one of the most curious discoveries that have been made in connection with the place. Every visitor to Venice has seen the famous lions which adorn the front of the arsenal. One of these statues, brought home as a trophy by Morosini from the Piræus in 1688, has upon it a runic inscription, which has been deciphered by an expert. According to his version, the inscription commemorates the capture of the Piræus at this period by the celebrated Harold Hardrada, whom our King Harold defeated at Stamford Bridge, and who, in 1040, was commander of the Imperial Guard at Constantinople. In consequence, it appears, of an Athenian rising, Harold had been sent with a detachment of that force, composed largely of Norwegians, to put down the rebellion. After accomplishing their object, the Northmen, in the fashion of the modern tourist, scrawled their names and achievements on the patient lion, which then stood, like the lion of Lindau, at the entrance of the Piræus and gave to that harbour its later name of Porto Leone. It would be difficult to find a more curious piece of historical evidence than that a monument in Venice should tell us of a Norwegian descent upon Athens.

Dissension among the Bulgarians led to their collapse, and Greece enjoyed a complete freedom from barbarian inroads for the next forty years, with the exception of a passing invasion by the Uzes, a Turkish tribe, who left no mark upon the country. Athens at this period was regarded by the Byzantine officials who were sent there as the uttermost ends of the earth, though at Constantinople Philhellenism had a worthy representative in the historian Psellos, who constantly manifested a deep interest in "the muse of Athens." A more curious figure, typical of that monastic age, was the Cappadocian monk Meletios, who established himself on the confines of Attica and Bœotia, and by means of his miracles gained great influence there. We find him descending from his solitary mountain to Athens to rescue a band of Roman pilgrims, who had taken refuge there and had been threatened with death by the bigoted Athenians. We hear of the convents which he founded in various parts of Greece, and it was to him that the land was largely indebted for the plague of monks, many of them merely robbers in disguise, which checked civic progress and injured all national life in the next century. Worse than this, the final separation of the Greek and Latin Churches in 1053, by kindling a fanatical hatred between West and East, brought countless woes upon the Levant, and was one of the causes of the Latin invasions which culminated in the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire in 1204.





ready for a second campaign against the Byzantine Empire. In 1084 Guiscard set sail again; after three naval battles with the Greeks and their Venetian allies, Corfù once more surrendered to the Normans, and their leader used it as a stepping-stone to the island of Kephallenia. But he contracted a fever there, which put an end to his life and to the expedition, of which he had been the heart and soul. The village of Phiskardo has perpetuated his name, thus marking this second attempt of the West to impose its sway upon the East.

Bohemond renewed, twenty-two years later, his father's attacks upon the Byzantine Empire. In the meanwhile, as the result of his share in the first crusade, he had become Prince of Antioch—one of those feudal States which now adjoined the immediate dominions of the Eastern Emperor—and exercised considerable social influence on the customs of his subjects. Aided by the Pisans, whose fleet ravaged the Ionian Islands, Bohemond seemed likely to repeat the early successes of his father; but Alexios had learnt how to deal with the Latins, and the Normans' second assault on Durazzo ended in a treaty of peace, by which Bohemond swore fealty to the Emperor. For the next forty years Greece had nothing to fear from the Normans, but the evil results of the alliance with Venice now became manifest. The Republic of St. Mark had jealous commercial rivals in Italy, who envied her the monopoly of the Levantine trade. When, therefore, concessions were made to the Pisans and the previous charter of the Venetians was not renewed, the Empire found itself involved in a naval war with the latter, from which the defenceless Greek islands suffered, and which was only ended by the renewal of the old Venetian privileges. The mercantile powers of Italy had come to treat the Byzantine possessions much as modern European States regard Turkey, as a Government from which trading concessions can be obtained. But every fresh grant offended some one and gave the favoured party more and more influence in the affairs of the Empire. Fresh Venetian factories were founded in Greece, and the increasing prosperity of that country had the disadvantage of attracting the covetous foreigner.

Such was the state of affairs when, in 1146, Guiscard's nephew, King Roger of Sicily, availing himself of an insult to his honour, invaded Greece with far greater success than had attended his uncle. The Sicilian Admiral, George of Antioch, occupied Corfù, with the connivance of the poorer inhabitants, who complained of the heavy taxation of the Imperial Government,<sup>1</sup> but was repulsed by the bold inhabitants of the impregnable rock of Monemvasia; then, after plundering the West Coast, he landed his troops at the

<sup>1</sup> In the twelfth century Corfù paid into the Imperial Treasury about 9,000,000 *drachmai*, or more than the present Greek Exchequer raises from all the Ionian Islands.—Paparregópoulos, *op. cit.*, iv. 51.



modern Itea, in the north of the Gulf of Corinth, and thence marched past Delphi or Theos, at that time the seat of the silk manufacture. The city was undefended, but that did not save it from the rapacity of the Normans. Alexander the Great had, at least, spared—the house of Pindarus' when he took Thebes; but its new conquerors left nothing that was of any value behind them. After they had thoroughly ransacked the houses and churches they made the Thebans swear in the Holy Scriptures that they had concealed nothing, and then departed dragging with them the most skilful weavers and dyers so as to transfer the silk industry to Sicily. This last was a serious blow to the monopoly of the silk trade which Greece had hitherto enjoyed so far as Christian States were concerned. The secret of the manufacture had been jealously guarded; and the finers who obtained the famous purple dye for the manufacturers were a privileged class, exempted from the payment of military taxes. Roger was well aware of the value of his captives; he established them and their families at Palermo, and at the conclusion of the war they were not restored to their homes in Greece. But the art of making and dyeing silk does not seem to have died out at Thebes, which fifteen years after the Norman invasion, had recovered much of its former prosperity. When the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tadaia, visited it about 1161, he found 2000 of his co-religionists there, among them the best weavers and dyers in Greece, and towards the end of the century forty garments of Theban silk were sent as a present by the Emperor to the Sultan of Iconium.<sup>1</sup> From Thebes the Normans proceeded to the rich city of Corinth, which fell into their hands without a blow. Those who have ascended the grand natural fortress of Akrocorinth may easily understand the surprise of the warlike Normans at its surrender by the cowardly Byzantine commandant. “If Nikephoros Chalouphes”—such was his name—“had not been more timid than a woman,” exclaimed the Sicilian admiral, “we should never have entered these walls.” The town below yielded an even richer booty than Thebes—for it was then, as under the Romans, the great emporium of the Levantine trade in Greece—and laden with the spoils of Thebes and Corinth and with the relics of St. Theodore, the Norman fleet set sail on its homeward voyage. Nineteen vessels fell victims to privateers, but the surviving ships brought such a valuable cargo into the great harbour of Palermo that the admiral was able to build out of his share the bridge which is still called after him, Ponte dell' Ammiraglio. The Church of La Martorana as its older name of Sta. Maria dell' Ammiraglio testifies, was also founded by him. The captives, except

<sup>1</sup> Although there are no silks now manufactured at Thebes and no mulberry-trees there, the plain near the town is still called by the peasants *Moré-stampes*, from the mulberry-trees which once grew upon it.

the silk-weavers, were afterwards restored to their homes, and Corfù was recaptured by the chivalrous Emperor, Manuél Komnenós, after a siege, in the course of which he performed such prodigies of valour as to win the admiration of the Norman commander.

The revival of material prosperity in Greece after the close of this conflict was most remarkable, and in the second half of the twelfth century that country must have been one of the most flourishing parts of the Empire. The Arabian geographer, Edrisi, who wrote in 1153, tells us that the Peloponnesos had thirteen cities, and alludes to the vegetation of Corfù, the size of Athens, and the fertility of the great Thessalian plain, while Halmyrós was then one of the most important marts of the Empire. Benjamin of Tudela tells us of Jewish communities in Larissa, Naupactos, Arta, Corinth, Patras, Eubœa, Corfù (consisting of one man), Zante, and Ægina, as well as in Thebes, and this implies considerable wealth. Like St. Nikon, he found them in Sparta, and we may note as a curious phenomenon the existence of a colony of Jewish agriculturists on the slopes of Parnassos. When we remember how rare are Jews in Greece to-day, except at Corfù, their presence in such numbers in the twelfth century is all the more strange. Nor were they all engaged in money-making. The worthy rabbi met Jews at Thebes who were learned in the Talmud, while the Greek clergy had also some literary representatives. It was about this time that the biography of St. Nikon was composed; the philosophical and theological writings of Nicholas, Bishop of Methóne, and Gregory, the Metropolitan of Corinth, belonged to the same epoch. Athens, after a long eclipse, had once more become a place of study. Young Georgians were sent there to learn Greek and make translations of philosophical treatises. More remarkable still, Englishmen frequented the Athenian schools, owing, perhaps, to the connection which had sprung up between our island and the East through the English who served in the Emperor's Varangian guard. Thus, Master John of Basingstoke, who was afterwards Archdeacon of Leicester, is said by Matthew Paris to have received instruction from a new Hypatia, the youthful Constantina, daughter of the Archbishop of Athens, who was an infallible weather prophet, and must therefore have been most useful to our countryman. We hear, too, of a noted English medical writer, Ægidius, who had received his education at Athens, and a party of Athenian theologians came to England and tried to make converts at the Court of King John. Yet, in point of wealth, Athens was inferior to several other Greek cities, and perhaps for that reason had no Jewish colony. We have from the pen of Michael Akominátos, the last Greek Archbishop of Athens before the Latin conquest, who was appointed about 1175, a full if somewhat pessimistic account of the condition of his diocese, which then included ten bishoprics. Michael was a man of distinguished family, a brother

of the Byzantine statesman and historian, Nikéttas Choniátés, and a pupil of the great Homeric scholar, Eustáthios, who was Archbishop of Salonica. An ardent classical scholar, he had been enchanted at the prospect of taking up his abode in the episcopal residence on the Akropolis, of which he had formed the most glorified idea. But the golden dream of the learned divine vanished at the touch of reality. It was said of the Philhellenes, who went to aid the Greeks in the War of Independence, that they expected to find the Peloponnesos filled with "Plutarch's men"; finding that the modern Greeks were not ancient heroes and sages, they at once put them down as scoundrels and cut-throats. The worthy Michael seems to have experienced the same disillusionment and to have committed the same error as the Philhellenes. Fallen walls and rickety houses fringing mean streets gave him a bad impression as he entered the city in triumphal procession. His cathedral, it is true, with its frescoes and its offerings from the time of Basil the Bulgarslayer, with its eternal lamp, the wonder of every pilgrim, and with the noble memories of the golden age of Periklés which clung round its venerable structure, seemed to him superior to Sta. Sophia in all its glory, a palace worthy of a king. And what bishop could boast of a minster such as the Parthenon? But the Athenians, "the off-spring of true-born Athenians," as he styled them in his pompous inaugural address, did not appreciate, could scarcely even understand, the academic graces of his style. The soil of Attica, thin even in the time of Thucydides, had become a parched desert, where little or no water was; the classic fountain of Kallirrhoe had ceased to run, the olive-yards were withered up by the drought. The silk-weavers and dyers, traces of whose work have been found in the Odeon of Herodes Atticus, had disappeared, and there was not a carriage-maker in all the city. Piracy had once more become the scourge of the Attic coast; Ægina, a nest of corsairs, was, as in the olden days, "the eye-sore of the Piræus"; even the archbishop's nephew was wounded in a brush with these daring robbers. The Imperial Government found the pirates a useful excuse for raising ship-money from Athens, which disappeared, of course, in the pockets of the collectors. Emigration threatened to reduce Attica to "a Scythian desert," and the exactions of the Byzantine officials completed the tale of woe, which Michael was ever ready to pour into the ear of a sympathetic correspondent. In 1198, he addressed a memorial to the Emperor Aléxios Komnenós III., on behalf of the Athenians, from which we learn that the city was free from the jurisdiction of the provincial governor, who resided at Thebes, and who was not even allowed to enter the city, which, like Patras and Monemvasia, was governed by its own *archontes*. But it appears that the governor, under pretext of worshipping in the Parthenon, visited the city with a large retinue, which he quartered on the

inhabitants, and had thrice imposed higher ship-money on Athens than on Thebes and Chalkis. Nor did the archbishop hesitate to tell another Emperor, Isaac Angelos, that Athens was too poor to present him with the usual coronation offering of a golden wreath. Yet, when the Lord High Admiral came to Athens, he found merchantmen in the Piræus, and the Government raised more out of the impoverished inhabitants than out of Thebes and Eubœa. We must therefore not take too literally all the rhetorical complaints of the archbishop, which are incompatible with the great luxury of the Athenian Court under the French Dukes in the next century. As a good friend of Athens, he was anxious to make the city appear as poor as possible in the eyes of a grasping Government, for in the East it has always been a dangerous thing to appear rich. As a cultured man of the world, he exaggerated the "barbarism"—such is his own phrase, which would have staggered the ancient Athenians—of the spot where his lot had been cast. He derided the Attic Greek of his time as a rude dialect, and told his classical friends that few of the historic landmarks in Attica had preserved their ancient names pure and undefiled. Sheep grazed, he said, among the remains of the Painted Porch. "I live in Athens," he wrote in a poem on the decay of the city, "yet it is not Athens that I see." Yet Athens was at least spared the horrors of the sack of Salonika by the Normans of Sicily, whose great invasion in 1185 touched only the fringe of Greece.

Then, as in the war which broke out between Venice and the empire some years earlier, it was the islands which suffered. After the attack by the mob on the Latin quarter of Constantinople, those Latins who escaped revenged themselves by preying upon the dwellers in the Ægean, whose flourishing state had been noted by Edrisi before that terrible visitation. Kephallenia and Zante were now permanently severed from the Byzantine sway, many Italians settled there, and after succumbing to Margaritone, the Sicilian admiral, Corfù, then a very rich island, became for some years the home of Vetrano, a Latin pirate, who was soon the terror of the Greek coasts. As if this were not enough, Isaac Angelos robbed many of the churches of their ornaments and pictures for the benefit of his capital, and extortion once more roused an insurrection in the Theme of Nikópolis. His successor injured Greek trade by granting most extensive privileges to the Venetians, who secured the commercial supremacy in the Levant. The Byzantine State was becoming visibly weaker every day, and the re-establishment of the second Bulgarian Empire suggested to a bold official, Manuel Kamitzes, the idea of carving out, with Bulgarian aid, a kingdom for himself in Greece. His attempt failed, but the growth of feudalism had loosened the old ties which bound that country to Constantinople. The power of the landed aristocracy, the *archontes*, as they were

called, had gone on growing since the days of Danielis of Patras. Their rivalries threatened the Greek towns with the scenes which disgraced the cities of mediæval Italy, and some of them, like the great clan of Sgourós at Nauplia, were hereditary nobles of almost princely position. Large estates, the curse of ancient Italy, had grown up in Greece; the Empress Euphrosyne, for example, was owner of a vast property in Thessaly, which included several flourishing towns. Moreover, that province was no longer inhabited by a mainly Greek population; in the twelfth century it had passed so completely under Wallachian influence that it was known as Great Wallachia, and its colonists were the ancestors of those Koutzo-Wallachs, who still pasture their herds in the country near the Thessalian frontier, descending to Bœotia in the winter, and who, in the late war, were on the Turkish side. Finally a debased currency pointed to the financial decline of the Byzantine Government. In short, the Empire was ripe for the Latin conquest. It was not long delayed.

The history of the Fourth Crusade is well known and need not be repeated here. How the crusaders turned aside from their original object to restore the dethroned Emperor Isaac Angelos and his son to the throne, how they captured Constantinople and partitioned the Empire between them, has been often told. We are only concerned with that partition so far as it affected Greece, which now passed for a period of more than two centuries under the dominion of Western rulers. After one-quarter of the Byzantine possessions had been assigned to the new Latin Emperor, Baldwin I., the remaining three-quarters were divided between the Venetians and the army of crusaders, whose leader was Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat. The Greek provinces of Asia Minor and the island of Crete had at first been assigned to the latter; but Boniface preferred to exchange a distant sovereignty in Asia for a nearer kingdom in Europe, and accordingly received the so-called kingdom of Salonika, which comprised Macedonia, Thessaly, and Continental Greece, and was practically independent of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, whose European dominions were limited to part of the capital, Thrace, and some of the islands. Crete was sold by the Marquis to the Venetians, who thus began their long occupation of that island. With the shrewd, practical sense of a commercial community, they managed to include within their share the best harbours, islands, and markets in the Levant. An establishment at Constantinople, the Ionian and many of the Ægean islands, the north and south parts of Eubœa, Salamis, and Ægina, a large part of Akarnania and Ætolia, Epiros, the whole of the Peloponnesos in theory, and the two valuable Messenian stations of Koróne and Methóne in practice,<sup>1</sup> were among the spoils of the Republic, whose Doge henceforth styled

<sup>1</sup> Paparregópoulos, *op. cit.*, v. 15, 30, 44.

himself "Lord of one-fourth and one-eighth of the Empire of Romania." But the Venetians were unable to take possession of some of their new dominions. Just as in Asia two new Greek Empires rose at Nice and Trebizond, so in Epiros an independent Greek principality was formed in a land which had been assigned to them on paper. Like every other partition treaty that has been signed, this instrument depended for its validity upon the capacity of the signatories to enforce their claims, a condition all the more important in the present case, because, though Constantinople had fallen, Greece had not yet been conquered, and the several parties were therefore assigning to each other what was not yet theirs.

Short-lived as the Latin Empire and the Latin Kingdom of Salonika proved to be, the partition which created them had a decisive effect upon the fortunes of Greece for the next two or more centuries. The tie between Hellas and Constantinople was broken; the ancient Greek lands were divided up into separate feudal States, without cohesion with themselves or with the capital, and the old Hellenic world assumed an aspect of variety and a lack of unity which continued to mark it till the completion of the Turkish conquest.

W. MILLER.

## THE SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT.

THE universal teaching of art, however bad the system may be, must inevitably be productive of good results. The results may be a very long time coming, but they are none the less sure. Perhaps the greatest good that the Science and Art Department has accomplished is the formation of what might be called "art centres" in some three hundred or more provincial towns. This has constituted the nucleus of a systematic art training in those particular districts, and afforded scope for the individual energies of the few who take a casual interest in art, often, it must be confessed, with the most disastrous results; but sometimes to the lasting benefit of the school.

When once a centre of teaching is formed in a district, the success of the school depends entirely on the ability and management of the South Kensington trained principal. His influence for the good or bad rests on the fact of his carrying on or rejecting the dreary routine that the Department has set him to perform. In the more advanced drawing, perhaps the great and important move which very few can be persuaded to make, is the rejection of Whatman's paper and "stumping" in favour of charcoal and Michellet. Where this has been done the achievement of the schools has progressed by leaps and bounds; where this has been undone, the groove and accomplishment has remained unchanged for years. It is curious to reflect that so much can depend on mere materials, but those who are acquainted with their respective drawbacks and possibilities will endorse what I say. Perhaps the best argument in favour of charcoal is the fact that the authorities, to a great extent, discountenance its use. They prefer the dead effect of chalk applied in little patches with a soft piece of leather, and consider it the best medium calculated to express any individuality that the student may possess. Instead of a student being set to interpret a plaster cast, he has to copy it; and as—outside of paint—a combination of black chalk and Whatman's paper is the best manner of imitating a white cast with black shadows, such materials are preferred. This method is evolved from the imagination of ministers and retired soldiers, who have had a great part of the management of the nation's largest art institution. To their minds the beauty of light and shade—whether on a living model or plaster cast—can only be really adequately

interpreted by the smooth, mealy, grey texture which is imparted to everything carried out by their methods. Smooth texture of manipulation takes the place of characterisation, or any artistic quality which is revealed in the execution.

If these incompetences were not so painfully evident, it would be unbelievable that such systems could be the main features of the art instruction promulgated by the government of this, the greatest of countries; but the bane of the Academy runs through the administrative departments, and is undoubtedly responsible for much. The examiners are nearly all salaried academicians, and for years the inspector for art was Eyre Crowe, A.R.A. Sir William Richmond, R.A., now occupies the post.

The good work that a well-conducted art school is capable of turning out is extraordinary; that is to say, if the head master is not too greedy about the payments-by-result system. Such a school as this will not be specially successful in the more advanced sections according to the South Kensington standards; but real success does not in any way coincide with Departmental success. The custom is to send up yearly a selection of the school's work to headquarters. Those that the Department are satisfied with are labelled with some distinguishing mark, notifying that they are accepted as being up to the required standard of excellence; others are marked or crossed out as not being satisfactory—such a mark really means that they are not a credit to the school, and should on no account have been sent up. It was on looking over some of these latter drawings in an art school not far from London that I first became fully conscious of the terribly poor standard by which these things are judged. I saw many charcoal life studies of a young man of eighteen years, which, considering his age, were finer work than I had ever before seen—in fact, I had very seldom seen such delightful work in any school. They were among the crossed off lot, which in the eyes of South Kensington constitute a disgrace.

As an increased output of gold means a corresponding increase in trade, and the production of everything that gold can buy, so the increase of art tuition sets up a continuously fresh demand for things which are supposed to be artistic; but if the tuition is false and wrong throughout, the demand rests on a false basis, and does a very great deal of harm, although a very bad taste in art matters is better than no taste at all, and with cultivation is bound to improve. The great point is to instil the teachers with the rudiments of what art really is; the future status of these matters throughout the country rests with them. To subserviate all principals to the cramming for the yearly examinations—as most do, because they are paid according to the results—is not training at all. The Department do it to please the masters, the masters to please the Department, and the pupils to please their parents; and so, art is left out in the cold.



The teaching is a system whereby pupils may pass the greatest number of examinations ; and if any talent is discovered and benefited, it amounts to a mere accident. It is not necessary to be endowed with any artistic qualities to become one of the greatest successes at a school in connection with South Kensington, and carried on according to the existing formulas ; and one in possession of talent is often irretrievably ruined. His ability all falls on stony ground, as it were, and withers. All that he has learnt by heart has to be fought against and crushed, which almost necessitates a fresh start. There are no rules whereby talent can be fostered, and one who insists on such a thing is a madman. Of course there are broad outlines to be taught, such as selection and breadth of treatment, but these are seldom heard of in any of the three hundred schools. There are exceptions, but very few ; and the numbers of teachers who care to encourage any marked individuality that a student may possess, are fewer still, for obvious reasons.

The Science and Art Department spend more than half a million yearly in teaching. The result will be fully seen later ; it is now noticeable principally in the enormous number of atrocious villas scattered about the country. It is on this wise. Very great importance is attached to instructing artisans in building construction. I have never seen one artisan attending these classes. Instead, all the builders' sons in a locality join, and, after a year's tuition, know a sufficiency of construction to put together a villa, supplying ornamentation and other features *ad lib.* Builders, instead of employing qualified architects to design houses, naturally like to keep it in the family, especially as there is nothing to pay. There are besides hundreds of so-called architects scattered about the country and daily perpetrating those terrible disfigurements called "the modern villa," who have received no tuition beyond that of the local building construction class. It cannot be denied that South Kensington has had a very great influence indeed on our modern street architecture ! Unhappily, the examples of building construction in these classes consist of the very commonest and most orthodox form of the respective designs, and so all that is worst is perpetually insisted upon—and then we turn round and expect to see improvement ! Forty or fifty years ago ordinary dwellings had the advantage of being simple in design ; but even that great feature is denied them, all being fuss and meaningless nonsense. Every Town Council should have its properly qualified architect to adjudge the designs submitted ; and the plans should be required to possess certain good sober architectural features. Nowadays the only thing that plans have to be submitted to a Town Council for is to see if the construction is substantial enough, or the drains sufficiently good. On a living model these features being satisfactory, a man can generate a living model of an architectural abomination he may have a liking for.

Absolute bareness is preferable to ornamentation that is not ornament, and, personally, I should prefer to see dwellings unrelieved by any ornament whatever, in preference to our jerry-built villa. The beauty of simplicity is much farther from general recognition than a generation ago, spite of the multiplicity of art-training establishments. A modern house has only to be crammed outside and in with all manner of strange ornamental shapes to find an immediate tenant; and grand old houses, full of that dignity which only age can give, are pulled down to make way for the villa, or else converted into artisans' dwellings. What beauty the public profess to recognise in a large old house will be quite passed over in a small one possessing similar characteristics, which tends to show what such recognition is worth.

The Department spend considerably more than half a million annually in the teaching of art, devoted, to a great extent, to elementary drawing. I confess that I am unable to grasp the advantages accruing from the study of freehand drawing. In considering these things one is apt, first of all, to look ahead at the possible result; and what result such a course could have on the furtherance of national art, or even of art appreciation, is incomprehensible. It is very certain that a year's copying of thin black curves with a hard lead pencil leaves the student none the wiser as far as art matters go. As well try to teach French grammar by going no farther than the article. Of course the drawing of these wire-like shapes trains the eye to a certain extent; but are there not better methods? Many will argue that there is no necessity for training poor children's eyes, when the same amount of time and money would be better applied by training their faculties of perception and appreciation. Instead of the dreary humdrum routine of South Kensington, it would be far better to have no direct elementary tuition at all, but to devote all energies to the advanced and semi-advanced sections of instruction. Have modelling and wood-carving if you will; but freehand drawing, I go so far as to say, is worse than useless. In fact, to a student of any artistic capacity at all it is positively harmful. A student that is going to embrace art as a profession should commence at simple casts, or sections of casts, from the antique; starting thus, his interest and progress at the end of a year will be astounding. It is surely as good for him to learn the rudiments of figure-drawing as to trace strange unheard-of shapes printed on cardboard, and certainly it is far better training for the eye.

A perusal of the money that is expended on the officials and examiners is perfectly appalling, and the whole Department actually costs the nation about one million pounds a year. The result of this million is seen annually in a little collection of examples of drawings, designing, painting, and modelling at South Kensing-

ton Museum. The result, in comparison with the expenditure, is quite infinitesimal. However, even for this, the working clerks and idling officials consume between them thirty or forty thousand pounds annually—such is the price of red tape! A comparatively small proportion of the accumulated expenses is for the maintenance of the different museums in London and the provinces. The administration of the Department amounts to about eighty thousand, while the training college for art masters costs some eight thousand. I should have thought that this latter was the most important feature, and certainly more liberality should be extended in the granting of scholarships. A careful and at the same time liberal education, with every possible advantage, should be extended towards those who are embracing the teaching of art matters as a profession. The future success of the Department depends upon these young men.

As before said, the object of this South Kensington tuition is to obtain as near as possible a copy, and not an interpretation. Art is suggestion and selection, and as such should be vigorously taught from the beginning. Instead of the student seeking to make something of a work of art, he is set to make a crude, bald copy of an object as it really exists, mercilessly insisting on the obtrusiveness of every detail; and, in so doing, injuring or destroying any sense of beauty or any creative faculties that he may possess. Art, from the beginning, has always been interpretation and selection; and, such being the case, one wonders why South Kensington should want an alteration!

HUGH BLAKER.

1904.

## THE GRAND OLD WOMAN OF TO-DAY.<sup>1</sup>

On February 15, 1820, was born Susan B. Anthony, the greatest of the pioneer women of the nineteenth century, a woman whose long life of incessant and devoted effort has been freely given to the elevation of humanity by the securing of justice and freedom for the mother half of the race, to the moral regeneration of man through the emancipation of woman.

Susan's father, Daniel Anthony, was a member of the Society of Friends, and though he married out of the Society, and her mother, Lucy Read, never formally joined it, religious differences never troubled this happy marriage. Susan was their second child, and her earliest years were peacefully spent in the quiet seclusion of a New England village, under the shadow of the Green Mountains.

She was a precocious child, learning to read at three years of age. When at the age of fifteen she began her work as a teacher—work which occupied her till her greater life-work began—her father was much criticised for allowing this, as in those days no woman worked for wages except from pressing necessity; but Daniel Anthony was far enough in advance of his time to believe that every girl should be trained to self-support. It is pleasant, too, to record that from the very beginning of her greater life-work her father, indeed both parents, stood firmly by her, and in the earliest years of stress and storm gave her both heart and hope.

In July, 1848, the first Women's Rights Convention met at Seneca Falls, and Miss Anthony's father, mother, and her younger sister Mary, who still lives and shares her home, attended and signed the declaration demanding equal rights for women. Attention was now being called to the atrocious injustice of most of the laws specially affecting women, and with the opponents of these wrongs she fully sympathised; but it was not until May, 1851, that she first met Lucy Stone and Mrs. Cady Stanton, and fully convinced herself that their demand for Women's Suffrage was just and right.

During her fifteen years' work as a teacher she repeatedly took a school which a male teacher had been obliged to give up because of

<sup>1</sup> *The History of Woman Suffrage*. Vols. I-IV. Susan B. Anthony. *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*. Vols. I. and II. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company.

inefficiency, and even when she made a thorough success, she would receive only one-fourth of his salary. It was the custom everywhere to pay men four times the wages of women for exactly the same work, often not so well done. A grievance, this, from which women everywhere, and in almost every kind of work, still suffer, though not to the same extent.

The fifteen years spent in teaching must have helped to develop her naturally keen insight into character, and her power of judging the capacity and faculty best fitted to specific work, a power of infinite value to her in her future great labour.

Her first public work was for Temperance Reform, in connection with which, and with her later work for the Abolition of Slavery, she soon learnt the truth set forth in a letter written to her by her father early in 1853 :

“ I see notices of your meetings in multitudes of papers, all, with a few exceptions, in a rejoicing mood that woman at last has taken hold in earnest to aid in the reformation of the mighty evils of the day. Yet with all this ‘rejoicing’ probably not one of these papers would advocate placing the ballot in the hands of woman as the easiest, quickest and most efficient way of enabling her to secure not only this but other reforms. They are willing she should talk and pray and ‘flock by herself’ in conventions, and tramp up and down the State, footsore and weary, gathering petitions to be spurned by legislatures, but not willing to invest her with the only power that would do speedy and efficient work.”

In August of this same year, 1853, Miss Anthony attended the State Teachers’ Convention, at Rochester, N.Y. It was attended by over five hundred teachers, two-thirds of whom were women. For two days she listened to the wisdom of the male third of the assembly, till at last, when she felt she had something very much to the purpose to say, she rose and said, “ Mr. President,” and for half an hour the male section of the assembly debated whether a woman might be allowed to speak or not. At length, by a vote of men only, assent was given by a small majority, and Miss Anthony, speaking to the question, “ Why the profession of teacher is not so much respected as that of lawyer, doctor or minister,” said :

“ It seems to me you fail to comprehend the cause of the disrespect of which you complain. Do you not see that so long as society says that woman has not brains enough to be a doctor, lawyer, or minister, but has plenty of brains to be a teacher, every man of you who condescends to teach, tacitly admits before all Israel and the sun that he has no more brains than a woman ;”

and sat down. The other women present took no part, but some learnt their lesson, and at the next day’s Session and in future Conventions took care to assert and to act upon the equal right of women to share in all the privileges and deliberations of the Conventions.

The very next month, at the World's Temperance Convention in New York, a lady, the accredited delegate of two societies to that Convention, was received with hisses and cries of "Shame on the woman," and after standing for an hour and a half on the platform, in the midst of this bedlam, was compelled to leave the hall. Endless incidents of this kind, warmly approved by the leading New York dailies, with the distinguished exceptions of the *Tribune*, managed by Horace Greeley, and the *Evening Post*, under the control of William Cullen Bryant, sufficiently mark the character of the times when these brave women pioneers began to speak and work. What wonder that Susan Anthony quickly learnt by heart the lesson that no human right is safe to woman without the security of the full rights of equal citizenship, and consecrated her whole life and being to the achievement of that equal citizenship.

It would take many pages to give even the merest outline of the work she has crowded into the fifty years between then and now. Each year has brought unending labour. Almost every State in the Union has felt the influence of her presence, her speech, her persistent energy, and her marvellous powers of organisation. Again and again she has pleaded the cause of justice before State Legislatures, and before committees of the National Legislature. Year after year she has travelled many thousands of miles, addressed hundreds of meetings, created innumerable committees, called and carried through State and National Conventions, arranged petition work, received and written thousands of letters—nothing too great for her endeavour, nothing too small for her careful attention. Through more than fifty years of ceaseless effort to free enslaved womanhood, and so to lift up degraded manhood, has she worked on, resolute of soul, resting only in the change of effort, snatching victory from defeat or making defeat itself greater than victory, fearing nothing, hoping all things: thus has lived, loved, and worked, this great human soul.

And what has been the result of her labours? To quote from her gifted American biographer, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper:

"Susan B. Anthony's self-imposed task, for almost half a century, has been to secure equal rights for women—social, civil and political. When she began her crusade woman in social life was 'cabin'd, cribb'd, confined,' to an extent which can scarcely be conceived by the present independent and self-reliant generation; in law she was but little better than a slave; in politics, a mere cipher. To-day in society she has practically unlimited freedom; in the business world most of the obstacles have been removed; the laws, although still unjust in many respects, have been revolutionised in her favour; in four States women have the full franchise, in one the municipal ballot, in twenty-five a vote on school questions, and in four others some form of suffrage; while in each campaign their recognition as a political factor grows more marked. . . . Miss Anthony is the only woman who has given her whole time and effort to this one end, with no division of interest in behalf of husband and children, no diversion of other

public questions. Is there an example in all history of either man or woman who devoted half a century of the hardest, most persistent, labour for one reform?"

If it be said that, though the social and legal changes in the position of American women have been immense, their political advancement has been but a small result of toil so stupendous, one need only point to the enormous difficulties which have had to be overcome, difficulties far greater than any which stand in the way of the women in the United Kingdom who seek their emancipation, and that of their sisters. In the United States the progress of women's political emancipation is hindered by a written Federal Constitution, to effect any change in which is a task of very great difficulty, and by forty-five written State Constitutions, which can only be altered by the consent of an absolute majority of the male electorate. Let us imagine what would be the position of women in the United Kingdom if, in the first place, the United Kingdom absorbed year by year some half million of *male* immigrants, giving to them, on the easiest possible conditions, the political rights which it denied to its native-born daughters. Let us imagine that when a measure enfranchising women had received the assent of both Houses of Parliament, it had to be submitted to the whole body of male electors (including the enfranchised aliens) for the sanction not of a mere majority of those who were interested enough and intelligent enough to vote, but of an absolute majority of the whole male electorate. Let us imagine each separate county dealing separately and independently with this question, and we may somewhat realise the difficulties which our American sisters have had to face, and have in part already, and in time will wholly, overcome. In the United Kingdom a simple majority of each of the two Houses of the Legislature requires only the formal Royal Assent to complete that great act of human justice, the enfranchisement of English women. In the United States, on the other hand, when the question of the enfranchisement of women has been submitted by a State Legislature to the referendum, it has again and again been defeated by the combined votes of the negro, the newly enfranchised alien, and the rowdier elements of the community.

In England the political enfranchisement of women has been delayed by the active hostility of some men, but far more by the apathy of some women, and the selfishness of others. The greatest disappointment in life of the present writer has been that women did not secure their own political enfranchisement before dividing into opposed political camps. Unhappily the tendency of party spirit, amongst women quite as much as amongst men, seems to have been, rather to seek to hinder the accomplishment of a great reform by the other side in politics, than to enforce its speedy accomplishment as a duty upon the male politicians of their own

party. The two hundred women who, at a keenly contested election, worked hard for the return of a candidate who had declared himself a determined opponent of Women's Suffrage, did more to delay justice to womanhood than any man could have done. We need a Susan Anthony in these islands to lift women above this narrowness of party spirit, this blindness to wider issues. Perhaps the withdrawal during recent years, of rights supposed to have been well assured, and the now threatened further withdrawal of others, may rouse even apathetic English women to the consciousness that no right, however important, is or can be fully assured to them, until they have achieved, by their own enfranchisement, the full and equal rights of citizenship. United effort on the part of the women of these islands could achieve this within a very brief period. And their political enfranchisement would speed the enfranchisement of their American sisters, and help forward the amendment of the conditions of women's lives all the world over. Will women rise to the greatness of the occasion?

If they are too indifferent or too indolent to do so, let them remember that by acquiescence in woman's political degradation, they are perpetuating, so far as in them lies, the moral degradation of man. Surely women will prefer to follow, each in her degree and place, the noble example of Susan Anthony, and thus help forward the moral regeneration of the race.

Crowded as Miss Anthony's life has been with public work, it has not been barren of other interests. The lifelong affection between herself and her great fellow-worker, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, remains on record as an abiding proof how true and faithful women can be to each other. Her beloved sister Mary still lives, caring for her as only those can care whose whole life is bound up in those they love. To sum up her character in the words of her gifted biographer, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper :

"She recognises no such word as expediency, and accepts no half-way measures. Theoretically a non-resistant, she fights to the last ditch and accepts no defeat as final. She has the natural power of selecting always the strongest word, and the power of carrying conviction to her audience. She is conventional in outward observances, but most radical in thought and speech. She detests all forms of cruelty and oppression, but it is the action, not the person, that she censures, and she is most charitable in excuses for the faults and failings of others. She bears the ills of life with cheerful fortitude, and accepts the blessings with fine humility. There is no need of comparison. She has her own strong individuality, which has made its indelible impress upon history, and secured for her a place among the immortals. Now, in life's evening, her world is illumined with the beauty of a sunset undimmed by clouds—and as she contemplates the infinite, she takes no heed of the gathering darkness of night, but looking into a clear sky beholds only the ineffable glory of other spheres."

And a British pen may add the further tribute :



Greater than king, higher than warrior thou,  
Worthy of nobler laureate than e'er sung ;  
The snows of age lie softly on thy brow,  
Thy mother heart is ever warm and young.

For thousands owe their very souls to thee,  
As other thousands owe their happiness,  
Their joy in life, their purpose to be free,  
Their power to help, to comfort and to bless.

Through more than fifty years of ceaseless toil,  
Unhasting, resting never, didst thou move ;  
Nor scorn nor hate thy courage could despoil,  
For every pulsing of thy heart beat Love.

The future that thou willest yet shall be,  
When man, uprising to his high estate,  
Shall speed to set his captive sister free ;  
Shall break all chains with which he bound her fate.

Then shall true Manhood and true Womanhood  
Build up the glorious life that is to be ;  
When Truth and Justice reign, and selfish good  
Is merged in service of Man's family.

Then shall all sweet remembrance turn to thee,  
Great soul, who toiledst through the darkest hour  
With purpose set, that woman should be free,  
To bless the world with all her gracious power.

Columbia claims thee, as thy place of birth,  
But other lands will claim their part in thee :  
For thy life-service shall bless all the Earth,  
And thou belongest to Humanity.

IGNOTA.

## AGRARIAN PANMIXIA.

“This suspension of the preserving influence of natural selection may be called *Panmixia*, for all individuals can reproduce themselves and thus stamp their character on the species, and not only those which in all respects, or in respect to some single organ, are the fittest. In my opinion, the greatest number of those variations which are usually attributed to the direct influence of external conditions of life are to be ascribed to panmixia. For example, the great variability of most domesticated animals essentially depends on this principle.”—WEISMANN, *Essays on Heredity* (Authorised Translation. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1889), p. 90.

Now, certainly not too soon, the increase of lunacy, neurasthenia, cancer, and some other diseases in agrarian populations, is attracting notice, the first step towards systematic study. It cannot be said that the step is made, since there is no clear apprehension of vital status, and therefore nothing which can be intelligently predicated of one element of population rather than another. I am not sure, indeed, that lunacy, for example, will be admitted as peculiarly a disease of the agrarian element; but as far as it is noted in the element, I find little reference made to anything but the direct influence of the external conditions of human life, and not even of agrarian life in particular. We are familiar with the reference of the disease to intemperance and immorality, and equally so with reference to predisposition and heredity; but then lunacy is something more than an induction from lunatics, something more than a diseased state recognised as common to a particular group of individuals, and the something is an antecedent in the induction which cannot be called lunacy, but on which, nevertheless, all the consequents depend.

When the Fiji islanders were decimated by measles a specific status existed among them prior to the occurrence of a single case of the disease, a status which accounted for the mortality; and supposing they had proved immune in the usual degree that, too, would be a fact of specific status. But the status in any sense was certainly not measles, could not even be qualified by the term morbid. In the case of lunacy there is certainly a similar fact of status which cannot be called lunacy or even morbid in a general sense, since if it determines to the disease in one direction it determines to immunity in another. From the pure biological

point of view sanity means immunity from insanity, and is only a fact of variation in vital status.

For the mass of individuals composing the human species this status is an expression for an average condition attained in experience of existence. But the expression is a complex one, compounded of expressions true only for distinct elements—the individual, the family, the tribe, community and other social aggregates. There is no common expression for the interest of the species and that of the individual; the interest of one is, as a fact of observation, found to be, within wide limits, in indifference to the interest of the other; the individual is seen to be sacrificed to the social aggregates both separately and collectively, and *vice versa*. In other words the conditions of existence of the individual and of the social aggregates are external to each other and mutually act as external agencies. The individual has had through all time to fight for life against the community, and the last exists only as a result of an incessant struggle with the first. Or, taking the whole as an organic unit, its state is always one in which action and reaction are equal and opposed in direction, each element of action in it being ever in presence of an equal and opposed element.

We reach our immediate subject in taking the relation between the individual and the primary social aggregate as an illustration. As the individual attains maturity he acts to dissolve the family, the primary aggregate in which he finds himself, acts so that a new creation of families shall arise. We take this as the natural and normal course of circumstance, and satisfy ourselves with the fact that the family in the abstract sense, the family institution, survives. In point of fact, however, the family as a concrete entity reacts to preserve itself against the action of the individual, and the reaction is one of the principal facts in determining the form of human society. Aristocracy gives us the most striking example of that reaction; the aristocratic family is a family preserved as nearly as possible from generation to generation against the disintegrating action of the individual. In the assumed normal family form the tree branches and the stem is lost in the branches; in the assumed exceptional form the type is the palm in which the stem is everything, which bears only leaves for the winds to carry anywhere.

If the reaction of the concrete family to the action of the individual was limited to the aristocratic element in society, it would have little direct weight in determining the character of population, that element being relatively so minute. The aristocratic form does for an illustration, but must not be taken as giving any idea of the origin and reach of the reaction. The family is not only a biological unit in the pure sense, but a subsistence unit, and as such comes more immediately under the external conditions of life. Under one set of circumstances the individual is not only free to dissolve the family,

but under necessity to do so. The family of a labourer or an artisan in the general case breaks up as its members attain maturity, since the conditions of subsistence are best answered by the action. A vast and far reaching difference comes into operation under another set of circumstances in view in the actual field of observation. The subsistence of a family holding, living on and by a piece of land, being secured by the labour of its members, an influence comes into play to hold it together in contradiction to the action of the individual. The subsistence of the individual depends on the integrity of the family, and his action is modified to an extent widely represented in social forms, and ultimately in the vital status of population. The phenomena under view do not, however, occur in any unitary form; the action of the individual is repressed in varying degree, but still exists under repression. In a common case there is subdivision of the piece of land, the means of subsistence, among the members of the family. This subdivision is, however, held in check by the parent and owner outliving the maturity of his children, and by the fact that the holding, while it may support a single family, cannot support several; it supports one family on condition of retaining its labour, but allows no new creation of families. If labour is in excess in the family, it may be supported in sterility and uselessness, or it may be thrown off by emigration or other means; in any case the family survives in the same form, it may be for generations. In agrarian areas we find the land occupied to a great and increasing extent by groups of families of this kind, allowing no new creation of families in their sphere, and either repressing the individual in his normal action, or expelling him from the sphere.

It is evident that the action of the individual must meet reaction, but nowhere is the reaction better seen than in this agrarian sphere. We have many examples in it where the individual has asserted himself, that is, where subdivision and new creation of families has occurred. Where this has taken place a limit is soon reached beyond which the process cannot be carried, and the system either attains apparent equilibrium, or breaks down imperceptibly or visibly. In some cases the limit being reached, as in Flanders and the Channel Islands, we are satisfied with the appearance of equilibrium, and fail to note the means whereby it is maintained; we do not take into account the amount and fate of the surplus element. In Ireland in the last century we have an instance of the working of the system, in which the amount and fate of the element is painfully visible without, I venture to say, bringing into view the nature of the system.

In every case an area of small holdings is maintained by reaction in the family to the action of the individual as a reproductive agent. To preserve any measure of stability the family reacts against the individual. As between two individuals, one marrying early and

having a large family, the other marrying late in life or remaining unmarried, as the subsistence limit is approached the advantage lies with the last. In every case, in Flanders as well as in Ireland, examination of areas of small holdings shows a process in constant operation whereby a more disadvantaged is replaced by a less disadvantaged family. Where in a social aggregate there is excess of labour, such excess in the family is a disadvantage, and it is families in which this occurs that are most liable to extinction or something equivalent.

We find relative stated too often as absolute advantage. Small holdings are said to keep up a supply of labour, but only to a few is that an advantage. Some small holders are always falling into the rank of common labourers, and consider it no advantage even when happy enough to find a market for their labour. In general the conditions of agricultural labour are such that the small occupier cannot but consider it degradation that he or his children should come to be dependent on its wage as their means of subsistence. But it is a necessity under his system, and it is well for him when the necessity can be met. In the small holding area itself the necessity cannot be met; its characteristic is an excess of labour, which must be got rid of one way or another. The family in it, to accommodate itself to its means of subsistence, must lose sons and daughters as they reach adult years, and assume the stem form, remain limited to the parents and one or two adult members. If this does not happen—and the case has occurred on the large scale—a mass is found in dangerous trespass on the means of customary subsistence. It does not matter, as far as the system is concerned, what becomes of the individuals thrown off in the necessary process for maintaining it, whether they become common labourers and paupers, or emigrate and do well in other fields and other lines of life. What is material is that there is a great and constant process of selection, whereby a large mass is thrown off, leaving the residue, representing the element advantaged by repression of individual action in respect of reproduction, to continue the system. The economic advantage is obtained in general at the expense of bionomic degradation.

No system under which human beings exist contributes more largely to pauperism, famine, and general misery than that of the small occupier of land. In some few cases, in Flanders and the Channel Islands, the specious semblance of well-being satisfies us only because we fail to trace its castaways in cities and cemeteries, and fail to recognise exactly the vital status of the surviving element. For the typical form of the system, however, we must go to India and Ireland. On the unmixed areas of small holdings in these countries, which are at the same time the areas of maximum density of population, labour is always in excess of the needs of such culti-

vation as there is; there is no market for wage-earning labour at hand and no alternative means of subsistence, and the whole mass maintains its vital equilibrium, not by a process of selection, but by one of starvation and disease. The only difference, however, between the two processes is that in one it can escape notice, while in the other it is disagreeably obvious and burdensome.

Speaking of famines in India, Lord Northbrook said: "Whatever means we may take to obviate or mitigate them, it must, under present circumstances, be looked upon as inevitable that famines will from time to time occur."<sup>1</sup> In fact, under the circumstances of masses of the Indian population, famine, not as an occasional occurrence, but in veiled perennial form, is the very means of maintaining the small landholding system; if the means did not operate to select and destroy the prolific individual the system would collapse. Famine or semi-starvation, as normal and constant circumstance, selects the large family at the limit of the means of subsistence for destruction, and leaves those under lighter burden of family to maintain the system and determine the character of the race. In Ireland the effect of the same system in creating a mass of labour under circumstances which deny it the opportunity of life has been long recognised, without, however, leading to logical criticism of the system.

"No fact seems more clearly established by the Land Commission evidence than that employment for the agricultural labourers is almost universally deficient.

"The wretched condition of the labourers in Ireland is a necessary consequence of this deficiency of employment. The supply of labourers being so much greater than the demand for them, their employers are able to rate their wages at the lowest amount which will support life."<sup>2</sup>

At the time (1841) "there are 326,684 occupiers of land (more than one-third of the total number returned in Ireland) whose holdings vary from seven acres to less than one acre, and are therefore inadequate to support the families on them."<sup>3</sup>

As at the time the number of farms between 50 and 100 acres was only 45,394, and 25,037 only over 100 acres, and these for the most part were mere grazing tracts, therefore the opening for employment on them was small. As in India the area of reclaimable waste was immense, but utterly unavailable under the imbecile agricultural system; it is a universal characteristic of that system in Ireland, India, Russia, that the potential capabilities of the soil lie undeveloped in presence of a surplus of starving labourers. In Ireland at the present time the reclamation of land is at a standstill; its cultivation is, indeed, visibly declining, and the accommodation of the numbers on the land to the means of subsistence

<sup>1</sup> *India* (by Sir John Strachey. London, 1894), p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Devon Commission* (London, 1847), p. 478.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 399.

is entirely effected by curtailment of numbers, following the law which preserves the family at the expense of the individual.

I have dwelt on that law so far as operating consistently with the preservation of the small holding system by the constant extinction or expulsion of its surplus element. But in Ireland, *per saltu*, and in many French departments by a slow process, the adjustment was, and is, being carried to a length inconsistent with the maintenance of the system; the family assumes a form which gives no surplus element, but, on the contrary, exposes it to extinction. In Ireland, from 1841, at first rapidly, now more slowly, the family could not maintain itself even at the expense of its individual members; not only was no new creation of families possible, but, by reduction of their efficient labour element, numbers of actually existent families became extinct. A family on from one to seven acres of land required to retain one member capable of labour and no more, but its existence became highly precarious as it came to depend on one person. A vast number of families became extinguished, not because their means of subsistence were wholly inadequate, but because these means allowed no margin for contingencies. Thus it is common to find an old man alone on a holding on which he had raised a family; the holding can support an individual, but not a family, even a small one, at maturity.

Or the holding may support two or three under the condition of celibacy. In the wholesale extinction of families which occurred in Ireland from 1841 onwards, the individual holder as the type had the advantage, and survived to determine race character. In general in any society of small holders the family represented by a single individual, or by an individual under light family burdens, always has the advantage, qualified however by liability to extinction.

Taking the single individual ideally as a family type, there has been in Ireland for three generations a constant selection of the type. The single man on a holding may take a wife and have a child or two; but if he surrounds himself with a large family, he ceases to be typical and falls into the ranks of the disadvantaged. The type of family selected for preservation under stress of economic circumstance existed preformed in the community; all that happened was that it had an economic advantage, and in taking it became predominant in the population. The French peasant proprietor with his small family and settled provision for it, is not a new social formation, but the selection of an element ever present though not necessarily the predominant element in agrarian populations. The modern Irish occupier and *quasi* owner of land who has replaced the small occupier over wide areas of the island, represents a similar selection of families, which, through their stem form and limitation of numbers, are accommodated to their means of subsistence. Originally relatively few in numbers, these not only escaped the

fate of the mass of small holders under economic disadvantage, but became the heirs of its land, and in the area affected the dominating element in population.

The characteristic of this element as it becomes predominant is the maintenance of its economic position by limitation of numbers, not by starvation, disease, and emigration, as happened in the small occupying system. Between 1871 and 1901 the Irish population fell from 5,402,759 to 4,458,775, or 17·5 per cent. ; but while the adult element over twenty fell from 2,956,010 to 2,532,786, or only 14 per cent., the number of births registered fell from 151,665 per annum to 100,973, a decrease of over 33 per cent. Going to the birth-rates for the several counties, we will find this decrease peculiarly the characteristic of the areas in which agrarian families have attained economic stability within a recent period.

When we examine groups of these families *in situ*, the common form or statistical average expressed by the low birth rate is hidden under a mass of detail which it would be impossible to enter into here. A few points however are enough for my purpose. While in the Irish population generally 14 per cent. are 55 years of age and upward, far more than 14 per cent. of the occupiers of land, being heads of families, are over that age. Again I venture to say from personal observation that the proportion of unmarried among them is far larger than for the general population ; the number of them that say, and say quite truly, that they could not afford to marry, were not in a position to do so, is far greater than in the general mass. The effect of this, of course, is to limit greatly the reproductive element in the class, to reduce it much below the common proportion. But farther the element has to await opportunity for the discharge of function ; as a rule a son does not and cannot marry until his parent dies. The opportunity often however comes too late, and the man goes to perpetuate not the race, but the system in which he finds himself.

The economic security of this class is evidently attained at the expense of arrest of reproduction and liability to extinction of families. But the large amount of extinction which occurs is a factor in the measure of security. To a great extent consolidation of holdings in Ireland has been the result of extinction of families, almost altogether so in recent years. This has gone not only to create the class and determine its form, but to give it a support it incessantly needs. An average collection of human beings is not an industrial organisation or selection, but a crowd of occupiers of land is below the average collection in industrial efficiency if only because it includes the aged in excess. Its industrial inefficiency is such that it incessantly struggles to make the land serve to support it as property rather than as an instrument of industry. This land can do not only by giving returns in the form of rent, but



by allowing its working to be effected by little or no exertion without making its possession unprofitable. Land capable of yielding large production by tillage in the hands of an industrial, is equally capable of serving the ability of a non-industrial as unworked pasture ; in his case it is the land which is accommodated to the holder and not the holder to the land. The small holder to live at all had to work his patch, when he could not work it he lost it or held it under the often impossible condition of it supporting another worker. The large occupier on the other hand can suit the working of his holding to his age, inclination, and habits of life, and commonly does not work it because he need not and cannot. But the area in his hands must suit this and his standard of living, and by extinction of families and consequent consolidation of holdings among other factors it comes to do so.

In the class thus evolved and maintained every family that survives is through the possession of land, and through the function of the possession as property, preserved against the pressure of circumstance ; it is no longer in rigid subordination to the conditions of industrial life ; it does not die out because incapable of labour. The limitation of the element of reproduction, the restraint under which the individual is placed in respect of reproduction resulting in deferred marriage, sobriety, prudence, deference to the rules of morality, all have the same preserving effect. With mastery over the means of life, but wanting the temptations of wealth, in the healthy surroundings of rural life, the peasant proprietor and farmer attains a security of existence far above the common lot. Just, however, as the groups of families composing the class by the possession of property, by social form, by habit of life and education, are placed on the same level in respect of the external conditions of human existence, the enigma of internal biological variation comes into play. Just as the families are preserved irrespective of physical and mental ability, so the biological variations which are called predispositions to lunacy, cancer, and other abnormal states, are preserved and accumulate to become a social danger.

In his annual report for 1902, just issued, Dr. R. A. L. Graham, the able medical superintendent of the Belfast District Lunatic Asylum, states that a growing mental enfeeblement had been noticed not coming under any of the usual divisions of a classification of mental diseases, and so insanity is increasing seriously. My personal observation as a physician specially directed to the families in which the disease occurs is in agreement with the statement that lowered mental status not merely accounts for increase of the disease, but is itself the biological variation which, in its more pronounced form, gives the actual lunatic. He is only an extreme product of an economic stability which places a large class of families beyond the reach of the corrective influences of natural circum-

stances, and which, therefore, preserves from generation to generation the biological variations occurring among them. I have noted in no small field of observation the preservation of agrarian families predisposed to insanity, and am bound in consequence to both contradict and condemn the widespread opinion that such families are liable to immediate extinction through their mental form. Relatively, that form is imbecile; but I assert, in the face of exceptions to the contrary, that the imbecility is shown, not by eccentricity and aberration, but essentially by defect in self-formation of judgment, by inability to do more than slavishly submit to impressed conventional judgments. The actual lunatic never forms really independent judgments, he only exaggerates and perverts the common forms of thought impressed on him. Whatever his fate personally may be, the mental form of the class of families he belongs to goes to protect and preserve it, the form implying receptivity to education and deference to law, custom, and conventional codes.

My argument here is not that panmixia, suspension of natural selection, is peculiar to agrarian society as a whole; I do not even say that it is peculiar to the classes protected by possession of property in any form; I believe it operates on individual families throughout the whole social range, not, however, in general, to an extent determining the character of population. My position is, that it comes to do so only when in an agrarian society land virtually serving the function of property is distributed in ownership or *quasi*-ownership among a class large enough to be representative of population. Panmixia affects large landowners, but not thereby the community they are numerically lost in. It does not affect a mass of small labouring occupiers, which, without being an industrial selection, is committed to the task of such a selection; against such a mass natural or economic selection often bears in a collective sense. The peculiar case arises where the peasant proprietor becomes the dominant element in an agrarian population and impresses his character, economic and bionomic, on it. His economic fate compels him to depend on land as property rather than as an instrument of industry, and to reduce the labour necessary for its cultivation to a minimum. His bionomic fate compels him to allow no new creation of families in his sphere; by deferred marriage and the expulsion of all children but one from his holding, he fixes the stem form for his family. In groups of families assuming this form, in proportion as economic stability is attained, biological variation accumulates, ending in a general character of helpless imbecility, disguised only by rigid conventionalism. The case is exactly the same as that of domesticated animals, which exist only as protected against natural circumstances against which they have become in themselves helpless.

What ultimately becomes of such groups and of populations they come to predominate in would need historical study. The measure

of resistance of the Roman Empire when it had really to a great extent become a European nation—the defence its people made against the desultory and unorganised invasion of rude barbarians—seems to indicate a population helplessly imbecile under the influence of panmixia. It is even more clear that the decay of the English yeomanry was in great part due to the same cause and marked by decadence of mental force. Arnold Toynbee describes the mind and fate of the class, without, however, grasping the bionomic significance of the fact:

“The small landed proprietor, though courageous and independent in personal character, was ignorant and himself incapable of taking the lead. There was little to stimulate his mind in his country life; in agriculture he pursued the same methods as his forefathers, was full of prejudices and hard to move. The majority of the class had never travelled beyond their native village or homestead, and the neighbouring market town.”<sup>1</sup>

The class which in the Civil Wars broke the power of the King and squires, within a hundred years became itself extinct through the form it took to preserve itself and the mental decadence that form engendered.

In France the stem form the peasant proprietor's family assumes is visibly betraying the population to decay, and the mental decadence implied by ever increasing lunacy.

In Ireland the peasant proprietor seems to come into existence with the faults of his system fully developed. We have not to wait on the land being made as property to preserve the family under non-industrial conditions—that obtains already over the larger and best part of the island. We have not to wait for the assumption of the stem form by the family—the disproportionate growth of a sterile and economically inefficient adult element, the low birth-rate, the exclusion of the young from the reproductive function, and their emigration, tell us how far the family has come to preserve itself at the expense of the individual. The observation of progressive mental enfeeblement, to use Dr. Graham's term, and the official reports on lunacy and cancer, give the sequence in telling us of the biological variations which must be preserved in proportion as the family is preserved in abnormal form.

For the sake of practical illustration I venture to contradict Lord Northbrook's statement that famine in India under present circumstances is inevitable. Under present circumstances it is as possible to meet famine by making agriculture a rational form of industry as by wholesale charity, at once ineffective and demoralising. The Indian Government has at its disposal vast tracts of land and command of labour, and by working a not large area for maximum production by a minimum of organised labour it would initiate a system under which no scarcity of food could arise. If it applied

<sup>1</sup> A. Toynbee *Industrial Revolution in England*, London, 1890, p. 60.

to agriculture the ideas and methods under which its railroads are worked, periodical, or rather perennial, famine would be impossible. It is regarded as inevitable simply because the present individualistic system of working land is acquiesced in as if no alternative could be even imagined.

Not in India alone, but in the British Islands, the conception of agriculture as a rational form of industry stands to effect a great change in the economic and bionomic conditions of human life.

W. R. MACDERMOTT, M.B.

## INDEPENDENT SECTION.

*[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of Articles which contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object is to facilitate the expression of opinion by writers of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editor and from each other.]*

### FREEDOM AND PROTECTION PRINCIPLES.

WHEN from any cause a new landmark appears on the social horizon and a possible change in national development is disclosed, men and women who note it are apt to form their estimates of the nature of the road that they have to travel upon from their own individual experiences, rather than from the experiences of others. A really new outlook sets at naught so many time-honoured methods of procedure, necessitates so much change of equipment, that all persons, in endeavouring to discover their own views, find themselves compelled to fall back on the most certain data available, namely, their own actual experiences, because there is no authorised standard to follow. For this reason solicitors take note of legislative difficulties, merchants of mercantile, and a medical man of biological and sociological perplexities; the banker wonders uneasily if London will cease to be the world's financial centre; captains of merchant ships and our naval commanders wonder how our shipping-trade and our navy will be affected. At the present time no one individual can possibly foresee the changes that may result if a free-trade policy is exchanged for a protectionist.

As a medical practitioner working in a poor district the problem viewed from the individual aspect looks to my eyes infinitely more complex than it apparently appears to the politician viewing the nation collectively.

It is a scientific fact that all living organisms have only a limited power of adapting themselves to their respective environments. A fish may survive some slight change in its food supply or some slight alteration in the temperature of the water that it exists in, but it cannot live without water. A Polar bear can become more less accustomed to an artificial life in some European zoological

institution, but attempt to feed it on carrots and turnips and the animal will die. In the Polar regions clothes are not merely of benefit, but are a necessity to man. Above the extreme limits of existence there are indefinite regions where healthy living is seriously and again slightly interfered with. Socially, also, there are frigid regions that are immediately or mediately death-dealing. For the nation and for the individual protective measures are sometimes necessary. Yet free, unrestricted effort, with plenty of healthy competition, makes strong citizens, strong trades, and strong nations. But the difficulty of the whole question rests on the right meaning to be attached to the word healthy.

As in medical problems it is no longer considered safe to always trust to unaided nature, so also socially it is not permissible to assume that complete individual, trade, or national liberty is in all cases satisfactory. A stage has been reached, both in biological and sociological sciences, which forces us to scientifically consider how far it is safe to trust to survival in unrestricted surroundings. It has become necessary to determine what kind of liberty we wish to preserve and what kind we wish to destroy.

It may be advisable to adopt protective measures for one trade or even for all, but if protection is necessary it is essential to remember that this entails in some direction an increased delicacy of constitution somewhere. That is to say, at some point which we ought to foresee there will be an added susceptibility to disease, whether it be social or individual, because of the hot-house atmosphere of elimination of competitors. A lack of robustness is an unavoidable accompaniment of all such efforts at development.

Now protection, because it will partially or wholly exclude international competition, must, unless there are counteracting influences at work, increase the power of the governing classes against the governed masses. Outside customs and outside trade methods will be less known than in unprotected areas, and therefore authority will be more readily accepted. For a like reason the competitive stimulus, which makes success result from superior advantages over rivals, will be largely withdrawn, hence a progressive type of mind will not be to the same degree fostered. In a mind that is already somewhat ponderous, such as the average Englishman's, this risk of stagnation will necessarily be a peculiarly dangerous one. It would seem, therefore, that protection, if it be necessary to guard the development of home industries, must, to be effective, be accompanied by a corresponding endeavour to develop mind power in the nation at large. Therefore we shall have to look more closely into the conditions which surround the average worker's life, and remove those tendencies which make for anti-social rather than social development. At the same time the path to success must not be made too easy, otherwise the national stamina will tend to be im-

poorish. This question of mental stagnation is, to my thinking, the gravest danger of all those that are likely to weaken protectionist aims. As women are naturally less combative than men, and as their muscular strength is also smaller, it is evident that, in all departments of all industries, they ought to be more guarded from barbaric competition. Women are already paid wages that are often below a living wage standard, and if mental and moral slothfulness were to creep over the nation there might be considerable danger of our reverting to the awful conditions that existed in this country in the first half of last century. As protection, therefore, gives increased opportunity for powerful organisation of the governing classes and for trust formations, it is essential that the conditions of woman's labour, and to a still greater degree of child labour, should be safeguarded.

Apart from this, however, there are ominous elements in our civilisation which would certainly require the most earnest consideration. Let us take, for example, the position of a respectable citizen from the lower strata of society.

There are three very important elements which tell heavily against progressive life. (1) The hours of labour are excessive. (2) Wages are low. (3) Work is insecure. Let us consider each of these.

(1) *Long hours.* A tired man, though he may have the desire, has not the power, in the vast majority of cases, to study any employment or even amuse himself over a hobby. At the best he will employ his mind by reading light literature, which may or may not be of a wholesome nature, or sleep idly by the fireside while his wife sews and watches him; at the worst he tends increasingly to spend his evening hour or two at the public-house and even at more evil places of debauchery.

(2) *Wages are low.* Rowntree has proved, and daily experience confirms it, that a large mass of people are not paid sufficiently even for a purely physical standard of living, and even a healthy but unmental physical existence tends to brutality, while an unhealthy one almost ensures it. *We want men and women in a State, and not degraded animals.*<sup>1</sup>

(3) *Insecurity of work* creates irregular habits of life and again favours low living; it also places the employed at a terrible disadvantage when they have to act against their employers. Without some fixed limit to the hours of labour, varying for different trades and professions and being always less for women than for men, mental development will be choked and physical brutality favoured. Without a minimum wage varying for each occupation, which would probably take the form of payment either by hours (not by day) or by piecework, poverty will prevent mental life.

<sup>1</sup> This quite as much to ensure commercial alertness as for moral reasons.

Finally, without some means of checking unjust dismissal, no security against present abuses of managers and foremen will be obtainable.

Already some check has been imposed by law on the number of hours that it is legal to work. Already factory legislation has improved the condition of the workers as far as housing and accommodation are concerned. But the questions of the amount of wage payable, and the security against wrongful dismissal in the different employments, are still entirely free from legislative restrictions. *In a protected country, owing to the increased safety of the employers, efforts at reform will be little heeded.* Yet these questions are even now pressing ones, how pressing can only be realised by those who have practical experience of life among the physical wage-earning classes. A man who can only afford five shillings a week for rental is compelled to take his wife and family to a district that is low and debased in tone, his children must mix with other children of the worst possible class, copy their habits, go to the same schools with them, catch the same diseases that they catch. Drunkenness, dirt, foul language will be everywhere, and the overcrowded state of his own and other people's dwellings will make death from tubercular diseases frequent among his own and his neighbour's children. A man cannot retain his self-respect under these conditions. In the vast majority of small tenements, even with weekly rentals as high as 10s., the lavatory accommodation is such that decent privacy is not obtainable, and I have never attended a patient in this class who lived in flat dwellings who had been provided with a bath. Such facts are simply scandalous and ought to be advertised everywhere, preached from every pulpit and political platform, until legislation fixed a minimum wage and a minimum of house accommodation.<sup>1</sup>

These evils must be practically settled before international trade protection can be seriously considered.

Lastly, the moral character of all men and women who control others ought to be more carefully examined. These are matters that a medical man, although it is his clear duty, frequently dislikes to allude to. Every now and then cases come before him which he is unable to examine closely, and which he cannot tabulate and treat statistically, and yet which ought to be publicly made known. He frequently hears of foremen dismissing good workmen because they will not stand drinks to him, he meets occasionally medical facts which lead him to be suspicious of the moral tone of many works where large numbers of hands are employed; and he comes to believe, from the inferences that he is compelled to draw, that many young men owe their moral fall directly to factory life, and that foremen, overseer, and employer, are culpably careless

<sup>1</sup> Wells has done excellent public service in drawing attention to these evils in his work, *Mankind in the Making*.



in the tone that they allow, often encourage, to grow up in their workshops.

Once again cases come under one's notice, sometimes in vague rumours, sometimes in legitimate inferences, that girls, young girls with their lives before them, are seduced, systematically seduced, by those who employ them. Allen Clarke, in referring to factory workers, alludes to seduction as an occasional condition of employment. Clement Scott has made similar charges in regard to the stage, and other authorities might be mentioned. Recently similar instances of immorality at the Potteries have come before the public mind.<sup>1</sup>

Again rumours constantly reach one of the spread of vice through apparently well-known but concealed channels, channels which moreover are carefully hidden from honest men and women. Now and then all medical men who are conscientious workers come upon such evidence accidentally and unexpectedly; many, I fear, hush up the conclusions, some from good motives, others from bad, that their own minds unavoidably form. The rumours and statements may sometimes be false, but they certainly are sometimes true. One hears of large West-end drapers whose hands are almost universally immoral, and of some sort of tacit understanding between wealthy male patrons of the firm and smartly dressed girl attendants. Of course many firms are honest, but in England this sort of evil practice, however secretly it is carried on, ought not to be possible. There are certain hotels and fashionable food establishments where vice has unquestionably a large power in the management.

Again, among the poorer classes, shop assistants and others speak of week-end trips to seaside resorts, where unmarried women and unmarried men live as man and wife for three days and part. It is done quietly but it is done frequently, and of the truth of the general statement there can, unfortunately, be no doubt. Neither the young women nor the young men are really bad-natured, but they are strong and physical, and the wages paid are too small for marriage to be a possibility to them. A State cannot be progressive and immoral, and under trade protection these evils would increase.

The wealthy and titled portion of society is too corrupt to take heed of these facts, for with its drink monopolies and its own vicious methods of living it fosters the spread of immorality in its own circle and elsewhere. But the more cultured middle class is strong enough if it asserted itself, and on the whole moral enough, to enforce on rich and poor a higher standard of living. Therefore, the higher elements in the middle class must be organised before commercial protection schemes are considered.

The emancipation of woman is one of the chief progressive social

<sup>1</sup> "There seems to be no real doubt that in the Pottery towns there is at least a considerable number of works into which no modest girl can go to earn her living without very grave danger."—*Spectator*, January 9, 1904.

forces. She is gaining mental freedom, she is going out into the world, she is gaining a voice in its government. Is it such a very high standard as to be all but impracticable to expect her wage to be enough to keep her above the terrible alternatives of want or vice? Are we men so far beneath her that we cannot even rise thus far?

For 2000 years or more the traditions of our Teuton race have raised the standard of the whole world, for 2000 years woman has struggled upward to moral, emotional and intellectual liberty, and now a point has been reached when she has become the comrade of man, bound up with his follies and with his virtues. She can no longer lead a separate life and practise clean living while he remains unclean. She must stand or fall by his side, for her freedom has been won. Man has not yet learnt to realise that woman has her own ideals, nor has he yet resolved not to debase them. Is it not yet possible for him to avoid the public-house or to practise self-control, and give his soul-power free life and development? Man tends to drag woman down. With the woman falls the child, and with the child falls the race. It is a difficult step for man to resolve to be human. There is still so much of brute life in his nature that it still makes him a slave. With man falls the woman, and with woman the race. On one side the public-house with its flashy ugliness, or the close crowded fashionable society drawing or reception rooms, with its false lights; and on the other, at its best, a bright fireside and unspeakable sacred happiness, and the growth of mind in both parents in the common thought of children and in the growing love of melody, beauty, and intellectual desires. We, as a race, pride ourselves on our manhood, and yet while we fear the relationship of the brute world to us, we exist often as conscious, unintelligent, sometimes intelligent brute beasts, and no more.

When we consider, therefore, the problem of trade protection, and I am not at present concerned with the question of the rival claims of free trade as against the tariff wall theory, let us remember that we are dealing with human life, and mental stagnation means oppression. If you increase the power of the employer you must increase also the strength of the better elements in the employed, if you increase only the former, abuses graver than those that already exist will assuredly follow.

If a man has power that great wealth gives him, his social and moral responsibility is proportionately great; when he fails to act socially he ought to fall inevitably under the power of our laws. The influence that a large employer can exert for good or ill is incalculable, he can ruin the character of hundreds and thousands in his one lifetime. What punishments has he to fear? When we consider, therefore, the issues that must arise out of trade protection, let us keep our minds fixed on class power and the great monopolies, and remember that unless we check these influences they will

destroy us if given newer opportunities. The drink monopoly is now working on avowedly illegal lines through its system of tied houses, and it is not the only one that is. We must keep before us the fact that sweating and tyranny are desperately strong, and the forces in favour of animal existence at the present time all too powerful. Let us be careful lest we increase them by protecting the large capitalist, while we leave the small wage-earner as dependent as before. Free Trade may be an evil, but so also may Protection. Let us consider the whole question from a broader outlook. Cobden lived in an age that differed widely from our own; his views, therefore, cannot be relied on. The trend of the last fifty years has been unmistakably to check lower competition and to raise the struggle to more human levels. Let us begin by protecting on these lines.

Let us prohibit parasitic trades; let us check the output of sensational and sensual forms of literature, and encourage by all means in our power healthy, progressive, and moral writings; let us make our educational system something better than a cram system, our religious creeds not mere dogmas but practical religious faiths; let us make our railways as free to the British farmer and manufacturer as they are to the foreigners; let us raise our wage standards, raise our habits of life, raise and intensify our desires for culture, and punish heavily all anti-social transgression whether it be in the fighting, drunken navvy with his disgusting physical habits, the insincere parson with self-seeking society ends, or the irresponsible wine-and-food-debauched speculator with his barbaric mind standards. Let us protect our trade industries if they require protecting, but above and before all let us protect human individual life that is daily and hourly being weakened under our eyes, within sound of our ears, and within touch of our hands.

We ought to consider our Empire's needs, the Colonies have a right to a share in representative control. This we must see that they obtain; but in doing this we must not weaken higher individual development in our own nation, and therefore we must place in an impregnable position the power of the enlightened citizen so that his voice may be strong enough to control the monopolist.

J. LIONEL TAYLOR.



1904.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

### PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

MR. C. K. WHEELER informs us that *The Autobiography of the I or Ego*<sup>1</sup> is a dissertation to show "that we are conscious and self-conscious is all illusion, and even all delusion, except we reason ourselves into a knowledge of the illusion as only the illusion it is." This shallow bumptious sciolist shows himself as ignorant of philosophy as he is of grammar. The difficulties he urges against consciousness are as old as psychology itself, and few moderns worthy of the name of psychologists lay any stress on them. They are best refuted by the facts of experience: we *know* that the mind is concomitantly aware of its own active states by one and the same act, and there is no getting over this conviction. To call it an illusion is to imply that one has a grasp of the real truth which it obscures. What revelation has Mr. Wheeler had on the subject? The true view was clearly and concisely stated by St. Thomas Aquinas: the mind apprehends itself and perceives its existence in its own acts, or, to quote his own words: "Quantum igitur ad actualem cognitionem qua aliquis considerat se in actu animam habere, sic dico quod anima cognoscitur per actus suos. In hoc enim aliquis percipit se animam habere et vivere et esse, quod percipit se sentire et intelligere et alia hujusmodi vitæ opera exercere." (De Veritate, q. 10, a. 8.)

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### SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

*The Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*<sup>2</sup> for the year 1902 are of a little less popular character than usual. As the Report of the Council to the members of the Society points out, the keynote of the Society is its catholicity. In the selection of its members the Society recognises no sectional, political or

<sup>1</sup> *The Autobiography of the I or Ego*. By Charles Kirkland Wheeler. Boston: Published by the Author, 9 Park Square. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*. Second Series. Vol. VIII. Meeting of May 1902. Ottawa: James Hope & Sons. Toronto: The Copp-Clark Co., Limited. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1902.

sectarian distinctions, but rests upon a broad basis of intellectual freedom. Owing to these broad views the Society is able to enlist a number of leading scholars and thinkers which enables it to sustain a high development of literary and scientific culture. Whilst the French and English literary contributions take an even wider range than usual, the contents are even more varied. Papers on the geology and mineralogy of the Dominion are presented simultaneously with disquisitions on the development of government and the nature of Canadian institutions. The canal system of Canada is dealt with, as well as the progress of literature and science in the French and English provinces. The language and traditions of the aborigines are treated with as much fulness as the history and story of the ancient rocks. The improved method of producing manure is followed by a paper on excited radio-activity. We have a treatise on the density of ice and a full disquisition on the cretaceous and tertiary plants of Canada. As usual the illustrations are as interesting as they are valuable in theoretic and practical science. The claim of the Council that in its typographical appearance and wealth of illustrations and maps, the "Transactions" are only equalled by some half-dozen societies of a cognate character in Europe and America, is fully sustained by the volume before us. Through the generosity of the Government and the liberality of the Society, the Transactions find their way into every scientific, historical and literary society as well as library of note throughout the world. If not indispensable to every student in these subjects, at any rate each will be the poorer for its want.

Although the bottom has been knocked out of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, they still constitute a danger to our commercial prosperity, and no efforts should be spared in exposing their fallacies whenever they venture into the open. The Cobden Club have acted wisely in issuing a new edition of the late Lord Farrer's well-known work, *Free Trade versus Fair Trade*.<sup>1</sup> The new edition is edited by Mr. C. H. Chomley, and has been brought right up to date by this gentleman. The principles of Free Trade, of course, were in no need of any alteration, for all Mr. Chamberlain's talk of "shibboleths." These principles are as valid now as when the book was first written, and will continue to be so till the end of time. As Mr. Chomley points out in his preface, Lord Farrer's illustrations have in the main also been left unaltered, since the Protectionist fallacies are the same in 1903 as they were in 1883. Protectionists have since that year learned nothing and forgotten nothing. As Mr. Chomley truly states in his "Notes on Recent Utterances," one looks in vain for some refutation of Free Trade argument or for some new plea on behalf of Protective tariffs. There is nothing but a re-statement of

<sup>1</sup> *Free Trade versus Fair Trade*. By the late Lord Farrer. New Edition, with Notes and Latest Statistics, by C. H. Chomley. London: The Free Trade Union, by arrangement with the Cobden Club. 1904.

the old fallacies, accompanied by loud beating of the Jingo drum and a persistent distortion of statistics which, until the method was exposed, might certainly lay claim to ingenuity. Mr. Chomley has done his work well.

In the *Fiscal Policy*,<sup>1</sup> Lord Brassey meets Mr. Balfour's nebulous fiscal theories and Mr. Chamberlain's more definite proposals by a short, clear and succinct statement of the facts and principles from the Free Trade standpoint. This pamphlet of twenty-one pages is remarkable for the number of Chamberlain fallacies it exposes, and should prove of immense value to the Liberal platform speaker.

Mr. Phipson's pamphlet, *The True Cause of the Commercial Difficulties of Great Britain*,<sup>2</sup> forms a useful contribution to the fiscal controversy from a standpoint which is seldom referred to, viz., the monetary problem. In his opinion the failure of the United Kingdom to maintain the rapid progress of the thirty years preceding 1874 was not due to the Protectionist policy of other nations, since this existed all along, but the internationalising of the monetary standard by the rest of the civilised world. But Mr. Phipson admits that the re-nationalising of British currency is all but completed by the natural process of evolution. Ninety-seven per cent. of all payments in Great Britain are made by cheque. Why, one may ask, does Mr. Phipson cry for heroic measures to complete the process? Because this small fraction enables foreign nations to force their labour products upon British markets without being obliged to accept British exports in repayment.

In the second number of the *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*<sup>3</sup> for this year, most people will turn to Dr. Hillier's paper entitled "Our Fiscal System." This contains the usual Protectionist fallacies, but as they were mostly exposed and refuted by gentlemen present, it is unnecessary to say very much. Dr. Hillier, like all Protectionist debaters, relied on the year 1872 to show the alleged decline in British trade, forgetting both the abnormal character of that year and the subsequent fall in prices. One may well smile when an amateur in economics asks us to believe that Professor Ashley is the ablest living modern exponent of political economy in this country, whilst he conveniently ignores a score of eminent economists of established reputations, the works of whom he has probably never even opened. In his paper on "The Fijians and their Fire-Walking," Mr. Allardyce suggested as a partial solution the fact that the fire-walkers came from a village where the conditions were unique. It was situated on a sandy beach with a substratum of coral, which, when exposed to the sun, was so hot that

<sup>1</sup> *Fiscal Policy*. Address delivered at Hastings, October 5, 1903. By Lord Brassey, K.C.B., D.C.L. London: Spottiswoode & Co., Ltd. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *The True Cause of the Commercial Difficulties of Great Britain*. By Cecil Balfour Phipson. London: William Hutchinson. 1903.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*. No. 2. 1903-4. London: The Institute.

one could scarcely keep one's hand upon it. The effect of this Mr. Allardyce considered was to produce a thick coating on the soles of the feet.

We warmly welcome *An Educational Concordat*<sup>1</sup> by a "Liberal Candidate," which is a forcible plea for the secularisation of our National System of Education. How any sane person with any sense of justice, and any common sense, can support any system of religious instruction in our public schools would be incomprehensible did we not know the strength of religious bias. Any such scheme is doomed to failure. It can only result, as the author truly says, in "a scramble for souls." It must in the necessities of the case perpetuate religious controversy and dissension, in which the best interests of education must suffer. All this talk of a "godless education" is pure bunkum. A mere Book religion cannot satisfy any one, and the only practical solution is to abolish religious education *in toto* from our State schools. The author of this excellent pamphlet has done good service which will bear fruit. If only Rationalists had greater courage of their real opinions, and less fear of the conventions, the sects would find their proper level, and some real progress in education might then be achieved. As long as church and chapel rule our educational systems, so long will sound moral teaching remain a farce.

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#### VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

*A Tramp in Spain from Andalusia to Andorra*,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. Bart Kennedy, is not the record of such unique experience as the author imagines. It is true that Mr. Kennedy started on his travels armed only with a revolver, a passport, and a knapsack, and in complete ignorance of a word of Spanish, but he did not forget to take his purse with him. Something very like this has been done before. A few years ago Mr. Luffman, who recorded his adventures in a book entitled *A Vagabond in Spain*, performed his journey like the Apostles of old. He took no knapsack and no money, and he performed all his wanderings on foot to a larger extent than Mr. Kennedy. But he was not unacquainted with the Spanish tongue. But there was room for Mr. Kennedy's book, since whereas Mr. Luffman started at Biarritz and travelled from north to south, Mr. Kennedy, starting from Gibraltar, progressed from south to north. It is a pity that Mr. Kennedy did not take

<sup>1</sup> *An Educational Concordat*. By a Liberal Candidate. London: Watts & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *A Tramp in Spain from Andalusia to Andorra*. By Bart Kennedy. London: George Newnes, Ltd.

a fortnight's course at one of the Berlitz schools of modern languages before starting on his self-imposed mission. He would have saved himself a world of trouble, and his readers a good deal of wearisome repetitions of conversations between himself and the natives whom he encountered, in course of which he never fails to inform his readers that he knows no Spanish. The conversations and the mistakes and misunderstandings to which they lead are entertaining enough, but a little of this sort of thing goes a long way and can be easily overdone. This, to our mind, constitutes a serious blot upon the book. Mr. Kennedy's adventures are not very exciting. We have a spirited and correct account of the bull-fight at Seville, of a street row in Grenada, in the course of which the author fired off his revolver and was locked up for his pains, and of his losing his way in a snow-storm on the mountains of the Republic of Andorra. The description of this remarkable little State, slight as it is, is perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book. The real value, however, of the work is the local colour, the descriptions of the habits, customs, and amusements of the lower orders in Spain, and the life of the village inn. With all its faults the book is eminently readable.

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#### HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

IN *Soldiers of the King : their Battles, Sieges, and Campaigns*,<sup>1</sup> Colonel G. J. Harcourt has given a concise account of every battle honour borne by a British regiment from the year 1689 to the Boer War of 1899-1902. The main object of the author has been to preserve the identity of regiments which the territorial titles, introduced in 1881, threatened to obliterate in the public mind. This he has achieved by classing these honours under their old regimental numbers and their present title. Henceforward the process of identification of the old and the new is, thanks to Colonel Harcourt, simplicity itself.

*History of Dublin*,<sup>2</sup> by Sir John T. Gilbert, is composed of portions selected and condensed from the *History of the City of Dublin*. A pathetic interest attaches to it from the fact that it was one of the last pieces of work touched by his hand. Mrs. Rosa Mulholland Gilbert contributes a charming Introduction, which is, in effect, a synopsis. A considerable part of the work is devoted to the theatrical, artistic, and literary life of the Irish metropolis of a

<sup>1</sup> *Soldiers of the King : their Battles, Sieges, and Campaigns*. Second Edition. By Col. G. J. Harcourt. Guildford : Biddle & Son. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Dublin*. By Sir John T. Gilbert, LL.D., &c. Dublin : Joseph Dollard, Wellington Quay.



bygone day. There are twelve portraits and illustrations, but no index.

Although something like fifty books have been published about New Zealand, nevertheless all writers have left practically untouched one most important field of original research, viz., the evolutionary aspect and causal relations of its institutions. In *The Story of New Zealand*,<sup>1</sup> by Professor Frank Parsons (of the American Academy of Political and Social Science), not only has this defect been remedied, but a clear and comprehensive account given of the three islands which compose that commonwealth, from the earliest times down to the present day. The labour involved in producing this work must have been enormous; for the author informs us that he examined over 300 volumes of official publications and historic writings for the purpose. In addition to this, he has received much assistance from the Rt. Hon. R. J. Seddon and the chief publicists of New Zealand. Although there is a startling contrast between the political and industrial methods in that commonwealth and the United States, Professor Parsons shows himself both impartial and sympathetic. "The United States," says he in his Preface, "has directed its splendid vitality to the organisation of private industry; England heads the list in municipal government and voluntary co-operation; and New Zealand has devoted herself with unexampled vigour and success to the establishment of civic and industrial justice." The work is profusely illustrated.

Some time ago there appeared in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW a highly appreciative notice of a treatise on the Dramatic Art (*Dramatische Handwerkslehre*) by Dr. Robert Hessen, who then wrote under the pseudonym of "Avonianus." His *Leben Shakespeare's*<sup>2</sup> (Shakespeare's Life) is a handsome volume of about 400 pages, embodying the results of the most recent English and Continental research. In this field much fresh and important material has come to light during the last twenty years, both with regard to Shakespeare himself, and the connection of his plays with contemporary history. Dr. Hessen has succeeded in keeping the golden mean between the wildly imaginative school of biographers and that sceptical one represented in England by Halliwell-Phillips, which ignores tradition and only credits the evidence of documents. We are glad that George Brandes, the distinguished Danish critic, figures in the Bibliography, which, however, omits the name of Mr. Churton Collins, who has done yeoman service in vindicating Shakespeare from the time-worn charge of knowing little Latin and less Greek. Limitations of space make it impossible for us to point

<sup>1</sup> *The Story of New Zealand*. By Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D. Edited and Published by C. F. Taylor. Equity Series. Philadelphia: 1520 Chestnut Street. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Leben Shakespeare's*. Von Dr. Robert Hessen. Berlin und Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Spensan. 1904.

out the many admirable features of this valuable contribution to our knowledge of our national poet.

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#### THE DRAMA.

THE text of *The Best Plays of Thomas Middleton*<sup>1</sup> is founded on a careful collation, by Mr. Havelock Ellis, of the two best editions of Middleton's works, Mr. Dyce's and Mr. Bullen's. The introduction, which is a revised form of Mr. Swinburne's article in the *Nineteenth Century* of January 1886, is by far the most judicious dramatic criticism that England's greatest living poet ever penned.

No absolutely complete edition of Massinger's plays exists, irrespective of the seven burnt leaf by leaf by Warburton's cook. Massinger lived in an age of dramatic collaboration, and at least six playwrights collaborated with him; but, owing to his habits of repeating himself in phrase and expressions, and also from the peculiar structure of his blank-verse, his own work is discernible from that of Fletcher, Middleton, Cyril Tourneur, Nathaniel Field, Robert Taborne and Rowley. As a judicious selection, we are well content with *The Best Plays of Philip Massinger*,<sup>2</sup> nor do we think it could be bettered.

In his Introduction to *The Best Plays of John Dryden*,<sup>3</sup> Professor G. Saintsbury observes that "there is hardly any period in the whole range of literary history at which, in verse, in prose, and in drama alike, such a rare and such a rapid metamorphosis did take place at the Restoration in England. And there is perhaps no single instance of a writer who brings out this metamorphosis in all three forms to the same extent as Dryden himself does." During thirty years devoted to writing for the stage Dryden produced twenty-seven plays, nine of which (if we reckon the two parts of *Almanzor and Almahide* separately) appear in the handy volumes before us. It would be hard to make a better selection of diverse types. Dryden, it must be admitted, was not to the manner born, but all his plays are readable and charged with passages instinct with criticism of life.

<sup>1</sup> *The Best Plays of Thomas Middleton*. With an Introduction by A. C. Swinburne. Two Vols. Mermaid Series. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

<sup>2</sup> *The Best Plays of Philip Massinger*. With Critical and Biographical Essay and Notes by Arthur Symons. Two Vols. Mermaid Series. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

<sup>3</sup> *The Best Plays of John Dryden*. Edited by George Saintsbury. Two Vols. Mermaid Series. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

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## BELLES LETTRES.

*Lectures on Scottish Literature*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. D. T. Holmes, treat of Ballad Minstrelsy, Allan Ramsay, and Robert Burns. The subject of Ballad Minstrelsy is, of course, too large to admit of anything like adequate treatment in a lecture or short essay. Nevertheless, Mr. Holmes has succeeded in producing a brilliant sketch which will, no doubt, stimulate interest in "a collection of poems which for simple grandeur, thrilling interest, and bounding vitality hold a place apart in the history of Britain." Of Allan Ramsay how few readers are to be found nowadays for his "Gentle Shepherd!" It is a genuine pastoral, couched in a Doric which renders frequent application to the lexicon a necessity for many who fancy they possess a fair mastery of Scots. Ramsay's translations from Horace sometimes follow the lines of the original, but more often are homely paraphrases, e.g., the magnificent passage on the impartialness of death:

"Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperumque tabernas  
Regumque turres"—

Becomes

"That ill-bred death has nae regard  
To king or cottar or a laird,  
As sune a castle he'll attack  
As wa's o' divots roofed with thack."

In discussing Robert Burns, Mr. Holmes' profound acquaintance with French literature enables him to point out the parallelism between, "Had I to good advice but harkit!" and the lines of Villon:

"Bien çay, se j'eusse étudié  
Ou temps de ma jeunesse folle,  
Et a bonnes meurs dedié."

Admirers of the Scotch poet have sometimes attempted to whitewash the name he had so often stained with thoughtless folly; but Mr. Holmes dismisses such uncritical apologists. "We must e'en take him with all his glory and his sin. He himself would not have wished to be whitewashed."

In *The Paisley Shawl and the Men who produced it*,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Matthew Blair describes very pleasantly the development and decay of a most artistic and, at one time, important industry. The textile industries of Paisley date as far back as the seventeenth century; the goods made in those early days were of homespun linen and woollen. The

<sup>1</sup> *Lectures on Scottish Literature*. By D. T. Holmes, B.A. Paisley: Alexander Gardner. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *The Paisley Shawl and the Men who Produced It*. By Matthew Blair. Paisley: Alexander Gardner. 1904.

shawl manufacture in Europe dates from the days of the French Expedition to Egypt. The shawls imitated were of Turkish origin, and in artistic features represented a blending of Hindoo and Arab ideas. Although the European manufacturers modified these Oriental designs, nevertheless the leading types were preserved, the most characteristic of which is the pine pattern. Now, as explained by Count Goblet d'Alviella in *La Migration du Symbol*, the pine is a conventionalised form of the Tree of Life, which originated in Chaldea, whence it spread into India on the one hand, and to Europe on the other. The Paisley shawl was an attempt to produce by the hand-loom the effects which, in the Indian Cashmere shawl, were produced by the needle. These beautiful fabrics came in about 1820 and went out of fashion about 1870. The book contains some exquisite coloured illustrations.

*The Kingship of Love*<sup>1</sup> is the title given by Mr. Stopford A. Brooke to a volume which comprises, in a revised and enlarged form, the twenty-five sermons he preached in London during the winter of 1902-03. The literary note, never dominant but continually felt, in these eloquent and thoughtful sermons must appeal to all men of culture, however widely they may differ from the author in respect of doctrine. "From the Sea to the City" abounds in passages of high spiritual dignity. "Nearer and nearer the concept of the Infinite is pressed on man. It is not only from the soul it comes, but of later years from knowledge. Science has made us realise infinities of which our predecessors had no idea. . . . The conception of the Infinite has been made a thousand-fold easier to us by Science." In "Citizen Sunday" a warning is uttered against the disintegrating action of money-making, which constitutes a serious danger to the State. "Each class seems of late to work only for its own interests. They tend to know less of each other, and to care less for each other."

*Le Passé*,<sup>2</sup> by M. Resclauze de Bermon, is the story of a mother's devotion so deep-seated as not to shrink from an heroic act of self-abasement, in order to secure for an only daughter a happiness which involved the renunciation of her own, when it was, most unexpectedly, within her grasp. This pathetic theme is handled with the skill and delicacy of touch which amply fulfils the promise of the *Comte de Pérazan*. It is a novel which may well be commended to the notice of parents in search of wholesome literature for their young people. It is absolutely free from cant and sentimentality.

Considerable changes have been introduced into the Regulations relating to the London Inter-Science, B.Sc. & B.A. for 1905, in which year and henceforward a thesis will be required in each branch of the M.A., except mathematics, in which it is optional. Infor-

<sup>1</sup> *The Kingship of Love*. By Stopford A. Brooke, M.A. London: Isbister & Co. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Passé*. Par Resclauze de Bermon. Paris: Librairie Plon.

mation on these points and, in fact, on every subject connected with London examinations, will be found in abundance in the *London University Guide and University Correspondence College Calendar, 1904*.<sup>1</sup> For the third academic year in succession the number of U.C.C. students passing these examinations has exceeded 900, the total for the last twelve months being 983—a figure which speaks volumes for the work performed by the College staff.

In *The Dule Tree of Casilis*,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. W. Robertson, the leading actors are of the powerful family of Kennedy, familiar to all readers of *The Kings of Currick*. No man living is more familiar with the historic and legendary lore of Ayrshire than Mr. Robertson, nor better able to weave thrilling romance out of events recorded by chroniclers. The Dule Tree of Casilis might be accounted old when six hundred Kennedy's gathered themselves together beneath its spreading branches to bewail their Earl and his men who had fallen at Flodden. It symbolised the fortunes of a family still potent in Carrick, where it once held, ere the blood-feud began, undisputed sway. There was little time for love-making in those wild, stormy days, when men were ready to embrace a religion obnoxious to them as the price of abbey lands wrested from Holy Church.

The heroes of *The Mis-Rule of Three*<sup>3</sup> are young men who lived blameless but Bohemian lives in "diggings" somewhere off Tottenham Court Road until their placid existence was disturbed by groundless jealousy and a baby dumped into their midst. The main interest, however, centres in the little island of Creux, on the Guernsey coast, with its mysterious *château*, misanthropic owner, and priceless works of art. Miss Florence Warden handles a perplexing plot with great dexterity and considerable literary grace; Olwen Eden and Mrs. Bayn are charming creations; and we confess to having read the novel at a sitting with unflagging interest from the first chapter to the last.

*From Ottery to Highgate with S. T. Coleridge*<sup>4</sup> is a pleasantly written brochure by Mr. Wilfrid Brown, illustrated from engravings and autographs in the possession of the compiler. It is a sympathetic memorial of a great genius, who, had it not been for the fatal craving for the drug which long clouded De Quincey's life, would have left behind him the greatest name in modern English literature. We hope that public appreciation will soon demand a second edition of this excellent work.

"Our Mr. Gedge" was a mild-mannered draper's assistant until

<sup>1</sup> *London University Guide and University Correspondence College Calendar, 1904*. Cambridge: Burlington House.

<sup>2</sup> *The Dule Tree of Casilis*. By William Robertson. Ayr: Stephen & Pollock, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> *The Mis-Rule of Three*. By Florence Warden. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1904.

<sup>4</sup> *From Ottery to Highgate with S. T. Coleridge*. By Wilfrid Brown. Ottery St. Mary: Coleberd & Co.

he joined the Suburban Debating Society, and, by shaving off his monstache, developed so striking a likeness to the ex-Colonial Secretary that he was promptly exploited by a Yankee syndicate in the interests of Milled Food and Free Trade. His astounding adventures are told with infinite humour in *The Wrong Mr. Chamberlain: a Fiscal Farce*,<sup>1</sup> by Paul Herring. This clever political skit should be appreciated by both parties in the controversy.

A. M. Williams' *Our Early Female Novelists and other Essays*<sup>2</sup> have all, with the exception of "Zola's Theory of the Novel," appeared in magazines. They are exceptionally well written. To the professed student of English literature the title-essay presents few novel features; nevertheless it is a brilliant summary of the subject from the days of Aphra Behn (1640-1689) down almost to the eve of the appearance of *Waverley*. Principal Williams shows himself keenly alive to the positive merits of Scott's poetry: its vigour, glow, colouring, picturesque description, forcible narrative, and breadth of portraiture. His estimate of Pope appears to us the right one: "I do not hold with those who say that Pope is not a poet at all. The difficulty arises because Pope's claim to the name poet rests almost entirely on his style, and because his subjects, whilst they have points of contact with each of the poetic classes, do not pronouncedly and decisively belong to any one of them."

No candidate for the London Matric. can afford to dispense with the *Matriculation Directory*,<sup>3</sup> which not only gives the papers set at the last examination, but also their solutions by the highly trained specialists of University Corresponding College, Cambridge, and University Tutorial College, London. By the aid of these two kindred institutions no less than 485 students passed the ordeal; many, indeed, with honours.

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## POETRY

To quote from Mr. D. T. Holmes, whose interesting booklet on Scottish literature we have just noticed: "We hear very little nowadays of St. Andrew, the alleged patron saint of Scotland. He appears to be disestablished. The national festival has been changed

<sup>1</sup> *The Wrong Mr. Chamberlain: A Fiscal Farce*. By Paul Herring. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *Our Early Female Novelists and Other Essays*. By A. M. Williams, M.A. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1904.

<sup>3</sup> *Matriculation Directory*. No. XXXVI. January 1904. London Office: 32 Red Lion Square, W.C.

to the twenty-fifth of January ; on that date, wherever the English tongue is spoken, wherever the red mark on the map shows a British possession—in Manitoba, New Zealand, and Ceylon—there is a lilt on the Doric lute and spakes of eloquence regarding the lad that was born in Kyle." Burns occupies a place in the hearts of his countrymen, so dear and so enduring that no addition to the exposition of his character can ever affect it adversely. Robert Burns had one enemy besides himself ; that was Saunders Tait—tailor and Poet-Laureate of Tarbolton—who, hating both Robert and his father, mercilessly lampooned the former in verse, a volume of which (at one time believed to be unique) is now preserved in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. The late Mr. W. E. Henley, who owed his quotations from it to Dr. Grosart, lamented that no Burns Club had reprinted these poems in full, coarse as they are. Mr. David Lowe, who possessed a transcript of his own, derived from another source, determined to make a study of the period (1777–1784), during which Tait knew Burns personally, and to set forth Tait's verses in fair relation to time and circumstance. The result of his labours may now be found in *Burns' Passionate Pilgrimage, or, Tait's Indictment of the Poet, with other rare Records*.<sup>1</sup> This sympathetic and erudite volume is worthy of Mr. Lowe's reputation as a poet and man of letters. He concludes his brief Introduction with these words : " Among his peers, with those akin, Burns dwells ; with the good and with the bad he has ceased relationship ; he is at home with those sweet singers who have gone hence, from David of the golden tongue to Omar, ripe and mellow."

*Poems by Wilfrid Earl Chase*<sup>2</sup> are few in number, and only merit notice for their evident purity of purpose. His blank verse is seldom rhythmical and often harsh and obscure. In his lyrical flights he is less unhappy, as, for instance, in "The Dragon Fly" :

" A lord of the realms of light,  
On delicate wings of air—  
Off for the glen or meadow,  
And presto! thou art there."

<sup>1</sup> *Burns' Passionate Pilgrimage ; or, Tait's Indictment of the Poet, with other Rare Records.* By David Lowe. Glasgow : F. W. Wilson & Co. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Poems by Wilfrid Earl Chase.* Madison, Wisconsin : W. E. Chase.

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NOT ALL A DREAM.

INTERVIEW WITH RICHARD COBDEN: WHAT WOULD  
HIS ALTERNATIVE POLICY BE?

"Now, which is the better policy, which is most likely to conduce to the comfort and well-being of the people and the health of the children, a policy that will increase the number of homes and reduce the public burden on the poor man's house, or the policy which, while it leaves the land monopoly untouched, will make houses dearer by taxing building materials, and food dearer by a universal food-tax?"—Sir HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, at Glasgow, January 27, 1904.

I HAD just finished the perusal of the authorised version of Mr. Chamberlain's recent speeches on "Imperial Union and Tariff Reform." The room was warm, the night was late, the volume was decidedly soporific in character, and gradually, insensibly, I fell asleep.

How long I had dozed I know not; but suddenly I found myself note-book in hand in the presence of a spare man, of genial countenance though searching glance, dressed in the costume of the mid-Victorian era.

"Mr. Cobden, if I mistake not?" said I; though how I knew him, or how or why I was there, or where I was, I cannot tell.

"The same," replied the great apostle of Free Trade; "and what may I have the pleasure of doing for you, sir?"

I rose to the occasion.

"I have been instructed, sir," I said, "to interview you on behalf  
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of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW as to your views on the great fiscal controversy now raging over the land. I may say that your opinions have been called in question by the Ex-Colonial Secretary, and we wish to give you an opportunity of correcting the misrepresentations which he is sedulously disseminating."

"Ah! Well, its not the first time by many that I have had to face such tactics. And what may these misrepresentations be?"

"In the first place, Mr. Chamberlain ventures to claim that you would support his policy of Colonial Preference. He says, 'Mr. Cobden did not hesitate to make a treaty of reciprocity with France . . . and I cannot believe . . . that he would hesitate to make a Treaty of Preference and reciprocity with our own children.'" <sup>1</sup>

"But my treaty gave no preference to France. The concessions it made were made to the whole world, not to France alone."

"Further, though Mr. Chamberlain claims your support for a Treaty of Preference and reciprocity with the Colonies, he, at the same time, accuses you of desiring to get rid of 'the colonial system,' <sup>2</sup> of hoping 'that the Colonies would separate from us and become separate nations.'" <sup>3</sup>

"'Get rid of the colonial system?' Certainly, I desired to get rid of that exclusive, monopolistic system!—that system of shutting out the Colonies from all intercourse with other countries and of forcing upon them a 'schedule of prohibited industries,' so that they might be compelled to deal solely with this country, and our manufacturers might be enabled to exploit them at their pleasure!—that system which, coupled with landlordism, wrought the industrial and commercial ruin of Ireland!—that system which, in the reign of George III., lost to us the North American Colonies, now the United States of America! But, 'get rid of the Colonies,' the sense in which your Ex-Colonial Secretary chooses to assume I used the phrase! That is a very different matter. Have you found in practice, may I ask, that Free Trade has disintegrated the Empire? The Colonies are free nations—that is one of their, and our, proudest boasts—but are they, therefore, less loyal to the Mother Country?"

"No; the Empire is stronger than ever, the Colonies more loyal than ever," I replied. "'Under Free Trade,' said Lord Rosebery in 1897, 'the road to Empire has marched with seven-league boots. . . . In my judgment, Free Trade has preserved our Empire.' The Colonies, as Sir Wilfrid Laurier said of Canada, are 'loyal because they are free, and so long as they are free they will be loyal.'<sup>4</sup> And again Sir Wilfrid Laurier said: 'There are parties who hope to maintain the British Empire upon lines of restricted trade. If the British Empire is to be maintained, it can only

<sup>1</sup> *Imperial Union and Tariff Reform*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Liverpool*, October 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> July 3, 1897.

be upon the most absolute freedom, political and commercial. In building up this great Empire, to deviate from the principles of freedom will be to so much weaken the ties and bonds which now hold it together.<sup>1</sup> While, only the other day, he warned us: 'If we are to obtain from the people of Great Britain a concession for which we would be prepared to give an equivalent, and if we are to obtain it also at the expense of the surrender of some of our political rights, for my part I would simply say, let us go no further, for already we have come to the parting of the ways. Canada values too highly the system which made her what she is to consent willingly to part with any portion of it for whatever consideration, and even for the maintenance of the British Empire, I think it would be a most evil thing if any of our Colonies were to consent to part with any of their legislative independence.'"<sup>2</sup>

"So," I continued, "you do not wish to abandon the Colonies?"

"People used to tell me," replied Cobden, "that I wanted to abandon our Colonies, but I always said, do you intend to hold your Colonies by the sword, by armies and ships of war? That is not a permanent hold on them. *I want to retain them by their affections.*"<sup>3</sup>

"But Mr. Chamberlain tells us that unless we give a preference to the Colonies the Empire will fall to pieces."

"And he has been Colonial Secretary for eight years past! What has he been doing to bring the Empire to so parlous a state? H-u-m-m-m; perhaps he realises how great a strain upon the loyalty of the Colonies is his project of introducing Chinese labour into South Africa, and the preference is intended to sweeten the pill!"

"Aye; that's it, I should say."

"But, what about this preference? What are his proposals?"

"Oh, he proposed at Glasgow a duty of 2s. per quarter on foreign corn (excluding maize), 5 per cent. on meat (excluding bacon), 5 per cent. on dairy produce, and slight preferences on fruits and wines."

"Aye, and what about the consumer who will pay these duties?"

"Mr. Chamberlain will have it that the foreigner will pay."

"Then why exclude maize and bacon? And why stop short at 2s. per quarter on corn and 5 per cent. on meat and dairy produce? If the foreigner will pay, let him pay the lot! Let him pay the whole of our taxes!"

"Well, while he maintains that the foreigner will pay, he proposes, nevertheless, to remit three-fourths of the duty on tea and half that on sugar, and to correspondingly reduce the duties on coffee and cocoa. And he estimates that on the balance the farm

<sup>1</sup> May 16, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Montreal Conference of Chambers of Commerce, August 21, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> Cobden at Manchester, 1849.

labourer and the artisan will be from half-a-farthing to 2d. or 2½d. a week 'to the better' as a result of his proposals."

"'Half-a-farthing a week to the better'! 'Thank you for half-a-farthing a week' is very nearly 'Thank you for nothing'! But, if I understand rightly, these duties which he proposes to reduce are in large part war taxes. The war is over, the taxes ought to be taken off. He has no right to figure on them. Besides, the consumer will be forced to pay, not only the duties on foreign produce, but increased prices by the amount of the tax on colonial and home-grown produce as well."

"But Mr. Chamberlain, though at first he admitted they would go up, now maintains that prices will not be raised."

"Then, if the prices of colonial produce do not rise, where can the preference to the Colonies come in? The consumer will have to pay the 2s. per quarter and the 5 per cent. not only on foreign foodstuffs but on home and colonial foodstuffs also—to say nothing of the merchants and middlemen's profits on the duties, which may increase the burden by anything from 50 to 100 per cent. The tax of 1s. per quarter on corn in 1902 was equal to ½d. on the 4lb. loaf, but the increased cost to the consumer was ¼d. per loaf, even in the faithful Birmingham itself. But what of the duties on foreign produce? What will they yield?"

"Ah," said I, fumbling in my breast pocket. "Yes; luckily, here it is. I thought I must have the extract with me:

Foreign corn, 132,000,000 cwt., at 6d. per cwt.	£3,300,000
Foreign meat, £27,000,000, at 5 per cent.	1,350,000
Foreign dairy produce, £26,000,000, at 5 per cent.	1,300,000
Total . . . . .	£5,950,000 "

"Yes; that will go into the Imperial Exchequer. Now for the colonial produce. The Government won't levy the taxes on that, but they will be levied just the same. State them in the same form, therefore."

"Here it is, sir:

Colonial corn, 35,000,000 cwt., at 6d. per cwt.	£875,000
Colonial meat, £7,500,000, at 5 per cent.	375,000
Colonial dairy produce, £7,000,000, at 5 per cent.	350,000
Total . . . . .	£1,600,000 "

"What! Only £1,600,000 for the Colonies?"

"That's how it works out, sir."

"£1,600,000 a year the price of colonial loyalty! Let me see. Twelve million white people in the Colonies. Divide £1,600,000 a year among twelve million people. Not quite 3s. per head per annum! Humph! Colonial loyalty is cheap to-day! And this 3s. per head per annum is to save the Empire! With this magni-

ficent preference the Colonies will remain loyal! Without it the Empire must fall to pieces! Strange, very strange! Did Mr. Chamberlain by any chance suffer from sunstroke while in South Africa?"

"Can't say, sir."

"Not that the colonists as a whole would benefit by these proposals. The workers wouldn't obtain one penny-piece of preference. It would all go to the landlords, just as they got all the benefit of the Corn Laws. I took a great interest, even here, in the Fair Trade fight during the eighties of last century, and I think that you will find that in the course of that fight Mr. Chamberlain said, 'Any proposal to put a tax on corn is a proposal to put rent into the pockets of the landlords.'<sup>1</sup> Now, what about the increased price of home-grown food?"

"Here are the figures, sir:

Home-grown corn, 160,000,000 cwt., at 6d. per cwt.	£4,000,000
Home-grown meat, £45,000,000, at 5 per cent.	2,250,000
Home-grown dairy produce, £50,000,000, <sup>2</sup> at 5 per cent	2,500,000
Total	£8,750,000"

"£8,750,000! Nice little sum, £8,750,000! Yes; that's the rent that the taxes on food will 'put into the pockets of the landlords' here at home. Let me see: £5,950,000 for the Treasury; £1,600,000 for the Colonies; and £8,750,000 for the Squires. Total burden on the consumer at least £16,300,000! The Colonies get less than one-tenth of what the consumer has to pay. The British landlords get more than half! It seems to me that this scheme of Preferential Tariffs has been devised, not in the interests of the Colonies and for the consolidation of the Empire, but in the interests of the Squires and for the aggrandisement of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. What does 'Joe' get?"

"I should say that he has his eye on the Premiership."

"That's it, no doubt, young man. And for this he would burden the food of the people to the tune of more than £16,000,000 a year! By the way, have the people too much food nowadays that this 'Imperial statesman' should dare to tax corn, and meat, and dairy produce?"

"I should say not. Mr. Charles Booth tells us in the case of London, and Mr. Rowntree in that of York, that some 30 per cent. of our people—three out of every ten!—are chronically underfed."

"Three out of every ten! That should not be. Yet under the Corn Laws it was *seven out of every ten*."

"And Sir John Gorst, Ex-Minister for Education in the present Government, tells us that some months ago two doctors examined

<sup>1</sup> Birmingham, November 12, 1885.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Chiozza Money's estimate.

300 school children from the public schools of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Glasgow, and that of these children they found 70 per cent. were diseased, 30 *per cent. of them being diseased because they were underfed.*"

"Yet, in spite of that, this man would tax the food of the people, the raw material of the 'Imperial race'! This is the 'Imperialism' of Birmingham, is it? Those two doctors should examine as to their sanity all afflicted with such 'Imperialism'!"

"But," he added after a pause, "while the Treasury would derive £5,950,000 from the proposed taxes on food, what would the remissions on tea, sugar, and so forth amount to?"

"Some £7,100,000."

"That means a loss to the Treasury of £1,150,000 a year. What does the Ex-Colonial Secretary propose to do about that?"

"He proposes to offset it by retaliatory or protective duties, averaging 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, on manufactures."

"Foreign *and* colonial? or only foreign?"

"He doesn't say; but he estimates that the taxes will realise £9,000,000 a year."

"Humph! Another burden for the broad back of the consumer! But that is not all. Such taxes will raise the market price of all manufactures. As Mr. Chamberlain said, in the speech I have already quoted, November 12, 1885, 'Any proposal to tax manufactures is a proposal to put profits in the pockets of particularly favoured manufacturers.' What is the yearly output of manufactures with you now?"

"It can hardly be less than £900,000,000 a year."<sup>1</sup>

"And of that you export?"—

"Say £240,000,000 a year."

"Which leaves £660,000,000 of home manufactures for home consumption. Ten per cent. on that means £66,000,000—£66,000,000 a year! Yes, a nice little increase of profit for protected manufacturers. I foresee that the consumer will have a happy time of it—a very happy time, indeed! And has Mr. Chamberlain drawn up his scale of duties yet?"

"No; but he has appointed a 'Tariff Commission' to take evidence and to devise a scientific tariff."

"Oh, ho! So that's his little game, is it? A Brummagem Royal Commission to share the plunder on scientific principles—or want of principle; to decide who shall be the 'particularly favoured manufacturers' and to push the claims of 'the pushful one' for the Premiership! Well, were I a betting man, I would lay long odds that you'll hear a great deal more of this protectionist aspect of his proposals than of the scheme of preferences for the Colonies. What may be the respective proportions of your colonial and your foreign trade?"

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Chiozza Money's estimate.

"Our trade with our Colonies and dependencies constitutes one-fourth of our oversea trade, that with foreign nations three-fourths; and these proportions have remained practically constant for the past fifty or sixty years."

"And what about your shipping? A very vital matter that for the British Empire. No merchant shipping, no Navy; no Navy, no Empire! What about shipping?"

"Roughly speaking, for every ship that goes to our Colonies and dependencies, six ships of equal tonnage leave our ports for foreign countries."

"Humph! So this 'Imperial statesman' would tax three-fourths of your trade in order to secure a very doubtful advantage for the remaining fourth! He would discourage six-sevenths of your shipping in a futile endeavour to encourage the odd seventh! Not very enlightened statesmanship that, I should say."

"Well, Mr. Chamberlain says that Free Trade is a failure; that 'the original object of yourself and your colleagues was to secure a free exchange of products between the nations of the world at their natural price, but for many years the example of the open door set by the United Kingdom has not been followed by other countries, and hostile tariffs have everywhere interfered with the course of trade'; that 'these tariffs, avowedly designed to exclude British manufactures, have been supported by the operation of bounties, subsidies, and trusts; while foreign producers have been enabled, partly by the same means, and partly by the lower standard of living, to which their working classes are accustomed, to undersell the British manufacturer in neutral markets and even seriously to attack the home trade'; and that 'the doctrinaire Free Traders have no remedy to propose for this state of things.'"<sup>1</sup>

"Free Trade a failure! Free Trade enables us to buy in the cheapest market. It has opened up to us as buyers the markets of the world; it has given the capital of our Empire the proud position of the capital of the world's commerce; it has made us the creditor nation of the world; it has given us half the ocean-carrying trade of the world and the supremacy of the seas. Shall we, because other nations attempt to shut us out of their markets as sellers, and thereby injure themselves far more than they injure us—shall we endeavour to retaliate by shutting ourselves as buyers out of the cheapest and best markets in the world? That way madness lies. 'I say that it is our policy to receive from other countries, and if foreign nations exclude us it is only a stronger reason why we should throw open our ports more widely to them.'"<sup>2</sup> Mr. Chamberlain would seem to think that the country is in a bad way. Is your population declining?"

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to *Imperial Union and Tariff Reform*.

<sup>2</sup> Cobden, 1844.

"No; it is greater than it has ever been, and in spite of the increase of population the number of emigrants is declining."

"Are the people poorer?"

"No; as the Premier said in his recent pamphlet<sup>1</sup>: 'Judged by all available tests, both the total wealth and the diffused well-being of the country are greater than they have ever been. We are not only rich and prosperous in appearance, but also, I believe, in reality.'"

"Then your trade must be greater than it has even been before?"

"Yes; during the past twenty-five years, while our population has increased 25 per cent., our export trade has increased 40 per cent. Since 1860 our total trade, imports and exports combined, has increased from £375,000,000 to £903,000,000; while our trade per head of the population has increased from £13 0s. 7d. to £21 6s. 3d.; and, as regards our position as compared with other countries, Sir Alfred Bateman, the Board of Trade statistician, shows us in his recent report that 'the exports per head in the United Kingdom are far in excess of what they are in France or Germany, and are still more in excess of what they are in the United States'; that 'the imports of the United Kingdom per head are more than double those of any of the other countries named per head; nearly five times the imports of the United States'; and that, whether in regard to imports or exports, per head not one of these three countries, our keenest competitors, is gaining upon us."<sup>2</sup>

"And your shipping—how does that stand as compared with that of other countries?"

"Better than ever before, both absolutely and relatively. In 1860 our registered tonnage was 4,658,000 tons, while the tonnage of the United States registered for oversea trade was 2,546,000 tons. In 1902 our tonnage had increased to 10,054,000 tons, whereas that of America, thanks to Protection, had fallen to 882,000 tons. Germany is now our greatest maritime rival. In 1880, in both sail and steam tonnage, the United Kingdom was 7,265,640 tons ahead; in 1890, 8,254,675; and in 1900 our lead had increased to 8,810,747 tons. In steam alone—and a ton of steam is equal to three sailing tons—our lead in 1880 was 2,507,710; in 1890, 4,318,865; and in 1900, 5,860,735.<sup>3</sup> Last year we built nearly as much steam tonnage as all foreign nations combined, Germany building some 200,000 tons only, or about 80,000 tons short of the Tyne alone."<sup>4</sup>

"What, then, is your complaint? You should remember the fate of the man whose epitaph reads, 'I was well, I would be better, and here I lie.'"

<sup>1</sup> *Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade.*

<sup>2</sup> Cd. 1199.

<sup>3</sup> *Shipping Gazette and Lloyd's List.*

<sup>4</sup> Sir C. M'Laren, M.P., Annual Meeting of Palmer's Shipbuilding Company.

"Well, I hardly think there is much danger of John Bull taking Mr. Chamberlain's quack medicine. The recent bye-elections have gone overwhelmingly against him. But you said just now that 'if foreign nations exclude us it is only a stronger reason why we should open our ports more widely to them.' I would point out that we cannot do very much more in that direction to-day."

"No; but whatever can be done in that direction should be done. 'What we want before all things, however, is a bold retrenchment of expenditure. I may take a one-sided view of the matter, but I consider nine-tenths of all our future dangers to be financial, and when I came back from the Continent in 1848 it was with a determination to go on with fiscal reform and economy as a sequence to Free Trade.'<sup>1</sup> You have had a Tory Government in power for some eight years; there should be ample room for the advocacy of the good old Liberal policy of 'Peace, retrenchment, and reform.'"

"That there is, indeed! No less than £220,000,000 wasted on the war in South Africa! Upwards of £100,000,000 added to the National Debt! and our normal peace expenditure increased by £50,000,000 a year! The cost of the Army and Navy alone has jumped in those eight years from £35,000,000 to nearly £70,000,000 a year!"

"Humph! You need hardly wonder, then, if there be here and there signs of depression amid your abounding prosperity. But such signs of depression are manifestly due, not to Free Trade but to free-booting. A Tory Government is always a spendthrift Government. 'How could your aristocracy endure without this expenditure for wars and armaments?'<sup>2</sup> 'Instead of supporting their younger sons by the most costly of all processes, that of war and preparations for war, it would pay us better to withdraw them from their unprofitable occupations, take handsome apartments for them in the Hotel Cecil, and feast them on venison and champagne at the country's expense for the rest of their days.'<sup>2</sup>

"You do not believe, then, in armaments?"

"No; I do not. 'I am convinced that it would be distasteful to the landlord party to have a general reduction of expenditure, particularly in that great preserve of the landlord class for their younger sons, the Army and Navy';<sup>3</sup> but 'I do not sympathise with those who advocate armaments and then grumble at the cost; and, for my part, I would make the influential classes pay the money, and then they would be more careful in the expenditure.'<sup>4</sup> 'The threat of direct taxes held over our aristocracy might perhaps do a little to restrain their proneness to Government extravagance.'<sup>5</sup>

"Aye, I should say it would."

"'The great obstacle to all progress in England is the landlord

<sup>1</sup> Morley's *Life of Cobden*, vol. ii., p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> *Speeches*, 218.

<sup>4</sup> Morley's *Life of Cobden*, vol. ii., p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 347.



spirit, which is dominant in political and social life. It is this spirit which prevents our dealing with the question of the tenure of land.<sup>1</sup> 'The citadel of privilege in this country is so terribly strong, owing to the concentrated masses of property in the hands of the comparatively few!' <sup>2</sup> 'The fate of Empires, and the fortunes of their peoples, depend upon the condition of the proprietorship of land to an extent which is not at all understood in this country. We are a servile, aristocracy-loving, lord-ridden people, who regard the land with as much reverence as we still do the peerage and baronetage. Not only have not nineteen-twentieths of us any share in the soil, but we have not presumed to think that we are worthy to possess a few acres of mother earth.'<sup>3</sup> 'It is astonishing that the people at large are so tacit in their submission to the perpetuation of the feudal system in this country as it affects the property in land, so long after it has been shattered to pieces in every other country except Russia. The reason is, I suppose, that the great increase of our manufacturing system has given such an expansive system of employment to the population that the want of land as a field of investment and employment for labour has been comparatively little felt. So long as this prosperity of our manufactures continues, there will be no great outcry against the land monopoly. If adversity were to fall upon the nation, your huge feudal properties would soon be broken up, and along with them the hereditary system of government under which we live and thrive. When I was travelling on the Continent, I found among the thinking part of the population in France, Italy, and Germany, a great feeling of surprise that the men who had abolished the Corn Laws had not also abolished the monopoly of land; and they were quite puzzled, and almost incredulous, when I told them that there was little feeling against our custom of primogeniture even amongst the rural population of England.'<sup>4</sup>

"You think, then, that land monopoly should now be the first object of Radical attack? You would agree with Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman when he said at Bolton, on October 15 last:

"We say that the land, or, rather, the value that the community, by its aggregation, by its industry, by its enterprise, by its public improvements, has given the land, must be made to have its fair share of the burdens now thrown upon industry. Our present Land Laws cause a greater drag upon trade, and are a greater peril to the standard of living, than all the tariffs of Germany, and America and even our own Colonies."

"Yes; and such would have been the position of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Chamberlain in his 'Radical days.' Speaking on November 9, 1885, he said, "The soil of the country is in a few hands, and that is the real, the true, and permanent cause of depression, which we

<sup>1</sup> Morley's *Life of Cobden*, vol. ii., p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

all regret. The remedy is equally simple. It is not to return to a Protective Tariff, but is to be found in a radical reform of the Land Laws of the country.' And, again, on June 27, 1876, the right hon. gentleman said, 'There is a trade untouched at present in our midst (he was speaking on the land question) which would return to the wealth of England, £250,000,000 per annum, which would give employment to I know not how many of the working classes.' Yes, for my part I would 'begin where the League left off and avow it boldly.'<sup>1</sup> 'The feudal governing class exists only by the violation of sound principles of political economy, and therefore the very institution is hostile to the interests of the masses.'<sup>2</sup> 'If I were a young man again, I would take Adam Smith in hand—I would not go beyond him, I would have no politics in it—I would take Adam Smith in hand, and I would have a League for Free Trade in land just as we had a League for Free Trade in corn. You will find just the same authority in Adam Smith for one as for the other, and if it were taken up, as it must be taken up to succeed, not as a political, revolutionary, Radical, Chartist notion, but taken up on politico-economical grounds, the agitation would be certain to succeed.'<sup>3</sup>

"And what should be the first step towards freeing the land?"

"I would bring up to date the old Land Tax of 1692. As I said in one of my last public utterances, 'I hope to see societies formed calling upon the Legislature to revalue the land and put a taxation upon it in proportion to the needs of the State.' In 1845 I told the landlords that Sir Robert Peel had 'led them into a quagmire with his leadership, and I predicted that if Sir Robert Peel provoked a discussion upon the subject of taxation in this country he would prove as great an enemy to the landowners as he was likely to prove friend, according to their views of the question, in his advocacy of protection for them.'<sup>4</sup> And that is what I should say to them in regard to Mr. Chamberlain's policy to-day. It is not likely to benefit either the landlords or himself. 'I warn Ministers, and I warn landowners and the aristocracy of this country,' I said, 'against forcing upon the attention of the middle and industrial classes, the subject of taxation. For, great as I consider the grievance of the protective system, mighty as I consider the fraud and injustice of the Corn Laws, I verily believe if you were to bring forward the history of taxation in this country for the last 150 years, you will find as black a record against the landowners as even in the Corn Law itself. I warn them against ripping up the subject of taxation. (This Mr. Chamberlain has now obligingly done for you.) If they want another League, at the death of this one—if they want another organisation and a motive—for you cannot have these organisations without a motive and principle, then let them force the middle and

<sup>1</sup> Morley's *Life of Cobden*, vol. ii., p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 456.

<sup>4</sup> *Speeches*, p. 177.

industrious classes of England to understand how they have been cheated, robbed, and bamboozled upon the subject of taxation; and the end will be (now I predict it for the consolation of Sir Robert Peel [Mr. Chamberlain] and his friends)—if they force a discussion of this question of taxation; if they make it understood by the people of this country how the landowners here, 150 years ago, deprived the sovereign of his feudal rights over them; how the aristocracy retained their feudal rights over the minor copyholders; how they made a bargain with the king to give him 4s. in the pound upon their landed rentals, as a quit charge for having dispensed with these rights of feudal service from them; if the country understood, as well as I think I understand, how afterwards this landed aristocracy passed a law to make the valuation of their rental final, the bargain originally being that they should pay 4s. in the pound of the yearly rateable value of their rental, as it was worth to be let for, and then stopped the progress of the rent by a law, making the valuation final—that the land has gone on increasing tenfold in many parts of Scotland, and fivefold in many parts of England, while the land tax has remained the same as it was 150 years ago; if they force us to understand how they have managed to exempt themselves from the probate and legacy duty on real property . . . ; if they force these things to be understood, they will be making as rueful a bargain as they have already made by resisting the abolition of the Corn Law.’ And, referring to the energy and enthusiasm which in seven short years had made our agitation so successful, I said, ‘Now the very same energy, starting from our present vantage ground, having our opponents down as we have them now—the same energy, ay, half the energy, working for seven years—would enable a sufficient number of the middle and working classes of this country to qualify for the counties, and might transfer the power utterly and for ever from the landowners of this country to the middle and working classes (the extension of the franchise has since done that), and they might tax the land, and tax the large proprietors and rich men of every kind, as they do in all the countries of Europe but England.’<sup>1</sup>

“Aye; that is so. We need some of the old energy and enthusiasm to-day.”

“On March 14, 1842, speaking in the House of Commons, I went into the matter in even greater detail. Dealing with the question of the burdens on land, I said, ‘Notwithstanding the refusal of hon. members opposite to meet us on the question, it will be our object to show, not only that the landowners sustained no special burdens which entitled them to tax the rest of the community (that is the real effect of a corn tax); but that, on the contrary, it was the opinion of the whole civilised world that they had been employing themselves as legislators in placing the burdens on others for the

<sup>1</sup> Speeches, 177 to 178.

purpose of exempting themselves. . . . Hon. gentlemen claimed exemption on account of maintaining the public roads and paying the poor rates. Why the land had borne these burdens before Corn Laws were thought of. The only tax which was a real burden on land was the land-tax, an example of legislative fraud scarcely surpassed by the Corn Laws. An hon. member had alluded to the fact that, in despotic countries, taxation fell chiefly on land. It was certainly only when the power of the State had fallen into the hands of a landed oligarchy that the people were taxed in order to exempt the landowners. At the time of the Conquest, and for the succeeding 150 years, the proportion of tax contributed by the land amounted to nineteen-twentieths of the whole revenue of the kingdom. From that period down to the reign of Richard III., the proportion contributed by the land was nine-tenths; thence, to the time of Mary, it was three-fourths; to the end of the Commonwealth it was one-half; to the time of Anne, one-fourth; in the time of George I. one-fifth; of George II. one-sixth; for the first thirty years of George III. one-seventh; from 1793 to 1816 one-ninth; and from that time to the present only one-twenty-fifth. The land tax was a fraudulent evasion, for it was in reality a substitution for feudal tenure. The land was formerly held by right of feudal services; and I then quoted a passage from Blackstone, describing the commutation of feudal services into a land tax of 4s. in the pound on the real rental. 'Now,' I continued, 'could any one suppose that land would always remain at the valuation of 1692? Was there anything, I asked, analagous to this in any part of our system of taxation. . . . Adam Smith said, that the subjects of every State were bound to contribute in proportion to their ability, and the land tax of England was a violation of this great principle. This subject had already been before the House, and the inequalities of the tax and the expense of collecting it were fully shown in the evidence of Mr. John Wood, of the Board of Stamps, examined by the Committee which sat on the state of agriculture in 1836. In order that there might be a proper adjustment of the tax, it was the opinion of that gentleman that the assessment ought to be made annually.' And I added that, 'though this subject might not be discussed in the House hon. gentlemen might rest assured that it would be eagerly taken up out of doors.'

"Aye, and so it would to-day, if it were brought before the people in thoroughly earnest and businesslike style by any of our leaders."

"Well, Mr. Chamberlain has ripped up the question of taxation. He has challenged us to a fiscal inquiry, and if there is to be a fiscal inquiry this fiscal fraud which has been going on now for more than 200 years should not only be inquired into but should be put right."

"It should, indeed. In your time you say the land tax brought in one-twenty-fifth part of the national revenue?"

"Yes, about £2,000,000 a year."

"Well, how much should you think it realises to-day? The landlords have gone on whittling it down. The present Government of landlords reduced it in 1896 by some £70,000 a year. And it now brings in, not £2,000,000 a year but £750,000! Not one twenty-fifth part of the revenue, but one-186th—£750,000 out of £140,000,000!"

"And what may be the present value of the land of this country?"

"Mr. Chamberlain, in 1876, estimated it, as you said just now, at £250,000,000 a year, but his figures, being only used as illustrations of his argument, are somewhat suspect. It is safer, therefore, to trust to the estimate given by the "Financial Reform Almanack" which puts the land values of the United Kingdom at the very conservative figure of £200,000,000 a year."

"£200,000,000 a year. Four shillings in the pound on that would be no less than £40,000,000 per annum. And then there are, I understand, certain 'doles,' as you call them, which this Government has given to its friends, the landlords and the parsons. What may these amount to?"

"£3,000,000 a year, roughly speaking."

"That makes £43,000,000 a year in all. Ah, ha! That reminds me that in 1848 I was 'thinking and talking about concocting a national budget, to serve for an object for financial reformers to work up to, and to prevent their losing their time upon vague generalities.'<sup>1</sup> One of the items I remember was 'to lay the probate and legacy duties upon real property, to affect both entailed and unentailed estates,'<sup>1</sup> somewhat on the lines of Sir William Harcourt's Death Duties Budget of 1894. Now it remains," said Mr. Cobden, with a twinkle in his eye, "to catch 'em alive-oh! That £43,000,000 gives us plenty to work on. Let us just see what sort of a national budget we can concoct with that as our basis. What would you propose to do with the money, sir?"

"Well, I think I should begin with payment of members and of election expenses."

"Yes; that would cost, say, £1,000,000 a year at the outside."

"Then we might abolish the breakfast-table duties."

"The duties on tea, coffee, cocoa, dried fruits, &c.—quite time they were abolished. That would cost something like £6,750,000."

"Then there is Old Age Pensions."

"Aye, the reform that Mr. Chamberlain has for years dangled, like a bunch of carrots, before the nose of the electoral donkey. A pension of 7s. 6d. a week to every person over 65, or 5s. a week to every person over 60 years of age, would not cost more, I should

<sup>1</sup> Morley's *Life of Cobden*, vol. ii. p. 34.

say, than £25,000,000 a year. We still have £9,500,000 left, allowing for the £750,000 that the tax now yields."

"Well, with that you might abolish, say, the tax on exported coal, and the duty on sugar, and possibly take 1*d.* off the income tax."

"Yes, that would do. Just jot that down for me, and let me see what it looks like in black and white."

"Here it is, sir :

I.—Levy on present values the Land Tax of 4*s.* in the £, thus realising £40,000,000 a year.

II.—Repeal the Doles Acts, saving £3,000,000 a year.

III.—Apportion this £43,000,000 as under :

(1) Payment of Members and of Election Expenses	£1,000,000
(2) Abolition of the Breakfast-table Duties . . . . .	6,750,000
(3) Old Age Pensions . . . . .	25,000,000
(4) Repeal the Coal Tax and the Sugar Tax and take 1 <i>d.</i> off the Income Tax . . . . .	9,500,000
Present yield of Land Tax . . . . .	750,000

Total . . . . . £43,000,000 "

"Aye, that will do ; that will do."

"Oh, and this Government, too, by their Sugar Bounties Convention, have burdened the food of the people to the extent of £7,000,000 to £8,000,000 a year, besides handicapping most seriously the jam-making, confectionery, and other trades, employing from 50,000 to 100,000 hands. You would sweep that away also, I suppose ?"

"Certainly. The Convention ought to be at once denounced. Mr. Chamberlain's proposals would, if carried out, burden the food of the people to the tune of at least £16,000,000 a year. But the national budget I have outlined and the denouncing of the Sugar Convention would relieve their food of a burden of some £20,000,000 a year, besides providing Old Age Pensions, &c. &c. I think, if it were properly put before them, the electors would find little difficulty in deciding between the two schemes."

"I should say not. Mr. Chamberlain's proposals wouldn't stand much chance. But don't you think it is too big a step to levy the tax of 4*s.* in the pound forthwith upon present land values ?"

"No, sir, I do not. Under the land tax as now levied, the landlords pay every year 39¼ millions sterling *less* than they ought to pay, and the necessary result of that is that the labour and capital of the country are forced to pay every year under other taxes 39¼ millions *more* than they ought to pay. That sort of fraud has been going on for over 200 years. I myself called attention to it more than sixty years ago, but nothing has been done to put it right. In fact it has grown even worse since my time. Too big a step to put it right at once ! The landlords can consider themselves fortunate that we would allow by-gones to be by-gones, and not compel them to make up to the labour and capital of the country

for the excessive taxation that they have been forced to bear all these years. There are only two courses open to us: we must either put the burden on the right shoulders, on the shoulders that ought to bear it, or leave it on the wrong shoulders, on the shoulders that have borne it these two centuries past and never ought to have borne it at all. I have no patience with tinkering in regard to such serious matters. 'You see the mess that the country has been in for want of a radical policy to inspire the great supine public with some hopes of advantage from reform.'<sup>1</sup> 'Be bold, be bold, be still more bold,' must be our motto. 'The privileged classes would offer as much opposition to a timid as to a bold scheme, while for a small reform there would be no vigorous popular sympathy or support.'<sup>2</sup> Moreover, as John Stuart Mill has well said: 'When the object is to raise the permanent condition of a people, small means do not merely produce small effects, they produce no effect at all.' We must put before the people something not only worth voting for, but worth bestirring themselves for. Something to strike the popular imagination and rouse the electors to enthusiasm. Something worth fighting for. Something worth the doing. Mr. Chamberlain understands the importance of striking the popular imagination, and it is time that would-be reformers also understood it."

"Yes, indeed it is. And, speaking about this tax on land values, would you levy it upon the full value of all land, whether the land be put to use or held idle?"

"Certainly! A tax levied upon land as it is put to use would fall upon the user. It is the landowner I seek to tax; and the taxation of all land upon its full value, whether in use or held idle, would tend to force idle land into use, and would thus prevent the landlord passing the tax on to the tenant. It is only by levying the tax in that way that we can break down the land monopoly that now hampers trade and industry, and thus enable us not only to compete to greater advantage in foreign and colonial markets, but to greatly extend our home markets also. Take the case of agriculture, which Mr. Chamberlain tells us would be benefited by his taxes on food. It is not the farmers who farm the land who would benefit, but the farmers who farm the farmers—*i.e.*, the landlords; and that the right hon. gentleman himself admitted in his Radical, his truthful days. What the farmers need is security of tenure, security for their improvements, and, above all, the breaking down of the barriers of land monopoly, so that they may obtain access to their raw material, the land, on reasonable terms. In the United Kingdom to-day there are some twelve million acres of good cultivable land, capable of supporting a family to every five or ten acres, held idle for deer forests, game preserves, and so forth, while

<sup>1</sup> See Morley's *Life of Cobden*, vol. ii., p. 146.      <sup>2</sup> Compare *Ibid.*, p. 250.

millions of acres more are only half used, 'labour starved.' Were the 4s. land tax levied on the full yearly value of all land, whether in use or not, these twelve million acres would soon be put to use. This means that some 1,200,000 families would be drafted from the slums and the mining districts to the country. (What a grand thing for the physique of the race!) There would be 1,200,000 families fewer competing for wages in the towns and the mining districts, therefore higher wages; 1,200,000 fewer competing for house room, therefore more house room for those left behind and lower house rents. But that is not all. Those 1,200,000 families in the country would be producing wealth, and, at the low estimate of £1 per week per family, that would mean an additional home market of upwards of £62,000,000 per annum for all the products of mine and factory; while the great increase in the amount of home-grown food would immensely strengthen the position of the Empire in the unfortunate event of war."

"Then you would, I suppose, agree with Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, when he said at Keighley, in December 1902:

"Why should we rest satisfied with our ring-fences, which in the great centres of population are put round the town? . . . I have been speaking about Free Trade, and the existence of overcrowding is to a large extent due to the maintenance of the same sort of restrictions and privileges at home as Free Trade has abolished in connection with our international commerce. . . . Why should the owner of land gain by the exertions and industry and the enterprise of other people without any corresponding effort on his own part? Let him pay his share. Let his land be taxed and help in meeting the expenditure, and assisting the prosperity of the nation by which he profits. This seems to me to be perfectly equitable, and it will have the immediate effect of putting an end to the immunity of the landlord now enjoyed, and the circumscribing of national expansion, and driving away from the towns industrial development. Nothing short, in my opinion, of taxation of land values will suffice to get at the root of this great matter, so vitally essential to the health and prosperity of the country?"

"Certainly, certainly. He puts it very well, indeed. Did I not, on November 23, 1864, say 'Amen' to the statement of the *Edinburgh Review* that 'At home, we have still to apply to land and to labour that freedom which has worked such marvels in the case of capital and of commerce'?"

"Sir Henry was referring, of course, more particularly to local taxation. At present when land is held idle it is returned as void and pays no rates. While if land that is required for building purposes is let for grazing or such-like, it is rated on half its value as agricultural land, and the community as a whole has to pay the other half. When, however, a man builds a house, a shop, a warehouse, or a factory, or puts up machinery, the better the house, shop, warehouse, factory, or machinery he erects, the more he does to solve the housing problem, the more he does to expand our trade



and industry, the more heavily is he fined, year in and year out, by the rate collector. The fines thus levied on houses, shops, warehouses, factories, and machinery amount to from £40,000,000 to £50,000,000 a year. That, it seems to me, is a direct infringement of Free Trade principles."

"It is most certainly."

"I suppose, then, that you would agree with those who demand that local bodies should be empowered to untax houses, shops, warehouses, factories, and machinery, and rate land values instead?"

"There is no doubt the land question is at the root of the evil.'<sup>1</sup> Certainly, 'I go heartily with you in the determination to attack the land monopoly root and branch,' both in regard to national and local taxation. 'However unprepared the public may be for such radical views on the land question, I am ready to incur any obloquy in the cause of economic truth. And it is, I confess, on this class of question, rather than on plans of organic reform, that I feel disposed to act the part of a pioneer.'<sup>2</sup> We must be prepared to carry out our principles to their logical conclusion, however distasteful that conclusion may at first sight appear. 'Let not the people—I mean the masses—think lightly of these great principles upon which their strength wholly rests. The privileged and usurping few may advocate expediency in lieu of principles, but depend upon it, we reformers must cling to first principles, and be prepared to carry them out fearless of consequences.'<sup>3</sup> As I said in regard to the Corn Law, 'If we can show that the law (the system) is unjust as respects the interests of the great majority of the people, then, although its total and immediate repeal did involve injury to that class for whose benefit it has been unjustly maintained, it is not an argument that would weigh one instant with me in opposing its instant repeal.'<sup>4</sup> We who abolished the Corn Law but won an outpost in the fight against privilege and monopoly.

*"You who shall liberate the land will do more for your country than we have done in the liberation of its trade."*

I rose to my feet, reaching out my hand as I did so to grasp that of the great reformer. But my note-book fell to the floor, the noise, slight though it was, roused me to consciousness once more, and I realised that the interview which I had prized so highly was but a dream. Yet not all a dream, for stooping down I found that my book was full of notes—notes which I have here transcribed—notes which I shall ever preserve in memory of the occasion.

A. W.

<sup>1</sup> See Morley's *Life of Cobden*, vol. ii., p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 466.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Speeches*, 153.

## FISCAL FALLACIES.

### I.—FOOD TAXES AND AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY.

THE Protectionist agitation for the imposition of prohibitive tariffs, to restrict the importation amongst other things of the food stuffs of the people, may not be immediately successful in attaining its object, but it is an absolute certainty that its supporters are deeply interested and determined. It may now be delayed, although not defeated, and the propaganda will be continued with watchful persistency and surreptitious methods. Under the circumstances, and with due consideration of the magnitude of the interests involved, it is the duty of every single individual to intelligently acquaint himself with the subtleties of a question so intimately associated with the social and economic progress of the country. The discussion of the subject may subside for a time, but it will only be the proverbial calm preceding the gathering storm. The Protectionists have privileges of vital importance at stake, and the controversy will be renewed, with greater acerbity, at every available opportunity.

The present fiscal controversy, so far as it has been expounded by the political inflation, has been especially successful in confirming many disturbing suspicions. It is particularly evident that the larger proportion of the community are not well acquainted with the domestic annals of the country, and it is equally evident that large masses of seemingly intelligent people are exceptionally deficient in any adequate knowledge of those economic contrivances which determine the general conditions of existence in every community. The present dispute has practically spent itself in attack or support of a certain number of antiquated shibboleths, while the fundamental elements of social economy have scarcely even been excogitated, being still undetected or carefully avoided. Unless the authoritative exponents of orthodox political economy are hiding their lights under the diplomatic bushel, they seem, in this particular, to be no better circumstanced than the ordinary individual. Certainly the community has not, to any appreciable extent, been intellectually illuminated by the performances of these professional specialists in the profundities of social and economic science. Masses of meaningless statistics have been assiduously compacted, and most ingeniously manipulated, for the consumption of the

constituencies, and yet it can scarcely be asserted that the people are any happier or much better informed.

The advocacy of Protection is advertised in the interests of the populace, and the appellants are emphatic that the infliction of a food tax will inaugurate the dawn of agricultural progress and prosperity. It is not so certain, though, that their prophecies will ever be realised in any instance, and it is quite apparent that the masses are still to retain the badge of indigence and serfdom—the livery of want and woe, even in the Protected Paradise. Those who think otherwise deceive themselves, and probably endeavour to mislead other people, for it is an absolute certainty that progress and prosperity, as interpreted by the classes and the masses, are antipodal and antagonistic. The privileges of the plutocracy involve the subjugation of the proletariat, and necessitates the perpetuation of legislative deceptions that are indefensible always, though popularly misunderstood. The imposition of food taxes will never restore to the people their alienated rights to the produce of the soil, and propagandists of Protection have decided disinclinations that any compulsory restitution shall ever be effected. The history of landlordism, in this country for several centuries past, supplies a startling commentary on the allegations of the Protectionists, and the distressed agriculturist, as well as the dispossessed populace in general, may safely be referred for much enlightenment to the annals of agrarian appropriation.

There is always, seemingly, on the part of the public a distinct disinclination to the study of facts, and the perusal of ancient history is generally considered very dry and distasteful reading. A little of this disturbing matter from the annals of privilege and poverty might, however, be judiciously and profitably introduced into the food-tax controversy. There are those in our midst who, whilst advocating Protection, still vehemently deny the statement that the natural capacity of the soil, under proper conditions, is sufficient to supply the necessities of a normal population employed in the cultivation. But as they scorn to descend to particulars it is perhaps scarcely to be expected that they will ever endeavour to reconcile the evident discrepancies and oracular entanglements. The endeavour to obtain a rational discussion with an orthodox economist of the modern Imperialist persuasion is a fruitless expedient. The mere bandying of words is an idle task, and the insinuations and wild assertions of any political economist of that particular class are a rank and parasitic growth. Like a bunch of weeds, they grow the more abundantly the more frequently they are cropped. But, luckily for the argument if otherwise for the populace, the sociologist is in a condition to appeal to facts, and to oppose the economic fictions propagated in the interests of privilege with the unanswerable arguments extracted from the historically accurate records of

landlordism and the extirpation of the peasantry from the soil of their native land.

The problems of privilege and poverty, instead of being of modern origin and growth, extend away backwards into the remoter ages. The expulsion of the populace from the shires and their agglomeration in city slums only concentrates the mass of destitution into congested districts, and, consequently, accentuates the appearance of human wretchedness and indigence. But misery is none the less acute though scattered widely in a rural parish.

During the prevalence of the feudal system, from the period of the Conquest to the end of the fifteenth century, the population of this country was purely agricultural. The barons and landed proprietors possessed a certain number of slaves who performed the menial offices of the domestic arrangements. They were also employed in the manual fabrication of all wearing apparel and household furniture required. The greater body of the peasantry was composed of persons who occupied small farms and paid their rent in kind, in agricultural labour, and other services performed for the benefit of the landlord. There were also the cottagers, with small crofts attached to their dwellings, and possessing the additional privileges of grazing for a cow, a pig, or a few sheep in the commons and other pastures of the manor. During the whole of this period the entire population of the country derived its subsistence directly from the land. The mechanics who fabricated the agricultural implements and domestic utensils were entitled to a fixed allowance of the produce from each tenant who benefited by their handicraft. The natural increase of population was easily accommodated by a piece of land being apportioned, and a house built, for the requirements of each new couple who meditated matrimony. Every married peasant occupied some portion of the land; and, although the fare might often be scanty and the labour arduous, it is unlikely that they ever were in absolute want of food or dependent upon charity. But the social and economic conditions of the time were ripening for considerable changes.

The necessity for large bodies of fighting men being retained by the barons was passing away, and the muster of the landlord and his tenantry was ultimately to be superseded by trained bands, which have expanded into the modern military system. The suppression of the civil wars rendered the barons independent of the aid of the peasantry, in their fighting capacity, and instead of being tolerated as useful and even indispensable auxiliaries they were inhumanly suppressed as undesirable encumbrances. Another circumstance brought about an important change in the distribution of the peasantry. In the course of the previous century the demand had rapidly increased for wool to supply the foreign markets and the incipient manufactures of our own country. The owners of land,

then finding sheep feeding more profitable than husbandry, commenced the evil system of dispossession, which has continued down to our own times. The peasantry, who had previously been employed in tillage, were now turned adrift upon the world, while the allotments of arable soil, which had formerly supplied the means of subsistence, were appropriated and converted into sheep walks. The policy of the reigning sovereign, who was then nearly an absolute power in the land, greatly accelerated a social revolution, which had germinated in the previous generations. As may well be understood, the misery and suffering which this change of system inflicted upon the hapless peasantry was intense and crushing. There then were, however, certain obstacles to the fuller expansion of the appropriation of the land.

The only parts of the manor which were at the absolute disposal of the overlord included the land which he immediately occupied for his own demesne and the small farms which he let at will in severalty to other tenants. There remained, in addition, in every parish, a considerable extent of common arable field and waste pasture land occupied by a numerous body of freeholders whom the land grabbers could neither eject nor deprive of their common rights. This was the only barrier to the depopulating proceedings of the benevolent landholders. Large numbers of the ejected peasantry, on the payment of extortionate rents, were afforded an asylum on some vacant corner of these small farms. Another portion of these homeless outcasts found a new source of employment in the various branches of manufacturing industries which were then rising into importance. Thus were a very considerable number of the discarded occupiers absorbed; but the remainder, as it appears from the records of the period, amounting to no inconsiderable proportion, were either unable to find a small spot of land to rent and occupy, or unfitted for the rising manufactories of the towns, became wandering beggars, infesting the roads and villages to the great discomfort of the rural population. During this memorable period in the annals of the peasantry various penal enactments for the suppression of vagrancy were fulminated, and rigorously applied; but the extirpation was impossible, because the land-grabbers were persistently swelling the ranks with an additional procession of miserable victims. The extremes of extravagance and poverty have been occasioned always by the irresponsible selfishness of a privileged class, and while the monopoly of the soil and the sources of production remain in the absolute possession of this unconscionable oligarchy there will be lapsed masses and unemployed problems.

When the social storm, which had driven the peasantry from the homes of their forefathers, had somewhat spent its virulence, or been checked by the agrarian customs and arrangements of the times, the populace again settled down to make the best of the altered

conditions. By industry and frugality they repaired the depredations of the landlords, and found some alleviation of the calamities which had befallen them. Their condition may not have been that of luxury, but it provided a refuge against absolute want. Indeed, it is conjectured that this may be looked upon as one of the most pleasant periods in the existence of the rural populations. They had gradually recovered from the effects of the changes which had occurred during the course of the two preceding centuries. The social arrangements of the country had been remodelled upon a system that recognised certain personal rights to even the labouring hind. Relieved considerably from the slavery and vassalage of more barbarous times they were allowed the liberty to live and toil for the means of subsistence. But the period of their simple prosperity was to be of short and unsubstantial duration. Their humble exertions and existence were soon to be subjected to a sharp and summary disturbance. The landlords were to perpetrate another interference with the rights of the people, and there were no sufficient influences to protect the hapless peasantry, and proclaim their cause against the unscrupulous iniquity.

The numerous small farms which had hitherto escaped consolidation, and partly supplied an asylum for a portion of the populace previously ejected from the larger estates, were now doomed to undergo a similar appropriation. The later process of depopulation has affected the community more disastrously, in all probability, than any previous change in the social conditions. Those owners who, already, had appropriated the larger proportion of the land now schemed to take possession of the allotments, and common rights, of the smaller landholders, and then relet them as large farms, which they imagined could be worked to great advantage with little expenditure for labour. Application was accordingly made to Parliament for an Act to permit of their appropriating the common fields and wastes belonging to the people of the parishes. Parliament was then solely the instrument of the landed interests, and, as may be surmised, the demands of the land-grabbers were admitted with alacrity. Since then the people have been entirely dispossessed of their ancient rights, because they were entirely helpless while the lords were forming compacts amongst themselves for the division of the spoil. The success of each depredation served as an encouragement for further encroachments, until the entire soil of the country has been stolen and vested in a class who deny the rights of the people to the very sources of subsistence, and only tolerate those who serve as the tools of their evil ambitions and viler purposes.

The aggrandisement of the aristocracy by schemes of systematic plundering have been attended with most disastrous consequences to the general community. The complete severance of the peasantry

from the possession of the soil has been ultimately effected, and, consequently, the steady increase of poverty that is disgraceful, and absolute destitution which is appalling, can scarcely excite surprise in any reflective mind. The rural populace have been driven to the towns or converted into day labourers, often without employment, and dependent entirely upon adventitious assistance for the means of subsistence. Their condition is pitiable indeed, being now deprived of all interest in the land upon the abundant produce of which they might well rely as a reserve whenever the demand for other commodities of manufacture becomes deficient. The selfish conduct of the landlords is, most unquestionably, the true cause of primary social problems, and is mainly accountable for the heavy burdens now pressing in every direction upon the community. In every instance the increase of pauperism and social disorder has kept pace consistently with the appropriation of the land. Independent of all speculative theories upon incidental occurrences, this truth is capable of being substantiated by a mass of evidence so well authenticated and convincing as to be entirely beyond the puny efforts of cavil and contention. If the student of social science is seriously desirous of enlightening his understanding, let him abandon the fictive figures of orthodox political economy and resort to the accessible sources of facts which have been recorded, and are, otherwise, observable everywhere.

The history of agrarian appropriation is decidedly against the assertions alike of the advocates for Protection and the pure political economist. It can easily be proved to the satisfaction of every reasonable mind that the evil economic conditions, now existing, mainly originated in this country when the people were driven from the cultivation of the land as a means of supplying the domestic necessities. The dispossessed populace have either been metamorphosed into factory workers and slum dwellers in the larger towns, or still continuing to occupy, without any land attached, the old houses of their forefathers, strive to earn a scanty subsistence by hiring themselves out as day labourers on the soil which their ancestors possessed. But they are entirely without any share in the produce of their toils beyond the paltry pittance that the necessities of the labour market can command. The extent to which the occupation of the land, and the diffusion of the produce, was operative in ancient times can scarcely be conceived by those pure economists who confine their attention to the present industrial and commercial arrangements of society. The progress of landlordism has been the alienation of the people from the soil of their native country. They may not even venture to seek a shelter in any unoccupied corner without the preliminary subsidation and consent of the usurping overlord. But the present system nourishes the elements of its own inevitable destruction. There is no room

to doubt that the burdens will become gradually heavier with the natural increase of population until the drastic readjustment of the land law system shall at length be found indispensable. The landed interest will no doubt struggle with all their influence to withstand the waiting Reformation; but, in defiance of all opposition, it will come at last. The unfettered occupation of the soil is an indispensable auxiliary to the prosperity of every State that aspires to the higher accomplishments of progressive civilisation. The privileged classes can no more prevent this inevitable solution to the persistent social problems than they can recall the ignorance and superstition of the earlier ages. While selfishness and greed have been sowing the wind of destitution and despair, the growing influences of education and enlightenment have been preparing the whirlwind of justifiable discontent and the intelligent condemnation of existing social conditions.

There is, everywhere, an accumulating abundance of evidence to show the vastness of the change which has silently, and almost imperceptibly, taken place in the condition and attitude of the agricultural labourers. The peasantry are agitated by a combination of circumstances more important in their character and possible consequences, as also presumably more incalculably pregnant with probable results, than any political or even social revolution that has ever previously disturbed the callous arrogance of the aristocracy of these realms. In every community, however rich and prosperous, the class subsisting by the labour of their hands and the superiority of their intellects, must at all times and in all places be the more numerous, and will supply the foundation upon which all the aspiration of the country will rally for support. If this base shall become subject to deterioration through unfavourable conditions, that carry the canker to its very core, the whole political and social fabric must inevitably be exposed to disorderly and perhaps even to destructive consequences. To obtain the present comparative liberty of the press and the right of public discussion has been the intense struggle of many previous generations; and now, surely, it is scarcely imaginable that the people will submit tamely while their great inheritance that supplies their only means of existence is being misappropriated, and the abundance misapplied to the aggrandisement and selfish gratification of any particular class.

The gross deceptions which have been so industriously propagated, as well as the unaccountable delusions that prevail, with regard to the effects that a food tax would have upon the condition of the peasantry in the security of employment and increase of wages are deserving of every censure and exposure. Indeed, it devolves upon every intelligent individual to avail themselves of every convenient opportunity to place the subject in its proper relations before the public. Those who content themselves with merely following in the



current of public opinion, which is generally the gust of hypocritical selfishness playing upon ignorance, will join in the declamations which have been so liberally poured forth against Free Trade, Free Education, and other democratic advantages, and will continue to sound the shallows of pure sophistry to the confusion of the populace. Indeed, there are certain sapient authorities who will ascribe to the operations of compulsory education all the desperate diseases which are comprised in the familiar social problems of the times. The allegations are ridiculous. It is only too easy to prove the contention that the changes which have taken place in the circumstances, habits, and disposition of the labouring classes have been progressing for many generations. They have arisen from neither the operations of Free Trade nor in the application of the Education Act, but are, instead, the results of influences and events which rendered necessary the introduction of some economic system to intervene between the rural dispossession and the starvation of the peasantry. Defrauded of their ancient resources, and denied the means of existence, they felt the pressure of poverty, but were scarcely intelligent enough to discern the causes of all their troubles. Certainly compulsory education is in a fair way to acquaint them with the real sources of their indigence and misery. And for this reason alone it is most unpopular with the parasitic and privileged classes. The rectification of numerous social abuses is demanded, not only as a measure of humanity, but also as a precaution of absolute necessity. The landed interests, when pre-eminently powerful, exacted the sacrifice of the peasantry, and it is but fitting that they shall now pay the penalty. And, indeed, it will be an important factor in their own class redemption, although, meantime, they may not be willing to admit the fact. At all events, there is pressing necessity that the proletariat shall be placed in new and improved relations with respect to the rest of the community.

It is true that many writers, and many more lecturers, on our industrial economy contend that the conditions of the labouring classes have improved, or, at any rate, not deteriorated, because the money wages—so they allege—have greatly increased in recent periods. At the best it is perfectly certain that even this matter is overstated, and no account is seemingly taken of the vast increase in the prices of commodities and all the other enhancement in the domestic expenditure. The money value, in certain instances, may even be greater than the earnings of the labourer in the earlier periods of our history, but what then? Are we to ignore entirely the mass of destitution, the fluctuating margin of the unemployed, and the increasing pressure of other phases of the social problem? It has always to be recalled that the peasantry of former times enjoyed numerous incidental advantages, altogether independent of their money wages, and of which their successors are

entirely deprived. The effects of this are universally felt and seen, nowhere, perhaps, more heavily or crushingly than in their ruthless pressure upon the future prospects of the younger generations. The unfortunate offspring of the rural peasantry are denied many modern advantages, and are still hampered by the traditions and customs of past times. They have ever lessening chances of earning a living in their native parishes, and are compelled to resort to the larger cities and foreign countries, seeking an opportunity to sell their labour for a pittance of daily bread. And even there they are hampered by lack of early training in competing with the more nimble-witted townsman. In too many instances the lapsed masses of the cities can be traced to the rural exodus, and the country parishes are the prolific cradles of the city slums. During the summer months some of the younger people may obtain a share of work in the fields of the stranger, where the unsophisticated females are speedily corrupted by the rude manners of their associates; but in the winter, however industriously disposed, they are entirely destitute of any employment whatever. The results are too familiar to call for elaborate description. They find their way to the cities to swell the ranks of those who exist by pilfering and prostitution, and ultimately end a miserable career in the parish workhouse or the penitentiary. The abasement of the populace is complete. Degeneration is sapping the mental and moral faculties; and for effective condemnation of existing social conditions, the narration of the pitiable plight of the proletariat requires no embroidering exaggerations for the decoration of declamation.

The results of class aggrandisement and the maintenance of a privileged aristocracy is everywhere in evidence. The efforts which are made in various ways to counteract and neutralise the evil effects now accumulating thickly, and still naturally flowing from the dis-severance of the peasantry from their native soil, surround us in every direction. And what are the benevolent auxiliaries of spoliation and selfishness? Cumbersome navies whose battleships, even while only manœuvring, have the natural inclination of bumping each other to the bottom; huge armies, with crowds of incompetent and thriftless officers, which are acclaimed as the finest in the world until they are slaughtered as sheep by a comparative handful of entirely untried farmers; swarms of lumbering policemen, whose upkeep expands the municipal and national expenditure without in any degree protecting the lieges and diminishing the criminal; crowds of idle and expensive excise and customs officials, whose functions are entirely inimical to the friendly relations of foreign countries and the exchange of necessary and useful commodities. And, as national monuments to the diffusion of corruption and swindling, we are everywhere confronted with huge piles of masonry in the shape of prisons, houses of correction, penitentiaries, workhouses, lunatic asylums, and other high-class institutions, which are rising up and expanding visibly before us in every

district and city. Associations for the prosecution of vice are of familiar but futile acquaintance, and the metamorphosis of a poacher into a felon always aids the more effectual transfer of the peasantry from their country cottages to the county jails.

It is, indeed, high time that the community should exercise its senses, and begin to treat the matter at least in a rational fashion. To obtain a cure it will be necessary to direct the reformatory efforts to the seat instead of, as now, to the symptoms of the disease. All endeavours must be directed to the eradication of the canker which corrodes the roots of the social system, instead of exhausting the reclamatory energies in suppressing the parasites which fasten and spread upon the branches. With our present methods of extermination only a few can ever be removed, and these are rapidly replaced by others equally venomous, and probably more firmly attached. If we would diminish that poverty now afflicting the proletariat, and crime among all classes, we must first rectify the system and remove the cause of mostly all our disasters, which can easily be tracked to the machinations of a thoroughly unscrupulous but privileged class, who have appropriated the land and all the sources of production for the aggrandisement of their own individual ambitions, quite irrespective of the interests of the general community. Disregarding entirely the claims of their unhappy fellow-beings, they have accomplished the appropriation of the means of existence and the coercion of the proletarian populace. To establish the justifiable claims of the people, the arrogance of the landed and plutocratic aristocracy must first be subdued. That will scarcely be accomplished by the imposition of a prohibitive importation tax upon the foodstuffs of the people.

The first effective step in the progressive development of a sane and satisfactory social system shall be the elimination of the avaricious but unproductive idler. The incubus of landlordism must be demolished, and that speedily. It is imperative that no extravagant class of individuals shall live in idleness, upon the sweat of other brows, and squander the resources of industry while the multitudes are suffering starvation. To secure this effectively all classes must be furnished with some useful employment. Want of thus properly, and mayhap profitably, occupying their energies in some branch of production for themselves and families is the grievance under which the aristocracy become corrupt and degenerate, and add increasing burdens to the incubus under which the proletariat of this country now groan. This is the real source of the grinding poverty of the peasantry, which, in its turn, becomes the cause of reckless despair and sodden brutality. For this evil there is but one remedy—and the purgative must now be applied vigorously. The depredations have become everywhere so enormous and dangerous to the vital interests of society, that they

must at all hazards be put down. The community must no longer look calmly on while witnessing the spectacle of able-bodied men living in idleness while other half-starved wretches are perambulating in vain for work to supply the necessities of themselves and families. The populace must ever hereafter be rescued from the stigma and depths of this awful degradation.

The forefathers of the present landed gentry drove the peasantry from the occupation of the soil, and sent them to perish in the fetid slums and shambles of the overcrowded cities. Their descendants, where opportunity serves, are bettering the example. The slaughter of the peasantry is now a prohibited pastime, has even been stupidly made a felony ; and, in consequence, a park of dun-deer is, to the sporting instincts of the gentry, a more pleasing sight than a rural community of industrious, but commonplace men and women. The appellants for food taxes, so that the bread of the people shall be dear and scarce, are actuated by the same avaricious spirit—a similar haughty disregard for the convenience of the populace, as animated the exterminating decrees of their land-grabbing progenitors. Under the circumstances, and taking all things into consideration, it is little likely that the interests of the community are the inspirational influences behind the hypocritical transparency of the Protectionist propaganda.

The obtainable and authentic facts regarding the administration of our internal system, our agricultural economy, should convince every reasonable, if intelligent, individual that the professions of a certain class of politicians in the present advocacy of Protection are entirely worthless and unconvincing. The rescue of the land alone will indemnify the people for all the injustice and errors of the past. No alteration which the Legislature can possibly make in the tariff restrictions can increase by a single grain of corn the productivity of the soil, or the demand for an extra able-bodied labourer. No improvement which can be introduced into the administration of the Poor Laws can remove the bitter pangs of poverty. The cavil at popular education is a fiction. Even the ignorance of the peasantry never softened the depopulating proceedings of the landlords. The importation of foreign-grown food-stuffs, though necessary, may be prohibited in the interests of the aristocracy, but this privilege preservative will scarcely fill the empty meal-sacks of the clamorous multitudes nor allay the pangs of hunger when the day arrives of deficiency in the home distribution. No, nor will anything short of giving to the labourer the fields for the application of his industry ever prove available.

JAMES DOWMAN.

## STATE EDUCATION AND MILITARISM.

"Whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, of your lusts that war in your members? Ye desire, and have not; ye kill, and covet, and cannot obtain; ye fight and war; ye have not, because ye ask not."—James iv. 1.

THE diagnosis of the good Apostle is sound as far as it goes; but it is not complete, even for the first century of our era, still less for the twentieth. The very war that was pending when St. James wrote his Epistle was surely not attributable solely, or even principally, to material greed on the part of either Roman or Jew. The occasion may have been the rapacity of this or that Roman governor, but the deep-seated cause was religious antagonism. Further back in the history of the same nation, it was no fiscal oppression, nor lust of plunder, but a Greek king's attempt to enforce religious conformity, that stirred the Maccabean revolt; and further back still, the same motive is seen playing a not unimportant part among those which impelled Cyrus to the conquest of Babylon, and Cambyses to that of Egypt.

Had St. James been able to look forward as well as backward, to the generations that were to be leavened by his Master's teaching, he could not have failed to notice, among the results of that fermentation, the immensely increased frequency of wars of opinion. The persecutions of the Christians, from Nero to Diocletian, were only not wars of opinion, because the fighting was all on one side; and when Christians fought Christians under the successors of Constantine, zeal for orthodoxy was most commonly the pretext, and doubtless to many of the combatants the real cause, however much it may have been exploited in furtherance of more carnal aims. With Mahomet came a franker and more consistent recognition of the sword as the proper instrument for the diffusion of ideas; and historians are pretty well agreed in attributing to this cause the military superiority of Moslems over Christians down to the time of Peter the Hermit. When the crusading fervour was at its height the parts were reversed as between Cross and Crescent; but the motive of the tragedy was the same, and so again with the first century of conflict between Papist and Protestant. At the decisive close of the Thirty Years' War, the exhausted combatants

were fain to acquiesce provisionally in the Erastian maxim, *cujus regio ejus religio*, and "danger to the balance of power" came to be the favourite pretext, as well for the frequently recurring wars as for the new fashion of standing armies in time of peace. But these standing armies were in reality kept up at least as much for internal as for external security, and the chief source of internal danger was still, almost everywhere, the clash of opposing ideas in the sphere of religion, coupled with the assumption that the dominant creed was entitled to the active support of the State.

*Whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not from your ambition to make others think as you do? Ye argue and preach, and cannot convince; ye persecute, and silence opponents by force, and yet cannot obtain uniformity; ye fight and war; ye have not unity, because ye have not patience to wait for the spontaneous convergence of free minds towards the truth.*

If I am right in my contention that this is the truer diagnosis of at least half the wars that darken the history of Christendom, the connection of State Churches with militarism is obvious; for the essence of a State Church is that the governing few or many in a community set themselves to monopolise, wholly or partially, the cultivation and expression of convictions and sentiments respecting the relation of every man towards God and towards his fellow-man. Under our Henry VIII. the monopoly was well-nigh complete. In the "States of the Church," while the temporal power of the Popes lasted, it was still more absolute, whether we choose to call the Papal government a State Church or a Church State. In England before the Reformation, and in France down to the Revolution, the monopolising body was of a highly complex character; but the Catholic Church in both countries, though voluntary in origin, and still deriving a large part of its income from voluntary sources, was a State Church for the purpose of the present argument, inasmuch as the public force was habitually placed at its disposal for the punishment (by stake and faggot) of infringements of its educational monopoly, and also inasmuch as a good deal of public money went in one way or another towards its support. It is no doubt quite arguable as a question of words, that in medieval Europe there were, properly speaking, no States, and therefore no State Churches, and that there was no normal state of international peace, and therefore no such word as militarism for the tendency to disturb it; but this will not alter the fact that the hardest fighting in those times was intimately connected with the reciprocal propensity of churchmen to invoke the aid of princes in their spiritual conflicts, and of princes to employ the physical force at their command in support of the religious notions that they happened to favour.

But if the connection between militarism and State Churchism is established, the same must hold good of State education; for the

latter is only a special modern development of the former, and the line between the two is quite arbitrary. There is no doubt a real difference between a State Church embracing adults as well as children, and a State system of elementary education for children only. There is also a real difference between a complete scheme of soul-culture, taking for its starting-point the relation of God to man, and a scheme of so-called secular instruction, which must be either avowedly incomplete or impliedly atheistic. But the difference is in both cases only a difference between the whole and a part. A system of State education including advanced instruction for adults, and assigning to religion (as it needs must if the subject is recognised at all) the first place in its scheme of studies, would be to all intents and purposes a State Church. Conversely, the medieval Church, dominating or allying itself with what there was of a State, might be described as an all-embracing educational agency; so much so that the word "cleric" was the medieval equivalent for the modern "educated person." The modern policy of establishing State education either in substitution for, or in addition to, an old-established Church, amounts in effect to a withdrawal from the more debatable portion of the educational field previously occupied, in order to operate with greater vigour, and with more easily controllable instruments, over the remaining portion. The retention of the old establishment, as in England, side by side with the new, of course complicates matters considerably; but with or without this complication the general statement will hold good that the net result of the transaction will be favourable to peace or to strife according as it involves a net increase, or a net decrease, in the amount of State interference with education. It will be favourable to peace in so far as the State appears less prominently than before as the patron of disputed religious dogmas; unfavourable, in so far as the new system imposes a heavier and more direct burden on the unwilling taxpayer; in so far as it subjects voluntary educational agencies to the strain of unfair competition; and in so far as it multiplies the occasions for political conflict.

These cross-currents of causation must be borne in mind when tracing the effects of modern European systems of State education. The rise of these systems is connected for the most part with that new cycle of wars of opinion which began with the French Revolution. Hence the experience of countries more directly affected by that movement is in this matter richer in instruction and warning than our own.

#### FRANCE.

Before the Revolution, education was, broadly speaking, monopolised by the Catholic Church under the guarantee of the State; and the use made of that monopoly was to leave the masses in a

general state of ignorance. Tocqueville has told us how, in the last days of the monarchy, nearly the whole intellectual force of France was ranged in opposition to every form of Christianity, and how the Church itself remained dumb before these attacks, as though almost prepared to abandon its faith if it were only allowed to retain its emoluments. The Voltairians and "Economists" themselves believed strongly in popular education of a non-religious, if not anti-religious kind, but they could not conceive the possibility of the work being done otherwise than through a benevolent and philosophic despot, who of course was not forthcoming. In the meantime the masses got no instruction of any kind, except on a very small scale, through the voluntary devotion of certain religious associations, such as "the Brethren of the Christian School." Inasmuch as the heresy laws left no scope for voluntary educational effort on the part of the anti-clericals, it is idle to inquire whether they would in any case have displayed the requisite zeal.

When, after the great cataclysm, in which priests, heresy laws and philosophers had disappeared together for the moment, the ancient alliance between Church and State was restored by the Concordat of Napoleon, the heresy laws were not revived, and there was so far a distinct gain to the cause of peace. But this gain was more than counterbalanced by the facts (1) that all religious bodies alike, Protestants and Jews as well as Catholics, became financially dependent on the State, to the great detriment of their spiritual vitality, and to the great discouragement of their spirit of voluntary co-operation; and (2) that the monopoly of education, instead of being leased out as it were to the dominant Church, was grasped tightly by the Master of Legions. No educational establishment of any kind was allowed to exist without express authorisation from the Grand Master of the new Imperial University, a body officered entirely by Government nominees. Direct State aid was afforded to higher and secondary education, organised with a view to maximising such mechanical and scientific aptitudes as could be directly utilised by a military State, while minimising the inducements to such independent thought as might lead to inconvenient inquiries as to the consistency of the Napoleonic *régime* with the ideas of 1789. Elementary education of the masses was left to take its chance at the hands of the clergy, in the confidence that the Emperor's control of the purse-strings would prevent their influence being used against him, and that in any case they would not err in the direction of putting too much new wine into the old bottles.

That this sort of State interference with education was quite in keeping with the most militarist *régime* in modern history, goes without saying. We have now to inquire how far the case is altered when the interference takes the form of constructive activity rather than of jealous restraint.



It is a long step from the first Napoleon to M. Guizot, Minister of Public Instruction under Louis Philippe, author of the law of 1833, which founded for the first time a system of national elementary education. If nothing more is needed to justify a measure of that kind than the mere fact of widespread popular ignorance, the justification was certainly ample. Matthew Arnold, writing in 1859, tells us that "in conversing with middle-aged working men in the French provinces, I found almost invariably that my informant himself had attended school; more rarely, that his father had attended it; that his grandfather had attended it, never." But to infer from the illiteracy of the generation that lived through the Napoleonic wars the necessity for tax-supported schools would involve a complete misreading of history. Neither before nor after the Revolution had voluntary effort enjoyed any approach to a fair field. Mr. Arnold himself observes that "liberty of instruction, such as we conceive it, appears in French legislation once, and once only; it appears there in 1793, under the Reign of Terror"; and even the one abortive law referred to scarcely answers the description. All that the facts tend to prove is that the children of artisans and peasants are not likely to get much book-learning where the law permits the parent to derive profit from the child's labour; where owing to ceaseless conscriptions the work usually done by men has to be done by women and children; and where the chief motives that usually inspire zeal for the diffusion of knowledge are systematically repressed by a jealous government allied with a still more jealous priesthood. In 1833, when the waste of war had been pretty well repaired by eighteen years of peace, the only things really needed to ensure steady educational progress were full liberty of teaching, and reasonable restrictions on child labour, the former of which, at all events, constituted one branch of M. Guizot's plan of reform. The liberty of teaching secured by the Guizot law was not indeed absolute, because it was still necessary to produce a certificate of capacity as well as of good morals; but it marked a great advance as compared with the Napoleonic and Restoration *régimes*. This slow and patient method, however, was entirely repugnant to the traditions of French bureaucracy; and accordingly no sooner had France a government liberal enough to regard popular education as intrinsically a good instead of a bad thing, than the conclusion was jumped at that the State must provide this good thing. The measure framed for that purpose by M. Guizot, himself a Protestant and a man of high literary culture, commanded the almost unqualified admiration of Matthew Arnold, who visited France after it had been in operation about a quarter of a century, and his testimony as to its accomplishment of its immediate purpose has already been quoted. But at what cost to the future peace and welfare of the community was this success attained? Arnold himself tells us some-

thing about the beginnings of the conflict which has since assumed a much graver aspect.

The Revolution of 1848 first dragged the schools into the whirlpool of political strife, from which they have never since emerged. The country schoolmasters were appealed to by the revolutionary government to act as missionaries of democracy and anti-clericalism, and many of them did so. Such action naturally provoked re-action. A commission appointed by the pseudo-Republican government that succeeded reported very unfavourably as to the manners, morals, and capacity of the lay schoolmasters, and commended by comparison the work of the religious teaching associations. Hence the famous *loi Falloux* of 1850, supplemented by the Imperial law of 1854, which practically made denominational schools the rule, instead of being, as Guizot had intended, the exception. Napoleon as Emperor tightened the control of the central government over the whole system, and used that control, like his uncle, to advance public instruction on what from his point of view were safe lines, but jealously to repress all ideas unfavourable to his dynastic interests. These interests appeared to demand (1) close alliance with the Papacy and the French clergy; (2) the pampering of an overgrown army, and constant effort to devise for it congenial employment. He had commenced his reign with the announcement, "*L'Empire c'est la paix*," which the punsters read as "*L'Empire c'est l'épée*," and their reading proved to be the correct one.

The downfall of the Second Empire, itself the result of a rash military enterprise, brought to light the bitter antagonism that had been growing up under its shadow, between those Frenchmen who accepted, and those who rebelled against, the religious and political principles which had been inculcated in the schools by the hitherto allied forces of Church and State. No sooner had the latter section grasped the reins of power, no sooner had the Third Republic been definitely constituted, than its statesmen set to work to monopolise the schools in the opposite interest. In 1881 primary education was made universally free, and in 1882 universally compulsory. In 1886 public primary instruction was completely laicised. No religious, as distinguished from moral and civic, instruction was to be given within the public schools; but one day in each week, besides Sunday, was to be left open for it to be given elsewhere at the choice of the parents. This still left private schools of all grades free to teach as much religion as the managers might choose, and of whatever kind, provided that nothing was taught contrary to the laws; but now the Associations Law of 1901 has struck a heavy blow at the principal voluntary teaching bodies, and it is proposed, should the law not prove strong enough to prevent the unfrocked monks from teaching as before, to curtail more directly the liberty of private teaching. It seems to be considered that men and women who have

taken vows of poverty, of celibacy, and of obedience to religious superiors, must of necessity be bad citizens and dangerous teachers, and that it is the right and duty of the State to preserve the rising generation from the taint of *incivisme*. Is it conceivable that such a policy can be conducive to either internal or external peace?

Granting the great superiority of the Republican educational ideals over those of the clericals; granting, what is less easy, the possibility of the State, as now constituted, enlisting in its service a sufficient number of instructors competent to interpret those ideals to the whole youth of the nation; still, the immediate educational gain would be more than counterbalanced by the increased control of the government over the mind of its citizens. No reform in the system once established would be attainable except at the cost of a political struggle. Every educational reformer would perforce become a political partisan. Every aspirant to educational promotion would be under strong temptation to profess conformity with those in power, or else to be aggressive in opposition in order to merit promotion on the next turn of the tide. And with politics religion is now more than ever inextricably involved. It is easy to prescribe on paper the strictest neutrality on the part of the State teachers, though even this is hardly reconcilable with the avowed object of the State monopoly; but how to secure it in practice is another matter. To find even one teacher so constituted as to be able to teach side by side children from Voltairian, Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic homes, and to cultivate successfully the moral sentiments of all without offending any, would be no mean achievement; to enlist 100,000 of such teachers would be a miracle indeed. Such neutrality might perhaps be guaranteed on one condition, namely that the scheme of public instruction should have nothing whatever to do with the spiritual side of human nature; that not only theology and contemporary politics, but all history, all poetry, all rhetorical and emotional literature, should be absolutely tabooed. Then possibly the State schools might escape the suspicion of interested proselytism, only to incur the graver charge of utter sterility. The hostility of clericals and Nationalists would in no way be appeased, but there would be added to it the contempt of all serious educationists for the dog-in-the-manger policy of neither teaching nor allowing to be taught the most important of all subjects. Nor would the curse of sterility affect only the taught; for the gag, to be thoroughly effective, must be worn by the State teacher off as well as on duty, and it would be no trifling deduction from the aggregate wisdom brought to bear on public affairs, to impose silence on many thousands of the best-instructed citizens. In short, if the State-paid teacher is a missionary of the dominant principles, his position towards the public is invidious in the extreme; if he is known to be opposed to them, his relations with his superiors will be strained to

breaking-point ; if he is scrupulously neutral, the public conscience is by so much the less enlightened.

Thus a State monopoly of education, even if originally established in the interest of genuine Liberalism, works inevitably towards political obscurantism, and therefore in the long run towards the worship of force and militarism. Probably no government in Europe is more sincerely pacific in intention than the existing French Ministry. The prospects of international peace would at the present moment be distinctly changed for the worse by its overthrow ; nevertheless the line taken by M. Combes concerning the religious orders and the schools points to either civil or foreign war, or both, in a not very remote future. On the one hand it tends to make every devout Catholic a Nationalist, thus increasing the chance of a Nationalist victory at the polls, which would almost certainly be followed by a provocative foreign policy, and very possibly by another 2d of December ; on the other hand, the imminent danger of civil strife renders the goodwill of the army a matter of life or death for the Republic, which is absolutely inconsistent with any large measure of disarmament, and hardly consistent with a prolonged dearth of opportunities for distinction. With churches and schools on a voluntary footing, one-half of the provocations to internal strife would disappear, and with the diminution of these would come a corresponding diminution in the temptation to invent war scares as an excuse for big armaments.

#### GERMANY.

As France illustrates the moral perplexities of Republicans taking their stand on the principles of 1789, and yet committed to paternalism in the matter of education, so we can best study in Germany the results of the latter policy, persistently followed and submissively accepted, for more than a century. The task is greatly facilitated by the interesting series of Reports recently published by our own Board of Education.

The dominant note is admiration for German thoroughness ; the official editor and his contributors are naturally favourable in principle to State education ; yet the volume teems with indications that there is a dark as well as a bright side to the picture. With those indications I am not here directly concerned, so far as they merely relate to physical, intellectual, or moral defects traceable to particular educational methods. When, for instance, Bismarck is quoted as complaining that "we shall be ruined by examinations ; the majority of those who pass them are mentally so run down that they are incapable of any initiative ever afterwards ;" or when a youth, reproached with showing weakness on a critical occasion, is represented as replying, "how can you expect us to show strength

of purpose when we are always kept in leading strings both in school and at home?" or, again, when we are told that "the school of to-day has (among the Germans themselves) the reputation of injuring its pupils mentally and physically by over-pressure, and of stamping them with the mark of overstrain and haste, while ignoring some of the elementary laws of hygiene," we may accept the plea that such mistakes are as liable to occur in voluntary as in tax-supported institutions, and possibly (though this is much more questionable) that they can be as easily corrected, when once pointed out, in the latter as in the former. But my immediate concern is with another class of admitted facts, the connection of which with State agency is not a matter of doubtful inference, but of necessary implication from the very nature of the State.

To the State, as to any other organism, self-preservation is the first law of nature. The State is primarily a body of persons possessing or claiming a monopoly of physical coercion. If such a body is allowed to undertake the function of educating its subjects, what else is to be expected but that it will strive to impress them with ideas favourable to its own domination, either from a selfish motive, or as honestly believing this to be the best for the country? This law of nature is exemplified with characteristic *naïveté* in a "Cabinet order" on the teaching of history in schools.

"I cannot," says the Kaiser, "ignore the fact that, at a time when the errors and false doctrines of Social Democracy are being disseminated with increasing zeal, it is the business of the school to make greater efforts to further the recognition of what is true, what is real, and what is possible in the world. It must exert itself to bring home the conviction to the young that the teachings of Social Democracy are not only at variance with Divine command and Christian morality, but are truly impracticable and ruinous in their consequences to the individual and community alike."

The document further sets forth that the benefits which the Kings of Prussia have conferred on the working man, and the security which the people enjoy under a settled monarchical Government, should be impressed upon the children, and that the teaching of history must be brought down to the most recent date. A specimen scheme for an elementary course betters this by starting from the most recent date. The first year is devoted to the reigning Emperor, his father, and grandfather, Bismarck and Moltke, &c.; the second year, to the Napoleonic period, while all the earlier history is reserved for a more advanced class.

This policy is directly opposed to that of the French Government, which positively prohibits the teachers employed by the State from dealing, directly or indirectly, with internal politics subsequent to 1875; a difference easily explained by the difference of political conditions. The French regulation is no doubt right, so far as it goes, from the point of view of prudent statesmanship; but while it

does not go nearly far enough back to exclude political partisanship, it goes quite far enough to contravene the sound pedagogic principle of proceeding from the more familiar to the less familiar. The Kaiser's method is educationally sound, but involves a serious violation of the rights of conscience when applied by the State to the children of unwilling parents at the expense of unwilling taxpayers. When the State teacher is plainly told in a Government circular that "whenever the history of the last centuries offers an opportunity of reviewing the social reforms effected by the civilised States of Europe, the transition to a representation of the services of our ruling House in furthering the national well-being down to the most recent times is a natural one;" and when at the same time no one is allowed to teach history or anything else without the leave of the State, the great increase of the Socialist vote at the last general election seems only too natural a retort.

Thus, in the country whose educational system is most constantly held up to our admiration, and as the direct result of that system, we seem to see looming in the near future a desperate conflict between two forms of State tyranny, of which it is difficult to say whether the one in being or the one in prospect is the more odious. Is it more tolerable to have to seek a livelihood on one's own responsibility under a *régime* of Protection and consequent high prices, of aristocratic privilege, of conscription and barrack tyranny, of control by the State of the avenues to all the liberal professions, or to be relieved once for all from personal responsibility under a Collectivist democracy, performing under compulsion officially allotted tasks, and paid out of a common stock according to officially estimated needs? Although a rank Individualist, I should be strongly tempted to vote Socialist if the question were put to me in this form, at all events if the one tyranny were a present fact, and the other only a remote contingency. But sensible Englishmen will surely think twice before following their Teutonic kinsmen into such a dilemma.

#### ENGLAND.

Since Mr. Jesse Collings, somewhere in the middle eighties, told the House of Commons that he should not be satisfied until the education estimates equalled those of the army and navy put together, the former have come within less than a million of the figure at which the army estimates stood in 1872, and the aggregate public charge for education, including local rates, has come almost as near to the cost of the combined war services at that date. But meanwhile both army and navy estimates, with the countenance and help of Mr. Collings, have increased in still greater proportion. Is this a mere coincidence?

It is unfortunately impossible to prove the connection between

State education and militarism in England by the method of difference, because there is no period in our history, at all events since the Reformation, when education was not both subsidised and regulated by the State; nor any period before Waterloo in which it is easy to distinguish militarist from anti-militarist politics. If the reign of James I. was pacific in fact, that was only because he and his people could not agree as to the side England was to take in the great religious struggle of the age. Walpole, again, was a peace Minister in fact, but hardly in principle; and Mr. Morley has recently shown that the younger Pitt's claim to that character had been gravely compromised even before he allowed himself to be pushed into the great French war. The diffusion of knowledge among the masses, and the promotion of international amity, were both among the ideas fermenting in men's minds before the French Revolution; both movements were arrested during the long war; both revived after the restoration of peace, and long continued to advance on parallel lines, without the faintest suspicion of latent antagonism.

The credit of turning the national aspirations towards more pacific ideals belongs primarily to the group of Radical thinkers, among whom Bentham is pre-eminent; but no small praise is also due to the Tory Ministry of Wellington and Peel, who honourably refused to appeal to military force against popular demands that they disliked, and strove instead to stave off constitutional change by a policy of peace, retrenchment, and administrative reform. Indeed, the service rendered by Peel to the cause of peace was positive as well as negative; for his policy of free imports eradicated from the English minds (a few months ago one would have said irrevocably) one of the three or four chief war-begetting delusions.

Popular education was of course also zealously championed by the philosophic Radicals; but the practical initiative was taken by a different class of workers. The almost simultaneous movements connected with the names of Bell and Lancaster, soon embodied in two rival societies, representing respectively the Anglican and Non-conformist interests, "made education of a kind cheap, and created a demand for elementary education throughout the country."<sup>1</sup> The somewhat bitter controversy waged between the backers of the two societies had at least the advantage of forcing the subject on the attention both of politicians and of the general public; and when the one great impediment of child labour had been removed by the Factory Acts, the real question was, not whether the children were going to get education, but whether they would get it through political or non-political agencies. In favour of the latter solution was the fact that for some time past State action had been paralysed by the growing power of Nonconformity; the dissenters being strong enough to resist any further expenditure of their money

<sup>1</sup> De Montmorency, *State Intervention in Education*, p. 207.

through Church channels, and Churchmen being naturally opposed to any scheme for dealing with national education otherwise than through the National Church. But in order to give Voluntaryism a really fair field it would have been necessary, not only to refuse further State aid to the Church, but to withdraw the existing State aid in the shape of tithes and church rates; for it is a law in politics, as certain as Gresham's law in economics, that the existence of a tax-supported provision for any given public want tends to diminish, and ultimately to extinguish, the disposition to make voluntary provision for that same want. Public opinion was not nearly ripe in the thirties for so drastic a measure; and meanwhile Parliament, in its usual absent-minded fashion, planted a little germ of lay State education, in the shape of a petty £20,000, which in a quarter of a century had grown into a powerful department, had accustomed the voluntary schools to hanker more and more after public money, and had so produced the situation which necessitated the great compromise of 1870.

The Cabinet which passed the Education Act was that of Gladstone, the great peace Minister under whom the military estimates touched their lowest point about that time. But it was not his Bill; he had been at heart a Voluntaryist ever since he had been forced to admit the impossibility of the State identifying itself with the Church of his affections. Neither was it the Bill of the Nonconformists, who formed the backbone of his party; and it was largely owing to their dissatisfaction with it that after no long interval he had to make way for that Tory Government to which we owe the six millions spent in demonstrating against Russia and in sowing the seeds of the present Macedonian troubles, the costly annexation of Cyprus, the Zulu war, and (costliest of all) the annexation of the Transvaal; and which, by the way, we have also to thank (?) for universalising the principle of compulsion in elementary education.

The nation revolted at last against these militarist extravagances, but even under the Liberal administrations of 1880-1886 and 1892-95 armaments continued to increase concurrently with education grants. Indeed, since the retirement of Mr. Gladstone there has been scarcely a pin to choose between the two parties as regards readiness to spend money in both directions at once. Not merely has Liberalism, in the party sense, been undergoing a long eclipse from which it is only now beginning to recover, but even within the party the voices most listened to have been those most resolute with the note of megalomania. The temper of mind that "chortles" over every advance of the red line on the map, without stopping to consider whether it means an increase or diminution of human happiness, has been a little, but only a little, more prevalent in the Tory than in the Liberal camp; while the disposition to measure



educational progress by the number and size of the tax-supported institutions devoted to it, without attempting to estimate their effects in terms of individual character, has been slightly more conspicuous among Liberals than among Tories. These apparently diverse tendencies work practically towards the same end of doubling the stakes in the game of politics, of intensifying the keenness of party conflict, and of magnifying the importance of the politician as compared with the plain citizen who minds his own business. But to magnify the importance of the politician is to magnify that of the soldier, on whose support the politician must in the last resort depend.

The connection of the Liberal defeat in 1874 with Mr. Forster's education policy will hardly be disputed. That of 1886 may seem sufficiently accounted for by the split over Irish Home Rule. If I were to infer the motives of other seceders from what I recollect of my own, I should not entirely admit this ; but supposing it admitted, is it so certain that State education had nothing to do with Irish separatism ?

#### IRELAND.

Let us go back to 1868. When Mr. Gladstone first set himself seriously to find a cure for Irish disaffection, he began with Church disestablishment. The principle of that measure was that it was unjust to compel the whole population of Ireland to pay for the teaching of doctrines of which the majority disapproved. Supposing that principle to be sound, it was hardly less unjust to compel the whole people of Ireland to pay for a system of education which was equally, or almost equally, distasteful to the majority, by reason of its finding no place for the doctrines and discipline which in their view constituted the most important part of education. The priests, at any rate, who presumably represent the predominant opinion among Irish Catholics, have never ceased to denounce both the National "mixed" schools and the State-endowed Queen's Colleges as "godless."

This third branch of the upas-tree (to apply the Gladstonian metaphor), thus unfortunately spared, has since displayed no small amount of poisonous vitality. Gladstone's own attempt to deal with a part of the question in 1873, by endowing a so-called Irish University without any professorships in the subjects of greatest human interest, naturally pleased neither Protestants nor Catholics, and contributed not a little to the downfall of his Ministry in 1874. And now a British Ministry in difficulties is apparently trying to buy Irish support for reactionary measures in England by charging the Protestant English taxpayer with the endowment of a purely Catholic University. Why not, if Irish Catholics are taxed for secular schools and colleges, which they detest even more than Pro-

testant religious teaching? So late as 1889, Archbishop Walsh declared himself quite ready to welcome a policy of "levelling down" by withdrawal of State aid from all educational establishments whatsoever. He added, it is true, that "no such policy had ever been dreamt of by any sane public man"; that, however, was not because it would be in his opinion unjust, but because the Irish Protestants would never consent to it.

I am, of course, aware that Mr. Gladstone's upas-tree had three branches, and that the land question, which may be said to be covered by St. James' formula, was ranked by him second in order of importance. Inasmuch as the first and third, State Church and State education, are for the present purpose practically one, this amounts to saying that the material and spiritual causes of civil strife in Ireland, the desire of the carnal man (landlord in one view, tenant in the other) to appropriate the fruits of other men's labour, and the propensity of the semi-spiritualized man to settle spiritual differences by physical force, are about equal in their baneful potency.

The Liberal League notwithstanding, it is still, on the whole, to the Liberals rather than to the Tories that we must look for a saner foreign and colonial policy, and for practical steps towards checking the present mad competition in armaments. But so long as the Liberal party finds its most solid support among Protestant dissenters, it is pretty certain that it will not be disposed to surrender the taxpayers' money either to Anglicanism in England or to Catholicism in Ireland. It is equally certain that on no other terms, so long as the State continues to subsidise either Protestant or secular education, can it hope for the support of the Irish vote. A "levelling down" policy, on the other hand, would leave Protestants and Catholics, as such, nothing to fight about.

Thus both in England and Ireland, and I might say in the United Kingdom generally, the effect of dragging religion and education into the arena of political strife has been to intensify the tendency to worship force; and in such a state of the public mind the victory will generally rest with that party, however labelled, which has least objection to the use of force, whether at home or abroad, and which takes the greatest pride in its display.

These considerations are not urged from a peace-at-any-price point of view. I do indeed think, with Goldwin Smith, that England owes more to Walpole than to Chatham, and, more decidedly, that she owes more to Peel and Gladstone than to Palmerston, Beaconsfield, and Chamberlain; but I reckon as not the least of Gladstone's services his share in great measures of army reform, nor do I blame his forcible intervention in Egypt. Neither should I think of denying that some part of the enormous increase in our military and naval expenditure since 1874 was justified by

altered conditions. By militarism is here meant the tendency to seek rather than to avoid occasions for the use or display of force, and to measure national greatness by the fear rather than the love of other nations. It is this tendency which has, as I hold, not one but two roots in human nature, a coarser and a finer. Of the coarser there is no need to speak; it is the finer against which our countrymen most need to be on their guard; and it is this that I have ventured to connect with the impulse, not wholly ignoble, yet short of the noblest, which abroad backs missions with gunboats, and at home builds schools at the expense of unwilling contributors. That way lies ultimately something much more serious than the recent sputterings of passive resistance, should both parties persist to the bitter end in that theory of State functions which is at present common ground between them.

To sum up. Whereas it is commonly said that the more the State spends on education the less it will be disposed to spend on armaments, the thesis here maintained is that, on the contrary, State expenditure on education is a powerful contributory cause of increased armaments.

It is not, of course, asserted, and it would be almost a contradiction in terms to assert, that any education worthy of the name, any systematic cultivation of the social affections as well as of the intellect, tends to increase of pugnacity; nor, again, is it denied that if the masses are to have education somebody must pay for it. What is denied is, the necessity for any sort of coercion in the matter, beyond what is involved in the protection of helpless children against selfish parents; and what is asserted is, that the introduction of this coercive element has necessarily a deteriorating influence, both on the character of the education provided and on the political morality of the community resorting to such methods; and in particular that, *ceteris paribus*, the prevalence of militarism in a country may be expected to vary directly, rather than inversely, with the closeness of the connection between its schools and its government.

If it be true that when thieves fall out honest men come by their own, the converse is equally true, that, when good people take to fighting over religion and education, instead of each being content to worship and teach in his own way at his own expense, then the citadel of the national conscience is left unguarded, and is liable to be captured at any moment by the coarsest Jingoism.

R. K. WILSON.

## OUR UNINVITED GUESTS.

THE Report of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration amply proves that alien crime is increasing, and that there are proportionately more foreigners convicted in England than British born subjects. This, of course, is a heavy drain on the resources of the country harbouring them.

There is also the cost of watching, apprehending, trying, and detaining these persons, and in addition to the police and legal expenses consideration must be taken of the injuries inflicted and the amount of property stolen. There are also the cases of robbery, burglaries, or fraud, when great loss is sustained without being followed by detection or punishment; and the insecurity of property holders; the aggregate direct and indirect cost to the nation, therefore, from alien criminality must be enormous.

But it is not only as convicts that the aliens are a public charge; they also come upon the rates, receiving indoor and outdoor relief, medical attendance and medicines; others are sent to lunatic or imbecile asylums, and during 1902 the total number receiving poor-law relief in different ways amounted to 4618; of these 1929 were admitted as indoor cases, while 237 were sent to lunatic or imbecile asylums, and according to a notice in the *Globe* of September 10, 1902, some three-quarters of the work of the largest of the hospitals is spent on the thankless task of looking to the welfare of the pauper immigrants who are dumped down on the London docks.

Sir Robert Anderson, the former chief of the Criminal Investigation Department, states that in the year 1902 no less than 5000 aliens appeared in the docks of the Metropolitan police-courts, and even this does not include those tried in the City.

It appears that Germans of known bad character are allowed to escape on condition of leaving the country. England is practically the only refuge open to them, so they flock here, and amongst them the expert German burglar visits us in ever-increasing numbers. It is said that Germany is the country of specialists, and the criminal but intelligent Teuton makes a speciality of his business, to which he applies the latest scientific methods. The extent to which the art of burglary has been developed is evidenced by the fact that ingenious housebreaking tools are manufactured, such as portable ladders, portable phosphorus and electric lamps, ratched drills, sheet-

iron cutters, adjustable jemmies, pick-locks, and various kinds of skeleton keys. Some of these are, of course, legitimate and necessary tools, not necessarily nor mainly used for felonious purposes. Any given house once entered, the scientific German can open the strongest cast-iron safe by means of an oxy-hydrogen blow-pipe, which produces a heat so intense as to melt any metal against which it is directed. The following plan is also practised. A recent chemical discovery had produced a preparation known as thermite; if a portion of this is placed on the top of a safe a heat is generated so powerful that the toughest steel cannot withstand it, and a hole is burned in any desired portion of the receptacle. Doubtless these are the men who are now crowding into England in such numbers under the designation of German workmen; at the same time those who have been already convicted in Germany often adopt an English name so as to conceal their identity as far as possible.

When charging the Grand Jury at the County of London Sessions, Clerkenwell, at the commencement of last year, Mr. McConnell, K.C., remarked on the great number of criminals who appeared in London Courts. Many of these alien professional thieves entered as waiters at low wages in hotels and boarding-houses; these men also use forged characters written by confederates on note-paper stolen from hotels, and once having gained admission as a servant it is an easy matter to make off with money, jewellery, or other valuables. Mr. Charles Pembo, the official interpreter to the London Sessions Court, when interviewed by a representative of the *Daily Mail*, expressed himself as follows with reference to the German wrong-doers:

"Some 95 per cent., I should say, are thieves who rob householders by such methods as calling with dummy letters addressed to the tenant and stealing things from the hall-stand when the servant's back is turned; the remainder are expert burglars, men who provide themselves with an excellent set of house-breaking implements and work scientifically."

Mr. Pembo further said that "amongst the alien criminal class are Italians, French, Swiss, Belgians, Spaniards, Austrians, and Greeks." He states:

"A whole colony of Levantine Greeks from Constantinople, Smyrna, and other places flocked into London just before the Coronation especially to thieve. The majority were pickpockets, and in one week I had to interpret for some ten of them who had fallen into the hands of the police. The majority pose and occasionally act as waiters. This is necessary to evade, in many cases, a sentence for a disreputable mode of living. It is also done to gain knowledge about boarding-houses and hotels for purposes of plunder. Living in the West End are blackmailing scoundrels of the worst description."

Asked as to why foreign criminals come to England in such numbers, he said: "The majority for no good reason—some to

escape unwelcome military service, others to avoid punishment for misdeeds, and a good many because their conduct has led to expulsion. England asks no impertinent questions on arrival."

Many and devious are the ways by which the alien criminal makes money in the land of his adoption, and one of these is illicit distillation, by which the revenue is considerably defrauded. An instance of the manner in which this is conducted was afforded within the last year, when two persons, a man and woman, the first a German, the second a Russian, but both having assumed English names, were charged with being concerned in illicit distillation. According to the police inspector the female prisoner told him that she had been employed with the German for some months, carrying the spirits to a merchant in the East-End, but that they had been working in another part of London for about twelve months previously. The male prisoner when questioned by the same inspector stated that he had been an expert in distilling in Germany, and the officer calculated that the plant was capable of turning out 300 gallons of spirit weekly. This would mean that the revenue was being cheated at the rate of over £200 a week. When evidence on the subject was taken before the Royal Commissioners, Mr. Highmore, of Somerset House, stated that illicit manufacture of spirits is an active industry in the East-End. It seems also to be increasing rapidly, as in the last five years there had been fifty-one convictions against six in the six years ending 1897. It was also stated that the alien criminals engage with zest in the industry of forging bank-notes and foreign postage stamps.

Evidence was also adduced before the commission to the fact that "there is much gambling amongst the alien population of the metropolis, and that in a large proportion of the prosecutions for keeping and frequenting gaming-houses the accused were foreigners."<sup>1</sup>

Sub-divisional Inspector Hyder, having full access to the police-court reports, states that he has never known a gaming-house that has not been kept by a foreigner; also that the number of these establishments increases with the increase of the alien element.

In each of the two chief divisions, Jewish and non-Jewish, which compose the alien colony, we see some elements which contribute to the prosperity of the country, and others, which are worthless, dangerous, and which foster criminality. To absolutely prohibit the entry of the working-class foreigner would not be expedient, but to give free entry to the foreign criminal, permitting him also, as we do, to remain amongst us when his real character has displayed itself, and allowing him to prosecute his professional career of crime, this is, I maintain, an act of supreme national folly.

The overcrowding problem is also a serious one, because it repre-

<sup>1</sup> Report of Royal Commission, p. 18, paragraph 122.



failure to do so would be considered a legal offence subjecting the immigrant to penalty and repatriation at the discretion of the Court. Also, that if prior to detection the said foreigner should have taken out his naturalisation papers, such should be *ipso facto* considered as cancelled.

The serious nature of the overcrowding question was fully appreciated by the Commission. The majority of the members suggested that increased power should be obtained with the main object of bringing all dwellings within specified areas under the operation of the bye-laws made under the powers of the Public Health Act. In a separate memorandum to the report, Mr. Kenelm Digby also suggested that the remedy for, or mitigation of, the evil is to be found in the enforcement of the ordinary sanitary laws, with certain alterations and additions which experience has shown to be required. As the popular outcry against alien immigration is pretty certain to be followed shortly by some legislative measures, it might be well to examine the cause of the complaints and the extent to which they rest on a solid foundation. Taking the objections seriatim, they are as follows :

- (a) That Englishmen are crowded out by foreigners.
- (b) That alien criminals come in numbers to our country, entailing loss by their depredations, and expense to the Government by watching, committing, and maintaining them.
- (c) That even when not criminals, they are a source of danger by overcrowding and disregard of sanitation.
- (d) That the very destitute and sick come upon the rates and crowd into the hospitals.

We thus permit a yearly multitude of criminals and paupers to flood our towns. We receive them, provide prisons to detain them, workhouses to shelter them, police to watch them, hospitals to accept them. It is true that there is a large amount of emigration of our own countrymen from England, but a substantial proportion of the emigrants go to various British colonies, and therefore while a congested state of population is relieved, the Empire does not suffer. It may, however, be seriously doubted if the influx of aliens is accountable for this annual emigration. Those who leave the United Kingdom for the United States or our colonies belong to classes who would not accept the conditions of work and wage which content many of the aliens of London and our large towns. The emigrant classes will not even accept domestic service in England ; if they did, the supply of servants for private houses would be much greater than it is. That a considerable proportion of the artisan class emigrates is true, but factory hands and miners do not seem to be displaced by aliens to any appreciable extent, and possibly the abuse of trades-unionism and the prevalence of strikes may in reality be more accountable for this class of emigration than the presence of the



alien. The truth is, there exists in our town slum population a large element of worthless, half idle, drunken decadents; these are being displaced by temperate, industrious foreigners, chiefly Jews, who are progressive.

The complaint against the immigration of foreign criminals is a perfectly valid one; they do come over here in large numbers; they do occasion great loss by their depredations and expense to our Government; but the remedy, as I have before shown, is in the hands of our legislators, and no doubt the necessary measures will speedily be instituted.

It is true that the alien population in our large towns is a source of danger owing to overcrowding. This evil can be remedied by employing a larger number of sanitary inspectors than at present, and putting in force the excellent suggestion made by the members of the Commission.

It is also true that destitute aliens sometimes have to be supported out of the rates, but at the same time where an alien population exists, the rates are paid by the more prosperous aliens. The proportion, however, is relatively small; the ratio per cent. of aliens receiving poor-law relief as compared with the total alien population for 1902 in London County was only 2.4, but the ratio per cent. borne by the total number of those receiving poor-law relief to the estimated total population of London County for the same year was 7.9, thus showing a great advantage in favour of the alien.

It is only just to say that the Jewish community, represented by the Jewish Board of Guardians, to a very great extent, maintain their own destitute, who from old age, illness, or incapacity are unable to work. This excellent society which appears to be both intelligently and honestly worked, is managed by educated and upright gentlemen, and dispenses relief judiciously by ordinary grants in cases of necessity, medical relief, loans, and by apprenticing youths, &c. The alien question has now become an acute one, and in the foregoing pages I have endeavoured to place it in its varying aspects impartially before my readers. The subject will shortly be thoroughly sifted in Parliament, and while it is manifest that we harbour a multitude of bad and criminal elements who cause expense, inconvenience, and even danger, it must not be forgotten that there is also an immigrant who is intelligent, industrious, and well conducted; and he is by no means an undesirable stranger within our gates.

CHARLES ROLLESTON.

## WOMEN AND THEIR EMANCIPATION.

"The Lord Chancellor, Mr. Justice Kennedy, Mr. Justice Wright, Mr. Justice Walton, Mr. Justice Farwell, and Mr. Justice Joyce met in the Moses Room of the House of Lords yesterday to consider the case of a lady student who was refused her call by the Benchers of Gray's Inn. The lady, Miss Bertha Cave, appeared in person and made a short speech in support of her case.

"The Judges, however, at once decided that the Benchers were right, and therefore could not recommend them to alter their decision. They had no point of law to pronounce upon, but simply did not wish to establish a precedent for admission of ladies to the Bar."—*Standard*, December 3, 1903.

THE failure of Miss Cave to obtain her call to the Bar leads one to the consideration of the whole subject of women and their emancipation. It cannot be doubted that strong views in opposition to the emancipation of women in any direction are held, and often expressed, by intelligent people; and, moreover, it cannot be denied that writers are to be found in large numbers who are of opinion that women should not be permitted to take a full share in the filling of posts hitherto considered to be the strict prerogative of men, and who further condemn the modern higher training of women as likely to be productive of "machine-made mediocrities, instructed but uneducated."

Such being the case, it might be advantageous to examine the question with a view to determining whether it is beneficial or not to the general community that women should be allowed to take a full share in the management of its affairs. An examination of this kind would include such evidence as is obtainable as to the justice of women's claims, their capacity, both physical and intellectual, in relation to that of men, together with some reference to their past history. There is no doubt that men, being physically stronger than women, can by force prevent women from having a share in the management of the world's affairs, but whether they have the right to exercise this power is a question open to much doubt.

One of the greatest thinkers of modern times, John Stuart Mill, emphatically declares, in his work on the *Subjection of Women*, that this right does not exist. "The legal subordination of one sex to the other," he writes, "is wrong in itself, and one of the chief hindrances to human improvement. It ought to be replaced," says

he, "by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on the one side, no disability on the other. The benefit," he continues, "which would accrue by leaving women free choice of their employments, and opening to them the same field of occupation and encouragement as men, would be the doubling of the mass of mental faculties available for the highest service of humanity." These principles have, however, never been generally recognised.

In the earliest times, before even the simplest form of social life existed, each man was for himself, and woman, the frailer creature, became his slave. Thus were women slaves before slavery existed as an institution, and thus did they remain after slavery had been abolished. "This servitude of women," as Auguste Bebel points out in his book on *Women, past, present, and future*, "surviving these earliest times, became a habit and an inheritance; and education taught that it was a natural condition." Until within comparatively recent times, women completely accepted their subordinate position, and it was difficult to convince them of its degradation, or raise in them aspirations to rise. Like all those who are oppressed, they had neither the power nor opportunity for seizing the initiative themselves, and so they remained in a state of tutelage throughout civilised and uncivilised communities for century after century.

"Laws and systems of polity," another writer says, "always begin by recognising the relations existing between individuals and build on them." It was thus almost inevitable that this one cause of a social relation, grounded on force, should survive through generations of institutions grounded on equal justice. The dependence of women, it has been frequently urged, is founded on social laws which lie deeper than any political laws. "But," replies Mill, "surely this opinion rests on theory only, for no trial has fairly been made of any other system. Besides, this argument has been used from time immemorial to justify every form of injustice and oppression among civilised communities." But, it is said, women are intellectually inferior to men, and cannot therefore be placed on an equality with them. It is, however, an undoubted fact that, till recently, men narrowed the range of the studies of women, and did everything they could to produce that inferiority (which they began by assuming), and then coolly and arrogantly asserted that nature had made her inferior and that her sphere is submission and attendance on man. The intellectual inferiority of woman is not therefore a natural deduction from these premises. The difference in the intellectual capacity of men and women is, I would say, more a difference of education than an inherent difference, and I believe that the truth of this statement will be brought home in time to all but the most prejudiced, by the increasing proofs which we witness day by day of women's capacity for almost any under-

taking, as fresh opportunities are given to them to develop their powers.

Possibly women, except in a very few cases, have not hitherto reached the highest rank in any single thing, but in directions dependent only on mental faculties, in spite of their disabilities, they have attained the rank next to the highest. Sappho (whom Aristotle ranks with Homer and Æschylus), as Miss Frances Power Cobbe points out in a recent article of hers from which I make some quotations, attained the highest standard of all, and her works (all nine books save a few fragments) men have unfortunately managed to lose. Deborah, among the Judges, was a woman whose generalship saved Israel and secured peace for the land for fifty years. Boadicea of Britain defied successfully all the powers of Rome. Margaret, Queen of Scandinavia, in the fourteenth century, reached a degree of power unequalled in Europe since Charlemagne. Catherine the Second of Russia, and our own great Queens, Elizabeth and Victoria, were women of great force, and even the present Dowager-Empress of China has great command of intellect, though from our point of view it is basely used.

There are many other instances of women reaching high rank intellectually in olden times, and they are seen in increasing numbers down to the present time, when probably the world was never so rich in female intellect of the highest order. But because no woman has as yet actually produced works comparable with those of Homer, Aristotle, Michel Angelo, or Beethoven, it cannot therefore be inferred that no woman ever will do so. With all hindrances removed from womens' path, if there is to be a Homer or a Beethoven at some future time, there is no reason to assume that this individual will not be of the female sex. But until all disabilities are removed it is hardly fair to impeach womens' capacity, because such transcendent attainments have not been manifested.

The old argument regarding the difference in the size of the brain of men and women need not detain us, as it is not advanced with any seriousness in our days. In passing it may, however, be stated that the brain of Hausemann, the great German scholar, was found to weigh 1226 grammes, or the exact weight of a mere average woman, and 20 per cent. less than that of the average man, and that amongst savages the weight of the brain in man and woman differs very slightly. In strength of body the difference is even less among many savage tribes, and little or no inferiority is observed in women. Indeed, it is known that the Kings of Dahomey and Ashantee had a female bodyguard, and certain tribes were governed by women by reason only of their superior strength; and Tacitus states that amongst the Germans in his time women were by no means inferior to men either in size or strength, so that the

permanent and inherent physical superiority of men over women cannot be accepted as an axiom.

And this takes us to what has been called the bullet and ballot argument, namely, that women cannot be allowed to have the same civil rights as men, because of their inability personally to defend their country. But this is no argument, as many men now enjoying these rights are from various causes also unable to personally defend their country; and apart from this, is it so certain that women are as incapable in this direction as is asserted? Many women have indeed actually fought in battles in ancient and modern times—Joan of Arc being the greatest of them all—and, moreover, at any rate in our days, warfare is to a great extent a scientific pursuit and seldom a test of personal strength. Besides, do not the nurses for the wounded present at all modern campaigns of civilised nations form a necessary part of their army, and have not women in former times often given invaluable service by standing at the breaches at many sieges and fearlessly loading the guns of the men; and, lastly, did not the ladies of Ancient Rome really become an integral part of the combatant force when they saved the situation by cutting off their long tresses to make bow-strings for the soldiers at a time of sore need? Then, in our days, I can state on good authority that in the State of Utah a female private in the militia is to be found; and not long ago, a woman whose name had accidentally got on the list of young conscripts called to the colours in France could hardly be persuaded, when she duly presented herself, that she could not be accepted for the military service of her country.<sup>1</sup>

The absence of logical reasoning in women is held to disqualify them from taking part in public affairs, but surely this is due to defective education and can be remedied, and moreover is hardly confined to women. Their excitable temperament is again quoted against them, but it can be shown that, as with individuals so it is with nations. The French and Italians are more nervously excitable than the Teutonic races, and, compared with the English, lead a more emotional daily life, but they have not been less great in science, in public business, in legal and judicial eminence, or in war. Moreover, the greater nervous susceptibility of women, as by rendering them changeable, too vehemently under the influence of the moment, incapable of dogged perseverance, unequal and uncertain in the power of using their faculties, is, as Mill points out, "the mere overflow of nervous energy run to waste and would cease when the energy was directed to a definite end." Much, too, of this nervous-

<sup>1</sup> According to a Russian correspondent of the *Times*, who telegraphed to that journal under date of February 23, 1904, it appears that a semi-official Moscow organ published the intelligence that the Minister of War had given orders to enrol as a private in the ranks of the 1st Rifle Regiment of his Majesty, Madame Pusepp, daughter of Colonel Maksimov Kondurov, who was shortly to leave Riga for the Far East to defend her country against the Japanese, in the present war.

ness is the result of conscious or unconscious cultivation, as we see by the almost total disappearance of "hysterics" and fainting-fits, since they have gone out of fashion. Trained by exercise to develop the circulatory and muscular system, women will not grow up liable to derangements from slight causes, without stamina to support any physical or mental strain.

I shall have occasion to deal with a few of the other principal arguments against women's emancipation, especially in regard to the franchise, later on, but would in the meantime take up the challenge of the opposers of the movement, in so far as it asserts that man's use of his monopoly of power has not pressed heavily or unjustly on the other sex. By a very brief historical survey, I hope to prove that this assertion is not based on fact.

Macaulay, writing in the middle of last century, maintains that, "if there is a word of truth in history, women have always been, and still are, over the greater part of the globe, the humble companions, playthings, captives, menials and beasts of burden of men. Except in a few happy and highly civilised communities, they are strictly in a state of personal slavery." Amongst the Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians, women were treated as one of the lower animals. The Jews of ancient times, taking their colour from their surroundings, kept their women in complete subjection. Both Greeks and Romans accounted women as creatures having little more intelligence than that of a dog, and their laws treated her practically as a slave. So little were they, in the consideration of men, that Thucydides stated that the best that could be said of women was, that there was nothing that could be said concerning them. The condition of women in Ancient Britain resembled that of Ancient Greece, and although her position improved under Roman and Anglo-Saxon sway, and under King Alfred, she was allowed (and proved herself eager in) the pursuit of some form of studies, yet was she all this time absolutely outside the laws of the State, and her husband and father had complete right of control over her.

The Norman Conquest was on the whole favourable to her in England, but her husband was made her master even to the extent of bodily chastisement. This regulation as to bodily chastisement was common at that time throughout Europe, and surviving that period remained in practise, as for example in the Communitary of Hamburg, until within recent times. In some countries, indeed, it was strongly recommended by the State, though I cannot find that it was controlled, so that women were at the absolute mercy of cruel fathers or husbands. So degraded had the position of women become, that we find, in the sixth century, an important council of men was called together at Macon, to decide whether women were or were not endowed with a soul. Fortunately for their descendants

in the female line, the council came to the conclusion, after a protracted discussion, that women probably had such a possession, but the decision was only arrived at by the majority of a single vote!

The Crusaders had considerable influence on the condition of women, but they equally affected both sexes, and did not disturb the relations of one to the other. The age of chivalry had, too, a deep influence, but it did not enlarge women's privileges so much as it caused men to view her in a new light. Before that time, writers had poured forth their abuse and contempt on her, and those who, before, had sung only of heroes and kings, now sang of beauty and love. Extravagant praise now took the place of jeering and contempt. It raised the status of women to some extent, but it was at the expense of her intelligence, for it was the theory of her imbecility applied to the fullest extent. At last, however, came the Reformation, and a blow struck suddenly at authority made it easier for any departure from custom and manners to be effected, and women's cause was the gainer from the movement. Then followed the gradual rise of the great middle class with the progress of arts and science, and the softening of manners, and women's condition improved, though any approach to equality with men was still entirely denied to them. Closely kept to domestic duties and such occupations as spinning, weaving, boiling soap, making candles, brewing beer, her only recreation was going to church on Sundays! The isolated, though bright instances in history, of periods of comparative freedom for women, or the granting of a few privileges to her, serve but to heighten the darkness of her picture of dull monotony of subjection.

France, in theory, had completely worked out the question of the emancipation of women, but as with many movements in France, she had not got beyond the theoretical stage. Voltaire was an avowed friend to the movement, and he took every opportunity of expressing his views in this direction. If a play written by a woman proved a success, and there were many at the Théâtre Français that did, Voltaire would express his delight, and assert that the event was a confirmation of his little system, that women were capable of doing everything that men did, with the single difference that they did it with more amiability. Jean Jacques Rousseau, on the other hand, lost no opportunity of discrediting the movement. He objected to the same instruction being given to girls as to boys, saying (as some are found to assert to-day), that if women are educated like men, they will resemble men and lose the power they have over the other sex. The education of women should always be relative to that of men. "To please, to be useful to us," says Rousseau, "to make us love and esteem them, to educate us when young, to take care of us when grown up, to advise us,

to console us, to render our lives easy and agreeable." He does not say how men should in their turn behave towards women, but perhaps we may take as an indication of his views in this regard the treatment he meted out to his own wife. According to John Morley, in his well-known *Life of Rousseau*, Jean Jacques treated his wife like a drudge, and sometimes passed weeks without addressing a single word to her, and drove her to complete distraction by disposing of each of their five children immediately after its birth by placing it in the turnstile of the Paris Foundling Hospital.

The earliest friend of woman, and perhaps the most important, was Plato, who in his *Republic*, declares that the gifts of nature are alike diffused in both men and women; all the pursuits of men should be also those of women, though perhaps in all of them the women might be inferior to the men, and he strongly advocates similar education for men and women. More, in his *Utopia*, follows on the same line, and advocates their being trained in martial exercises. Solomon, the preacher, in his beautiful description of a virtuous woman, Burke, Condorcet, Dugald Stewart, Jeremy Bentham, and hosts of other great men, each in his own epoch, advocated the cause of women, but they were powerless to affect the good they desired. They only proved, as Mrs. Fawcett says, that many master minds did not placidly accept as satisfactory the relation of man and woman as that of master and slave.

On the other hand, we find very different views held by some of those whose works are ranked among the classics. Oliver Goldsmith declares that women should be confined within the limits of domesticity, as when they stray beyond them they move beyond their sphere and consequently without grace. "Let women spin, not preach," says one writer. "Obedience is woman's duty on earth," says Schiller.

"Women," says Lord Chesterfield, "are only children of a larger growth, they have an entertaining tattle and sometimes wit, but for solid reasoning and good sense, I never in my life knew one that had it, or who reasoned or acted consequentially for four and twenty hours together. A man of sense only trifles with them, but he neither consults them about, nor trusts them with, serious matters. They love mightily to dabble in business (which, by the way, they always spoil) and no flattery is too high or too low for them."

Dr. Johnson thought literature was unsuitable for women and that portrait painting was an indelicate occupation, because it sometimes necessitated their staring in men's faces. Madame de Maintenon, who, however, cannot of course be classed among the classics, thought that girls of the middle classes should be kept to domestic duties, obedience to husband, and the care of their children, and that the cultivation of their minds, especially in the direction of reading, was highly inappropriate. Napoleon was no friend of



woman's liberty, and an anonymous critic of his time not only wished to curtail their liberties but the length of their days. "What business," said he, "has a woman to remain in this world after she has turned forty?" Prior, however, to the Napoleonic period, a woman arose who was to effect more for woman's emancipation than any other single individual who had worked hitherto towards that end. The fermentation in men's minds, due to the same causes which produced the French Revolution, had already evolved new thoughts about the rights of men which overthrew despotism in Western Europe and produced its effect on the greatest despotism of all, that of man over woman. The world was therefore prepared to assimilate the views as expressed by Mary Wollstonecraft in her book, *The Vindication of the Rights of Women*, which appeared in 1792.

In this important work she scouted the idea that women were created simply to minister to the amusement of men, and affirmed that this was closely allied to the belief that peasants and workmen existed solely for satisfying the wants and pleasures of the aristocratic classes. She proves to demonstration the falsity of these notions, though she keenly appreciated the sanctity of women's domestic duties, as all serious thinkers do to-day. She claimed for women the right to share in the advantages of representation in Parliament, seventy years before it was heard of in the House of Commons, and pointed out, sixty years before any English woman had become a qualified medical practitioner, that the profession of medicine was one particularly well suited for women. The one object in life of an unmarried woman, in the time of this writer, was to catch a husband. That aim was to be pursued with unceasing vigilance; the whole of women's education, such as it was, dress, manners and thought, were to be subordinated to that one object, though a woman must never openly avow it, and it was considered indelicate to let it appear that she married from inclination. "What would be the state of such women in the next world?" asks Mary Wollstonecraft, "where there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage, for though men were always enjoined to prepare for a future state, women's education prepared them only for this." The minority at the Council of Macon would probably have replied that, as women have no soul, it didn't much matter. One of her chief arguments against the subjection of women was one of her opponents' chief arguments in its favour, for she, unlike them, maintained that it actually handicapped woman in her domestic duties. Unless women were allowed, she says, to freely acquire understanding, no authority could make them discharge their domestic duties in a right and proper manner. Perpetual obedience, she contends, weakens the understanding and responsibility, whereas the necessity of thinking and deciding strengthens it. It was not long before these views had their influence on thoughtful minds, but it was not

until after the middle of the last century that effective steps were taken to bring about the emancipation of women.

Women were heard on platforms, preaching freedom for their sisters, and in 1866 we find that a petition, signed by 1500 women, was presented to Parliament in favour of women's suffrage, and societies were formed all over the country with this object. In 1867 John Stuart Mill rose in the House of Commons and pleaded for the enfranchisement of women, and moved that the word "person" be substituted for that of "man" in all clauses of the Reform Bill then under discussion. His motion was, however, defeated by 196 to 73 votes. The proposal was, indeed, looked upon by the mass of Englishmen as an absurd and even ludicrous novelty, which deserved to be laughed out of court, and the *Times* of the day, in reporting the debate, in support of this view, stated that there was a tacit agreement guaranteeing to the weaker sex the protection of the stronger, upon one condition only, that condition being the political dependence of women. On the other hand, it was maintained that political power was as much an inalienable right of woman as of man, and that her enfranchisement, both as an act of justice and expediency, was imperatively necessary. "Without it," they said, "a storm of prejudice might sweep away the present privileges of women, while she would remain helpless and unable to protect them by a single vote."

Her alleged unfitness for the vote, owing to ignorance in political matters, was combated by the *Spectator*, which pointed out at the time that the political knowledge of the great bulk of the people was the result, and not the cause, of their enfranchisement. It is, says Lecky in his *Democracy and Liberty*, an anomaly that the purchase of a house or a piece of land should confer the right of voting if the purchaser be a male, but not if she be a female, and that a woman who is a landed proprietress or the head of a great industrial undertaking should be surrounded by dependants and tenants who possess the right of voting through her favour, while the proprietress herself is denuded of all political power; and that in a land where the inseparable connection of taxation and representation has been preached as a cardinal principle of freedom, female taxpayers should have no voice in the disposal of Imperial taxation.

There can be little doubt, Lecky continues, that women are on the whole more conscientious than men—at least where the obligation of performing some definite duty is clearly set before them—and the infusion into the electorate of a large number of voters who act under some real sense of duty could scarcely fail to be beneficial. It would raise the standard of private morality required in public men, and increase the importance of character in public life. Bailey, in his treatise, *The Rationale of Political Representation*, which appeared in 1835, says that it may be doubted

whether the relation of the sexes to each other will ever be placed on a just and proper footing, until they both have their share of control over the enactments of the Legislature.

In the present time, when there are gigantic factories in which tens of thousands of women are employed, and when legislative regulation of industry is admittedly a necessity, it is clearly just that women should have a controlling voice in such legislation. In matters of education, and in social questions, her participation in the making of laws is of vital consequence. The question of the enfranchisement of women and her eligibility for local governing bodies is one which still remains to be settled in this country, though it has been solved in favour of women in Australia, New Zealand, the Isle of Man, and in some of the States of America. In Austria too, and in some other countries, women are entitled to an indirect franchise through male nominees.

It is quite certain that the matter will not be allowed to rest in this country until finally settled in women's favour, but conditions have been unfavourable during the last few years owing to pressure of business and the South African War, and now possibly the fiscal question and the War Office reform, but the temporary lull is not to be mistaken for the abandonment by women and their advocates in Parliament of their cherished cause. Where the franchise has been granted, as, for example, in the State of Wyoming in 1869, we have the best authority for the statement that it has worked admirably, and that the voting of women in opposition to their husbands has not in any case been followed by unpleasant consequences. Women are themselves in most civilised countries directing their energies towards this end by qualifying themselves wherever opportunity admits of it. Education is one of the all-important means in that direction, and women have shown themselves absolutely capable of directing it and taking advantage of its benefits.

Miss Emily Davis, in 1869, conceived the idea of a woman's college, and Girton was the result. Miss Clough opened a house for women students in 1871, and Newnham College was the outcome of her endeavours. The ancient University of St. Andrews soon afterwards admitted women to examination in arts, and gave a degree to those who passed successfully. They were to be styled *Licenciatees*, or *Lady Licenciatees*, not *Bachelors of Arts*, from some foolish fear, now past, of the ridicule attaching to the latter when applied to women. In 1878 the University of London admitted women to all degrees, and then Oxford and Cambridge permitted them to take part in their examinations, including the *Mathematical Tripos*. The result was extraordinary. In 1887 Miss Ramsay was bracketed equal with the *Senior Wrangler*, and last year more women presented themselves for degrees at the London University than men, though this may have been due to the fact that the

male graduates did not take the trouble of coming up in full strength.

In medicine women have been marvellously successful in every country of Europe and in America. It is not more than forty years since Elizabeth Garrett, by a fluke, obtained the diploma of a qualified physician from the Society of Apothecaries, whose charter, it was discovered, had, by an error of drafting, not excluded women from its membership, though all the other eighteen licensing bodies of Great Britain had done so. As a student, Miss Garrett was only *tolerated* in the wards of the hospital, and at the classes on one occasion she was dismissed because her answers to clinical questions put to the class were too good, and the students mutinied. Since that time, hospitals for women, managed by women, have sprung up and have been found to compare favourably with general hospitals managed by men (for in London at least, as I have specially ascertained, on no council of the general hospitals is a woman to be found). And it is acknowledged by the profession that as a skilled operator there are few surgeons to be found equal to Mrs. Scharlieb. In science women have equally distinguished themselves, from the time when Caroline Herschel was awarded the gold medal of the Astronomical Society for her discovery of eight new comets, whilst she was "minding the heavens," as she affectionately called it, for her brother, down till quite recently, when Madame Curie discovered radium.

In business many women have shown great capacity, even when extremely complicated financial transactions had to be carried through. Mrs. Flora Sassoon managed entirely alone the large banking business of Sassoon & Co. in Bombay, for six years, with great success. Daily we read of successful women commercial travellers, and recently I was informed that a woman Guardian in Marylebone was urgently requested not to resign, as she wished to, from the financial committee of that body, of which she was the leading spirit, as her colleagues were unanimously of the opinion that the work could not be better done by any one else.

So far as the liberal professions, other than that of medicine, are concerned, we must look to foreign countries, which are much in advance of ourselves in this matter, for the success of women's endeavours. In Holland two women were called to the Bar last year, and are already in successful practice, and women barristers are to be found in Canada and America and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Thus I think I have shown that where women have the opportunity afforded them of proving their capacity, on equal terms with men, the result has been highly creditable to women, and the effect upon the physical and mental condition of the children of such who have become mothers cannot be said to have been disturbing.

<sup>1</sup> On March 1 of this year in Rome, the Chamber passed a Bill admitting women who had taken their legal degree to practise at the Bar.

The belief, hitherto so widely held, that women should be restricted to "Kinder, Kirche, Küche, and Kleider," as the Emperor of Germany would define their sphere, which we should translate as "Children, Church, Cookery, and Clothes," is losing force through women's own proved ability in wider occupations. It is all very well to use Lord Melbourne's interrogative summary of the ultimate conservative argument, "Why can't you let it alone?" and apply it to the present question, but where the future comfort of more than half of the human species is concerned, such argument cannot be admitted for a moment.

The fierce competition in modern industrial life, the fact that all women cannot marry, even if all men were willing to become husbands, makes it absolutely necessary for most women to be fully equipped for the struggle for existence. Who can tell whether such and such a female child is to find a partner in life, or if she is to fight her way alone in the world? That the modern education of women is such as to fit them to be either wives or workers, or both, I am not prepared to maintain, but then education generally has not reached an ideal state. But to condemn the present form of education for women without suggesting any other form to take its place, except that, practically, confined to the study of domestic duties, is, I think, a grave mistake in the light of the possible prospective calls on women whose chances of confining their attention to domestic duties are so very precarious. "In middle-class education," says a schoolmistress in a recent communication to the press, "the High School in England has so successfully met the present-day necessity for large numbers of middle-class girls to earn their own livelihood, that the pathetic and dependent old maid of a former generation is extinct." If that be true, and I venture to say that it is true, what an increase of happiness for a great and worthy class is thereby gained! Another authority asserts that the high-school training not only fits women for earning their own living, but also fits them to become, if married, "excellent and capable wives with happy and well ordered homes." These high-school ideals, thus justifying their existence, will filter down to the masses, and adjusted to the requirements of these, will bring solid advantages in their train.

But the greatest stimulus to the women of all classes to "fulfil themselves" must be the knowledge that no encumbrance in future will be put in the path of their progress towards the full and free use of their powers.

In this article I have endeavoured to prove, and I hope successfully, that the legal subordination of women to men is both unjust and inexpedient, and that man's use of his monopoly of power has indeed pressed heavily on the other sex. I have tried to show that, when unrestricted in its development, the average intellectual capacity of women is by no means inferior to that of the average of

men, and that women's store of energy, when rightly directed, is ample for any work they may be called upon to perform. I have brought evidence to show that, contrary to the opinion of many, women themselves, in all stations of life, *do* desire their emancipation, and that where it has been in part granted to them, they have proved themselves capable of taking full advantage of its opportunities to the benefit of the whole community. In a recent letter to the *Times*, written by a careful observer of the Australian institutions, we find a wholesale condemnation by the writer of all the modern innovations in some of the Antipodes, such as Old-Age Pensions, the Early-Closing Act, the Arbitration Act, and the payment of members, but not a word said against the enfranchisement of women, which has been adopted there. And who would now suggest that the practice of medicine should cease to be open to women?

The franchise for the purpose of municipal elections has been in the hands of women in England for many years, and nothing that can be called dangerous to the liberties of men has been the result. If this can be effected without danger, surely the closely allied franchise for Parliament can equally be safely entrusted to the same women voters.

FREDERIC S. FRANKLIN.

## THE COMING SCIENTIFIC MORALITY.

THE object of the following article is to show in a concise form the real origin of morality: the dependence of morality upon fundamental scientific principles, and the relation of science to good and evil. It proposes no revolutionary ideas, but illustrates the gradually coming effects of scientific knowledge upon the moral sentiments and conduct of mankind. The subject is treated in a comprehensive manner, because the ordinary treatment of morality introduces numerous contradictions.

### (a) THE REAL FOUNDATION OF MORALITY.

The subjects of science and morality appear so very unlike that it is commonly believed they have no connection with each other; a chief reason for this is, morality is so very much more complex than mechanics, with which it is usually compared, that we cannot so readily understand it. If we examine books on morals we find that, notwithstanding human bodies and brains are material substances constantly influenced by numerous scientific conditions, little or nothing is said in them about any scientific relations of the subject. As this fundamental omission requires notice, I beg leave to say a few words on the question; but, owing to its inherent complexity and its numerous seeming contradictions, it is impossible to make it clear to all persons; and as inherent ideas are permanent, the only remedy for this is a prepared mind and attentive reading.

Notwithstanding the seeming absence of any connection between science and morality, I will endeavour to show that the chief principles of science are the great guides of life, and are not only essentially related to morality, but actually constitute its primary foundation. On the authority of sufficient evidence I venture to affirm that the only permanent basis of morality is immutable truth; and as well-verified science is the most perfect truth we possess, we may reasonably expect to find a fixed basis of morality in it.

By the term "science" I mean knowledge derived from proper and sufficient evidence; by "morality" I mean such human conduct as produces justifiable effects on sentient creatures; by "immorality," the infliction of unjustifiable injury upon living beings; and by "truth" I mean statements consistent with all known facts. The terms "truth" and "science" are largely synonymous, and as dogma

is not knowledge, and science and dogma are incompatible, there is no dogmatic science. Although our knowledge of science is not yet to any large extent absolute, it is gradually becoming so, and is even now very certain in some of its parts; thus we know to a second of time the periods of coming eclipses, and he who won't believe that the sun will rise to-morrow because it is not absolute knowledge must "sit still and perish." Knowledge and belief are very different; by means of proper and sufficient evidence we may be gradually led to know all things, whilst without evidence we may believe but cannot know anything. The most moral course is to proportion our faith and belief to the evidence.

As natural agents, such as alcohol and our environments, influence our moral conduct, and pain and pleasure are states of the nervous system, morality is a part of science. According to all related evidence the permanent basis of morality lies in the great principles of universal motion, universal causation, continuity of cause and effect, action and reaction, &c., all of which have been abundantly established by original research. With these truthful principles to guide us, all logical thinking on the subject leads to truth.

As all material phenomena, manifestly those of astronomy and physics, constitute a perfect and orderly system, a correct verbal representation of them must be a perfect system of truth; and as universal causation and motion present a similar system, I venture to say that they are a safer foundation of morality than any unprovable statements can possibly be; they are also more reliable guides of conduct than instinct or feeling alone, because moral conduct is a result of feeling after it has been corrected by intellect and training. In the very complex subject of morality, unless we know what is right we often cannot do it, and even if we do know we often act wrongly, simply because the stronger powers of feeling and desire compel us. Perfect integrity requires ability.

(b) DEPENDENCE OF MORALITY UPON UNIVERSAL MOTION.

Unceasing internal motion exists in all material bodies (including human beings), and in the universal ether which pervades all substances and all space. We know nothing of the first cause of it, but we know that it is practically indestructible; that when it disappears it either becomes stored up or reappears in another form or place; and that it is continually being transferred from one body to another by radiation through the ether: the chief proofs of this are the phenomena of conservation of energy and of universal change. We know that this motion differs in form in every different substance, because each substance produces a different spectrum; and we consider that these differences of form of motion are the cause of



the unlike properties of different bodies, because when we confer new movements upon a body it acquires new properties; thus a straight chain acquires rigidity when caused to move rapidly in the direction of its length; the gyroscope and Foucault's pendulum are other examples. We know further that bodies of unlike properties act frequently and spontaneously upon each other by mere contact. Chemistry furnishes us with an immense number of such instances. They also act by radiation through the ether; thus their spectra, such as those of the sun and of white-hot coke, produce different effects upon a photographic surface, &c.; a mere look may cause hatred.

All material substances are extremely complex, and we can only faintly realise the great febleness of our perceptive powers in relation to them and their movements. The extremely minute molecular motions of the simplest substance entirely surpass our powers of perception and comprehension; spectrum analysis has shown that the internal movements of the smallest particle of white-hot iron "are more complex than the visible ones of the entire solar system."

Evidence already existing is abundantly sufficient to prove that all bodies (including ourselves) are not only in a state of constant internal motion, but also of continual change of motion; that the cause of this change is largely the unlike properties of different bodies which enable them to act and react upon and alter the properties and motions of each other, as we see so often in cases of chemical union, &c., and that all actions, including those of ourselves, occur in accordance with law. Such great truths as these are of the utmost value to mankind, but are not readily accepted, largely because ordinary minds are not sufficiently scientific to receive them. As an example of this, about three hundred years ago the English philosopher, Hobbes, said: "There is only one reality in the world—it is movement, external, without beginning, the cause of each and every change." Partly owing to the limited evidence existing at the time in proof of this hypothesis, his idea was neglected, but the evidence in its support has now become so vast that we are compelled to adopt it as a settled truth.

This universal motion in our organs and environments causes our experiences; our experiences, and inferences from them, produce our ideas, and our experiences and ideas cause our actions through the medium of our nervous system. When our environments act upon our nervous centres, the latter, by unconscious "reflex" or "automatic" action through the nerves, largely cause our bodily movements and the changes in our organs. Nearly every organ in our body acts automatically during sleep, and more or less during the waking state; the heart acts automatically at all times, the lungs breathe automatically, the brain thinks automatically during dreams,

and partly so during the waking state ; we walk automatically until we come to a difficulty, and then the conscious intellect excited by the stronger impression operates and prevents an accident. Most of the actions, especially of untrained persons, are automatic. When we cease to automatically move, we die. Automatic actions have no moral quality because they do not involve conscious intellect.

In nearly all cases of physical and chemical action there are conversions of energy from one form into another, and in all such cases practically no energy is created or destroyed, and the total effect is equal to the total cause ; this is well known as the principle of universal equivalence and the conservation of energy. Similar conversions take place in us ; thus, the latent energy contained in food and air give rise to vital power. Nearly every such act, whether in living things or in dead ones, is, however, attended by dissipation of energy, usually in the form of heat ; thus muscular energy warms our bodies, and thinking makes the head hot, and the dissipation of power in a steam-engine and boiler between the furnace and fly-wheel is quite 87 per cent. Through similar dissipations of energy within us our "reflex" actions are often weaker than our direct ones, and we know that intellect is often weaker than the animal feelings out of which it arises. It is apparently by a process of conversion of energy that our intellectual acts are produced by prior material ones ; thus the energy of oxidising cerebral tissue is accompanied by mental action. We know that one direction of visible motion in a machine can be converted into another ; for instance, reciprocating into circular, &c. ; and as the laws of motion of small bodies are the same as those of large ones, it is reasonable to conclude that one kind of invisible molecular motion can be converted into another in the human body and brain as certainly as visible motion is in an inanimate machine. The usual cause of conversion of energy and of the changes occurring in nature is difference of property and motion of adjacent substances.

All cases of morality as here defined are instances of action and reaction, chiefly between human beings and between men and other animals, also between each man and his environments, and between his brain and his bodily organs ; thus the mere sight of valuable property causes the thief to steal, and bodily feelings excite moral and immoral ideas. We are always under the influence of motion, from within and without, from the cradle to the grave, compelled to act or to refrain from acting, and are equally obliged to accept sooner or later some of the consequences, whether pleasant or painful, of our conduct. This is not fatalism, because scientific effects are always conditional whilst fatalistic ones are entirely unconditional. Similar to all other material bodies, man is inexorably bound by law and circumstances, though he often does not like to think so, because it curbs his desires.

The world is not governed essentially by what we with our narrow ideas consider "justice," but by material necessity, and it is only when acts of natural causation happen to agree with those ideas that we consider them just. We are so ignorant and conceited that we forget our littleness, and cannot believe that great terrestrial powers, such as earthquakes, lightning, &c., are just toward us. Why do the weak yield to the strong in all cases? It is simply because all natural actions are essentially of a mechanical nature. In consequence of difference of circumstances and property in every different substance, all bodies act and react upon each other, and each governs in proportion to its power; the large celestial globes govern the small ones, and the small ones react upon them; the stronger animal feelings govern the intellect, and the latter react and in a less degree govern them. The powers of all bodies are limited by their mass and their motion, and by the fact that they cannot simultaneously possess contradictory properties; the existence of one property necessarily limits that of its opposite, thus a body cannot be soft and hard, brittle and tough. According to some writers, even a deity cannot possess incompatible powers; thus—"How can infinite justice exact the utmost penalty for every sin, and yet infinite mercy pardon the sinner?" (Dean Mansel.)

As natural laws are invariable, the actions of all material substance are regulated; each celestial body has a definite speed of motion, and human progress has a definite rate. We cannot "hurry up a millennium." The rate of human progress depends largely upon fixedness of human habits, and upon the fact that when an idea has been firmly impressed upon the brain, it remains until death, and prevents the reception of new ones. Human progress is a very complex phenomenon, and its rate is not measurable by us; but notwithstanding this, its rate must be as fixed as that of the earth in its orbit, because it depends upon the same ultimate causes and laws. It is the discovery of new knowledge which enables mankind to advance, and the diffusion of it maintains the state attained.

All change requires time, and dissimilar bodies require different periods to alter without injury; human beings have often to make many preparations in order to prevent great loss and suffering caused by change. If any substance is too rapidly strained, it is damaged, a stick too quickly bent breaks, over-strained metals suffer permanent change, and men do not entirely recover from greatly injured moral character.

In our own individual case, our actions *seem* to be regulated by energy of volition, but as volition is not an uncaused phenomenon, and cannot of itself create energy, we are really governed by the internal and external influences which cause our volitions. A steam-engine seems to be regulated by its "governor," but the real

energy exerted through that contrivance is that of the steam. Notwithstanding our seeming volitional power we are nearly as helpless in the power of universal energy as the dust of a road is in the rush of a hurricane. Man desires, but energy performs, apparently in every case; we are incessantly governed by climate, temperature, tides, state of bodily health, &c., &c. All men are more or less controlled by ignorance, largely in consequence of deficiency of knowledge, disease and accidents kill millions of men prematurely every year. Very few die simply of old age, for in every man :

“ There is always somewhere a weakest spot,  
Above or below, within or without,  
And that is the reason beyond a doubt,  
A man ‘ breaks down,’ but doesn’t wear out.”  
(O. W. HOLMES.)

All substances more or less govern all substances at all distances by means of radiations; and as we are material bodies, radiant energy largely governs us; thus we are held fast to the earth by rays of gravity, and are kept alive by rays of heat from the sun; we are also affected by rays of light, rays from radium, &c., &c.

Man is a storehouse of energy derived from the food and air he consumes, and the heat of the sun potentially contained in it. He is a structure in which energy is always active, with nervous organs for consciously or unconsciously liberating it, and producing either moral or “immoral” effects. Energy continually flows through him, it enters his body in the food and air he consumes, and escapes largely as bodily heat and movement. His body is always being consumed and renewed, and appears to be as truly kept in action by the energy of chemical union of the oxygen in the blood with his tissues, as a steam-engine is by the oxidation of the coal in its boiler furnace.

#### (c) SCIENTIFIC VIEWS OF LIFE AND MIND.

All kinds of error are obstacles to the spread of morality. Books, &c., are continually being written without definitions of the chief terms used in them. Through neglect of properly defining of terms, and of limiting their meanings, the idea of universal molecular motion has been in some cases misused, thus the well-known self-repair of crystals, and the spontaneous recovery of metals from internal strain have been spoken of as “life in crystals” and “life in metals.” That inanimate bodies, minerals, magnets, &c., potentially contain the rudiments of some of the properties of animals, such as action and reaction, is quite true, but we require definite terms to indicate complex abstract ideas such as life, mind, spirit, &c., and it is misleading to call the invisible molecular motion

of metals or crystals "life," because, as far as we know, "life" only exists in organic cellular structures.

The abstract idea of universal molecular motion is very similar to that of a deity, and many persons have unscientifically spoken of God as being "an all-pervading mind." It is true that such motion has the qualities of omnipotence, omnipresence, infinity and invisibility, but it has not that of personality; nor is it really "mind," because the existence of mind in the absence of nervous substance has never been proved.

The idea of the existence of a "mind" or "soul," as a separate entity, whether in the body or out of it, is another error opposing moral progress. It is really only a mental abstraction of our collection of thinking faculties; the independent existence of mind has never been proved, and the idea has for ages deceived millions of persons, and even if such an entity did exist, we have no proof that it creates energy with which to perform mental actions; if also, as science infers, such actions are really caused by natural influences under physiological conditions, there is no need of a separate entity or "spirit" to produce them. The mere ethereal or mysterious nature of a substance or action does not warrant our calling it a "spirit," "spiritual," or "supernatural."

The idea of the existence of a "second self" within us is another unproved assumption, and appears to be explicable by ordinary physiology. Under the influence of suitable stimuli, all our organs act "automatically," the legs walk, the lungs breathe, the heart beats, without supervision by the intellect. Similarly, under the stimulus of indigestion, cerebral excitement, &c., the brain thinks during dreams, and this kind of thinking has been attributed to a "second" or "subliminal" self within us. Thought, whether conscious or unconscious, if uncorrected by intellect and training is often unhealthy, and sometimes dangerous; in the *conscious* state in men and women, all kinds of crime are committed under its influence; similarly with animals, they have less intellect than men, and are audaciously guilty of instinctive deceit, theft, and murder: in the *unconscious* state, as in dreams, even suicide and murder have been committed, and many somnambulists have seriously injured themselves. Nevertheless, in highly intelligent and trained persons, dreams are occasionally correct, and acts of thinking have on rare occasions been performed during them which could not have been done in the waking-state in consequence of disturbing influences. As dreaming, somnambulism, trance, &c., are reasonably explicable by ordinary physiological automatism, there is no need of the assumption of "a second-self" to explain them.

We may approximately limit the term "mind" or "soul" to the collection of faculties or actions termed consciousness, observation, comparison, inference, and imagination; and as far as we know,

these exist only in living nervous organisms. Farther, in the long series of living structures from plants up to man, wherever mind appears there also is nervous substance. Mind is a species of life, and life may be scientifically viewed as a kind of motion; but motion alone, separate from organic structure, is neither life nor mind; metals and crystals have internal motion but do not live. Wherever mind exists, questions of morality begin to arise, because moral action is largely mental, and mental action is produced, as far as we can infer at present, partly by oxidation of living nervous substance. Sooner or later, by the aid of new discoveries, life and mind will probably be much more precisely defined as particular forms of internal movement occurring only under special conditions in suitable organisms, but as the human intellect is nearly powerless in such profound and complex questions without the aid of proper and sufficient evidence, we must work and wait for more discoveries.

In consequence of insufficient knowledge of scientific principles and of how to use them in explaining mental phenomena, a great mystery has been made of consciousness. Consciousness and attention are largely synonymous; each consists merely of a high degree of activity of the senses, and this increases with the strength of influence of the environments upon them; the stronger and more sudden that influence and the more excitable the senses, the more vivid the attention and consciousness. Consciousness is largely increased by the perception by one sense of the action of another in the same organism, and there are all degrees of it. Perfectly automatic actions, such as those of some of the viscera in a healthy state, are not usually noticed by the senses, whilst those which are violent or are accompanied by great pain or pleasure, are strongly perceived, and when several senses are simultaneously and strongly excited, each one perceives the excitement of the others, and by co-operation heightens the effect: thus if we suspect a great danger close at hand, such as our house on fire in the night, several senses are excited, we see, smell, and taste the smoke, we hear the sounds of burning, we feel our heart beating, and feel and see our body trembling, and each sense perceives, more or less, the excitement of the others, and thus increases the total feeling. Consciousness is intimately related to morality, the more conscious we are of our actions the more accountable are we considered to be for them.

(d) DEPENDENCE OF MORALITY UPON UNIVERSAL CAUSATION.

Next in importance to the dependence of morality upon universal motion is its relation to universal causation. Abundant evidence exists to prove that moral and immoral actions are as much cases of cause and effect as motion produced by steam, and the great assumption that some natural phenomena are produced without a natural

cause has never yet been proved ; all men are caused to perform acts of "good" and "evil," friendship and enmity, by the influences within and around them. In some cases many causes produce a single effect as in the maintenance of a good character, whilst in others a single cause produces many effects as in the sudden destruction of that character by a criminal act. Given unlimited time, the smallest cause may produce a very great effect, as continually occurs in the washing away of mountains by rain, and in the gradual loss of moral character by habitually telling small untruths. In other cases the number of causes between the earliest one and the effect are many, but this, like the number of links in a chain, makes no difference in the result, provided all the intermediate connections are certain. Lapse of time also has no influence, thus we are as certainly descendants of the first human couple, and inheritors of some of their moral qualities, as of our immediate parents. Many persons want to know "the first cause of all things," not thinking that this is quite beyond our feeble powers, and that every cause must have had an earlier one to produce it. Causation acts as surely in a complex machine as in a simple one, in a man as in a windmill, in morals as in mechanics, provided all the necessary conditions are present. This statement is based upon the great principles of indestructibility of motion and continuity of cause and effect, but the degree of certainty in morals *seems* to be less than in mechanics, because the more numerous conditions confuse us ; nearly the whole of our difficulty in understanding complex subjects arises from the smallness of our knowledge and the very limited powers of the human brain. As moral qualities are not often measurable, it is not much wonder that we cannot assess moral values.

Under the influence of universal motion and causation, acting according to invariable laws, all material bodies, ourselves included, "do as they must," and we are so far justified in all our actions whether moral or immoral. Some persons are alarmed at this great scientific statement, as if it was wrong to submit to greater powers than our own ; but whether we consider it right or wrong, we have no choice in the matter ; even the great globes in space are compelled to obey, and why should not we ? It might be supposed that if this was true it would render unnecessary all praise and reward, punishment and blame, but as causation is not suspended in the mutual presence of any two bodies, we are still compelled by the influence of our environments to encourage "right" and discourage "wrong" by all the ordinary means. We may reasonably conclude that even the greatest criminals "do as they must," and this is the truest charity, because whilst it does not prevent correction of "immoral" conduct, it calms revengeful feelings and prevents undue punishment. As the stomach is more clamorous for food than the brain is for learning, the necessity of getting an income is with

nearly all men more urgent than love of truth or virtue; multitudes of persons are compelled by this influence to do all kinds of "immoral" and "criminal" acts, and this is largely proved by the great number and variety of "crimes" they commit. Persons are not to be entirely blamed for the acts they commit under compulsion, and we cannot so heavily punish a man for his "evil" actions if we are fully convinced that he "does as he must" under all the conditions and circumstances.

All bodies whatever, men included, have only limited powers, and this is largely due to the circumstances that a body cannot possess contradictory attributes nor perform incompatible actions simultaneously; thus, it cannot be both hot and cold, nor move in opposite directions at the same moment. A man cannot be alive and dead concurrently, and, as we cannot perform incompatible acts nor exert superhuman powers, we must not expect too much of each other, but make allowance for human weakness. It is evident from these and other facts that the great scientific truth—"contradictions cannot co-exist"—lies at the basis of all human conduct, whether moral or physical.

As the influences within and around us are often stronger than our wishes, obedience to them is a necessary condition of life, our internal stimuli requires us to breathe, and we must either do so or die. In going through life we are as truly compelled by natural influences to move or refrain from moving as the blades of grass in a field are by the force of the wind. Ask any man why he did a particular act, and he will probably say—either that he does not know, that he was compelled to do it, or that he did it by his own free will; in the first case he may have been moved by an unobserved cause, in the second by an observed one, and in the third by an unnoticed one which coincided with his volition at the moment. When a man retires from business he is usually compelled by the circulation of the blood in his body and brain to seek some other occupation. We cannot carry out our "will" to "do as we like" in any case, unless our volitions happen to agree with the natural powers that govern us, and which, by supplying energy, are the real causes of our acts; we cannot by merely "willing it" fly across the Atlantic Ocean, nor even swim across the Straits of Dover, unless those powers are propitious. "Freedom of will" is conditional, the farther we scientifically examine it, the more we find the effect to be due to ordinary natural causes. The government of the world by universal energy underlies all our arrangements; obedience to greater powers is indispensable in politics, sociology, morality, and religion; it allows no distinction between men, all must submit to it; out of it arise all our systems of law and rules for maintaining life and health, and for performing all our legal, social, and moral duties.



Every one of our actions, if properly interpreted, proves that we "do as we must"; thus we all must die in order that our successors may live; each man is compelled to be born, to accept his position in nature, and when he ceases to be useful he is usually forced out of sight. He is compelled to suffer pain, anxiety, poverty, ungratified desire, to be praised and blamed, punished and rewarded, to work and wait, to love and to hate, to discover and invent, to fail and to succeed, to acquire numerous mental and bodily diseases and deformities and numberless false ideas which he can never erase, to commit crimes, to believe untruths and promulgate them, to deceive and be deceived in nearly all directions, because whilst there is usually only one true explanation of a phenomenon, there are often many false ones, especially in the very complex phenomena of psychical research, morals, and spiritualism.

Some persons seem alarmed at the numerous changes wrought by science, and ask, "Where is science leading us?"—tell us, oh tell us, how far will science go? Farther and farther is nearly all we know. As we cannot predict as surely in morals as in mechanics, we should be reasonably content with the knowledge we possess until we can discover more, and probably when more is found and more is understood, we then shall better see that "all is good." All things, even our ideas of morality, are changing; matter and change are inseparable, and their union and continuance are so perfect that we are practically compelled to accept them as complete. "Everything that exists depends upon the past, prepares the future, and is related to the whole" (Oersted). Continuity unites all natural phenomena in one great flowing scene, the present to the past and future; it is the basis of heredity, and of all history of morals and other subjects; it secures fulfilment of prediction of future events, as in eclipses, and in the discovery of substances which we have never seen but which are subsequently obtained, as in the case of helium, &c.

(e) SCIENTIFIC VIEW OF GOOD AND EVIL.

The subject of morality is very largely composed of questions relating to "good" and "evil." Scientifically defined "good" is that which serves some useful purpose, not merely to mankind, but to the entire universe; any narrower definition than this leads to numerous contradictions which prove its falsity; and what we term "evil" is mostly that which unjustifiably produces pain, anxiety, or injury to sentient creatures. A common idea of "evil" is anything which produces pain; but this is a great mistake, because pain is simply a sensation which we fear and dislike. It is manifest that if any so-called "evil" prevents a greater one it must be good, thus the pain of amputation of a limb in order to save a life is not an

evil; that which does good is good, and as the welfare of this globe and all upon it is vastly more important than that of men alone, earthquakes and volcanic outbursts are good, because they relieve the crust of the earth and prevent the occurrence of greater ones. Actions are not necessarily "evil" because they are violent or rapid, nor is the universe imperfect because all things in it are constantly changing and causing us pain and anxiety.

The belief that pain is "evil" is one of the greatest of human deceptions; nearly every person entertains it, and there is no false idea so firmly fixed or so easy to acquire. This is due to the fact that we all suffer pain, and the idea that it is "evil" has been bred in us and taught afresh to each new generation; this false idea is, however, often useful to those who cannot realise the truthful one. That pain is not evil is shown in many ways; insensibility to it is often dangerous, because it warns us of approaching disease—thus the incipient pains of gout bid us properly regulate our diet and exercise. Pain is our great disciplinarian; if it were not for the anticipation of it we should often injure ourselves. "The burnt child shuns the fire." The painful prospect of poverty makes us thrifty; without the pains and anxieties of earning an income we should lapse into idleness, luxury, and disease. The desire to escape pain and increase pleasure compels us to train ourselves, acquire knowledge, discover new truths, invent contrivances, seek new remedies, &c. As inanimate bodies undergo violent changes, and all animals suffer pain and death, why should not we? We strongly object to having more pain than we are able to bear, but even in this case we often have to submit to greater powers, as in the case of epidemics, &c. Trials are not "evils," but pain to be borne, or work to be done.

As ignorance, untruth, and false beliefs are great sources of human suffering, it might be supposed that they are really evil, but we know that in certain cases untruths are more useful than truths to unlearned persons, simply because they are more easily understood; thus, the idea of the existence of an evil deity has been very useful in its time, and so has that of a heaven and hell. We pay physicians to prescribe poisons to cure our bodies, and why not pay for untruths to console our minds? Various false beliefs have been, and are, great consolations to millions of anxious persons who have never had a chance of learning the great truths of science. Untruthful orators have induced multitudes of persons to think and improve who would never have done so, and the immense "evil" of ignorance affords a livelihood to great numbers of professional men, tradesmen, and others to supply the lack of knowledge in other persons. Anything which gratifies desire will "sell." If it were not for ignorant enthusiasm and exaggeration many good undertakings would not be carried out. Men are not

to be blamed because they are compelled to believe untruths; probably every false belief would be found to be useful if it were scientifically investigated; nevertheless, truth is more virtuous than untruth. Not the strictest truth, but "probability" is the great guide of life.

If we view the subject in a comprehensive manner we find that each seeming "evil" is usually followed by a greater good; thus every man is compelled to pay rates and taxes in order to secure safety of life and property, and the greater good thus acquired more than justifies the lesser "evil" needed to produce it: each man has to suffer for all in order that he may gain the support and protection of all. Even the premature death of multitudes of human beings by disease, &c., has the good effects of regulating the density of population and the speed of human progress, each of which, if too great, would ultimately cause greater disasters to the species, &c.

As pain and pleasure are states of the nervous system, morality is based upon physiology. The scientific basis of morality is further proved by the fact that the variety and number of pains and pleasures increase with the complexity of the animal structure and are greatest in civilised man; and if the human organism was still more complex it would be liable to a still greater variety of pains and pleasures. Good and evil, pleasure and pain are largely equivalents of each other; thus the greater the pleasure the more usually we have to work or pay for it. As the ideas of good and evil are extremely complex they are largely unmeasurable and we are often obliged to guess their magnitudes.

Many persons have asked, "Why does evil exist?" The answer is: for the same reason that all phenomena exist, viz., because it is a necessary consequence of universal energy acting upon material bodies. Good and "evil" are produced by the same natural causes, and often there is no essential difference between them, thus "virtue in excess is vice," and pleasure when too intense becomes pain. "Evil" is due to our internal and external environments, and these are almost endless in number and variety: it is also largely due to our limited powers, especially to the smallness of our knowledge, the fewness and narrowness of our senses and the undeveloped state of our brains. There are thousands of actions occurring within and around us every instant which our senses cannot perceive, and nature is full of phenomena which we cannot explain. Each of our powers, except our intellect, is surpassed by that of some other animal, thus our vision is weaker than that of an eagle, we cannot run as fast as a greyhound, fly like a bird, or swim like a fish. "Why has not man a microscopic eye? For this plain reason, man is not a fly." (Pope.)

In consequence of his limited powers, each man is frequently

making mistakes, neglecting the rules of health and moral conduct, injuring himself and others in many ways; resorting to deception, violence and crime, in order to effect his objects, and in some cases through despair of succeeding in life, committing suicide. The moral fall of men and women is often caused by inability to resist the influence of environments. Nothing, perhaps, shows more plainly the limited powers of man than the multitudes of crimes he commits, and the endless variety of pains, errors, and deceptions to which he is subject. Not only man, but all inanimate bodies have limited powers which frequently give rise to disasters; bodies break by their own weight, internal weakness, &c., and it is, therefore, no punishable defect in man that his abilities are not greater than they are; nevertheless, defective machines must be strengthened, and wrongdoers must be corrected, in order to prevent future disasters. The more ignorant the person the more is he carried through life by the stream of events without prediction or reaction on his part, and the more is he subject to accidents.

The problem of "evil" is extremely complex, and is "the great puzzle of mankind." Numerous moralists, theologians and metaphysicians have tried to solve it, but have largely failed, partly through deficiency of suitable scientific knowledge. The term "evil" is an extremely conventional one and very difficult to make clear, because it depends on so many conditions; thus what is "evil" to one man or at one time is often "good" to another man or at another time, or under slightly different conditions; deaths are good for the undertaker. The problem is rendered more confusing by the circumstance that each man's view differs from that of every other man, and that "evil" may be viewed in two very different aspects, viz., the ordinary narrow and deceptive one, and the broad, scientific and true one, and these two views often contradict each other. As real contradictions do not exist in nature, these must arise from the fact that the narrow view is an imperfect one. The subject is still further mystified by the fact that the whole of nature is in a continual state of change, and that our idea of "evil" is constantly changing with it.

In addition to all this, the innumerable different views taken of "evil" are so contradictory that the problem remains insoluble to nearly everybody. In such a very complex case the best guide to truth is a correct theory, because it yields true inferences: to refer the question to great scientific principles and view it in the most comprehensive aspect; but even a true theory, aided by most profound meditation, is not a sufficient guide to truth in the most difficult cases, partly because the human mind is unable to attach true values to all the numerous circumstances. The only theory which is perfectly consistent with all the evidence is the scientific one, viz., that the universe and all it contains is perfect, and that

each individual body is perfect in its own sphere and circumstances at the time, but this idea seems so opposed to our experience that it is quite beyond ordinary imagination. Our view of the universe must not, however, be contracted to suit narrow human capacities, but be expanded so as to represent the universe as it really is.

Each extreme view has its uses, and both are necessary, the narrow or so-called "practical" one for deciding what is best for the individual, irrespective of the welfare of others, and the broad one for general human welfare, and prediction of consequences: in practical life both views should usually be taken and acted upon. Commonly, however, "Self-preservation is the first rule of life," but as our automatic impulses are often stronger than our intellect, the selfish man obeys this so-called "first rule" and neglects the rights of his fellow-man. "The real first rule of life is to do the greatest good."

According to the narrow view, "there's something wrong in everything," man is full of sin and very imperfect, and the Earth is "badly governed," but according to the broad one "whatever is, is good, and all things are perfect in their respective spheres and fit for future change. Things are not imperfect because they are changing, all are doing so. As no substance can possess contradictory attributes, all bodies are limited in their properties and powers and therefore cannot act otherwise than they do, and as all "do as they must," their so-called "imperfections" are only limitations, thus an oyster is as perfect in its sphere as a man. A body is not imperfect because it is simple, nor because it is complex, nor because it has limited powers; thus a pin is as perfect as a watch, a mouse as a man, each in its own particular station. A sleeping man is not imperfect because he is wholly guided by his automatic action, without the help of intellect, he is only a more limited being. A man must not be unreservedly blamed because he is not other than he is, nor for the crimes arising from his environments and limited faculties; these considerations do not, however, exclude the corrections necessary to progress:

"Then say not man's imperfect, Heaven's in fault,  
Say rather, man's as perfect as he ought."

(POPE.)

Each man has no choice but to take the special view of nature which his entire environments compel him; and as the influences acting upon the brains of any two men are never entirely alike, each man's view differs, more or less, from that of every other man. The views taken by different persons vary in comprehensiveness and truthfulness directly as the extent of their knowledge of fundamental principles. The narrow-minded man is usually more convinced of the truth of his false ideas than the broad-minded man is of his true one, largely because his ideas are fewer, simpler, and more fixed.

The obstinacy of ignorant persons is proverbial, and often continues until death, because their passions are frequently stronger than their intellects, and they cannot erase their false impressions.

The ideas of different men, and the actions of different bodies, must be either harmonious or discordant, and if discordant with each other, conflict and conversion of energy occur. It is largely in consequence of contradictory ideas that wars in general arise, and these differences are easily traceable to the influence of unlike environments, fixed ideas, and limited knowledge. The rudiments of war and crime are visible in nearly all animals. The phenomena of conflict exist throughout nature, there are "wars of the elements" as well as of men, even plants contest for a living, and all this is due to differences of property and action of material bodies. Conflicting views in politics, morals, and theology are necessary parts of human life; they result in evolution, advance, growth, and decay of men and nations; we are often strengthened by conflict which we are able to bear, and trials, if rightly accepted, usually do us good.

The true and broad view of "evil" is, that whilst pain and suffering are all around us, there is no real evil: (1) because its existence would prove the universe to be imperfect; (2) if the physical constitution of the universe is perfect, as scientific evidence declares it to be, the moral arrangement, being inseparable from it, must also be perfect; (3) whenever a case of seeming evil is fully investigated, it is ultimately proved to be necessary and good; (4) it has been abundantly proved that pain is necessary to human existence and welfare in many ways; (5) as great "calamities" serve useful purposes, and many so-called "evils" prevent greater ones, they must be good; (6) "evil" acts are produced by natural agents in the same manner as good ones; (7) the greatest "evil-doers" are compelled to act, the same as all other persons and as all inanimate substances; (8) it would be inconsistent if all other animals suffered pain whilst man alone was exempt; (9) even the feeling of so-called "evil" is limited to an extremely minute proportion of nature, viz., animal brain in the waking state, and in that only occasionally; (10) no consistent theory of human life has ever been framed upon the idea that real evil exists; (11) the universe works so as to secure the greatest good to all things; and (12), belief in the existence of "evil" is easily accounted for by our frequent experience of pain. Considering all this evidence, it is incomparably less likely that the moral perfection of the universe is defective than that we, with our very feeble minds and fixed belief in the existence of "evil," are deceived in such a vast and complex question.

It may be objected that if such a belief was not a true one, it would not exist in nearly every human mind and be irremovable, but we know that some of the greatest errors have been believed by

nearly all men during many centuries, until expelled by science, *e.g.*, that of the rotation of the sun round the earth. The question might also be asked: What is the use of the conclusion that the universe is perfect if it cannot be at once applied to relieve human suffering? The answer is: It has been and can be so applied by intelligent persons who possess suitable and sufficient scientific knowledge. The advantages of scientific morality are immediately applicable, but whether they can be *fully* realised at once is a minor question; great ideas require time to grow, and to obtain oaks we must plant acorns many years in advance.

The coming system of morality is a much more reliable one than any at present existing, because it is entirely founded upon truths which have been proved by means of proper and sufficient evidence. "Truthfulness is the basis of all the virtues"; when men have true principles to guide them they agree, because their leading ideas are the same. The reliability of science depends largely upon the fact that the testimony of inanimate substances and impersonal powers is free from bias; we cannot alter a fact, it is a fact for ever. Uncertainty means danger, and truthful ideas are essential to the highest morality.

To believe from sufficient proofs that the universe is perfect, that real evil does not exist, and that all men "do as they must," affords relief of mind in many trials, and constitutes a sound basis for the much-desired "government by love"; it diminishes hatred of our fellow-men and requires us to forgive our enemies, but it does not relieve us of the duties of discovering truth or of improving ourselves and others. The greatest preventive of pain is knowledge; new knowledge is the starting point of human progress, and the most powerful cause of national advance is the general diffusion of comprehensive scientific discoveries. Fundamental scientific knowledge is the greatest promoter of peace; it enables us to correct error and detect deceit; it makes life more worth<sup>ly</sup> living, and that it prolongs life is shown by the fact that scientific philosophers live longer than the average period. Scientific experience makes us more exact, careful, and reliable, and by increasing our knowledge of the future, enables us to arrange beforehand, so as to secure our safety and correctness of conduct. The great uses of science in preventing, alleviating, and removing bodily pain, transmitting intelligence, &c., are well known. But notwithstanding all this and very much more, it is often called cold, dreary, &c., by emotional persons, because it does not encourage irrational beliefs and desires.

The idea of universal goodness is an old one, and was originally a mere conjecture, but is now abundantly supported by facts, and mankind will be gradually compelled by the pressure of advancing knowledge to accept it; at present it needs competent expounders, and it is merely our lack of suitable scientific knowledge and our

frequent experience of pain that hinder our believing it. Like other great truths which mankind have been slowly compelled to accept, it is strongly at variance with our feelings while perfectly in harmony with intellect.

If the foregoing system of morality were taught in schools, it would produce intelligent, practical, and moral human beings, each one acting as a law unto himself, and would ultimately result in evolving a more truthful system of religion than any at present existing.

DR. G. GORE, F.R.S.



APRIL

## THE KING'S FAITH.

THE King's visit to Rome last year and his personal interview with the late Pope were seized by the more thorough-going members of the anti-Roman party in this country as an excuse for once more advertising to the world the terror with which they regard any dealings with the occupant of St. Peter's chair. The event will remind us of one of the features of the accession of Edward VII., which at the time caused the deepest pain to many millions of his subjects, namely, the Solemn Declaration which he pronounced at the opening of Parliament on February 14, 1901. Nothing has yet been done to counteract the evil effect of the harsh language of the oath and the resentment it created still remains. It is to be hoped that the King's visit to Leo XIII. will be regarded by his Roman Catholic subjects as an earnest of an *amende honorable*, to be paid some day in full.

The whole subject of the Royal Declaration has been so admirably dealt with from a historical point of view by Mr. J. B. Milburn in the *Dublin Review* for April 1903, that I shall make no attempt to follow in his footsteps, and I shall limit myself to recalling in the briefest possible manner the circumstances that led up to the making of the law. I shall then examine in more detail the rival claims of the two most generally accepted views as to the intrinsic value of the declaration itself.

On his accession to the throne of England the King is required by the Bill of Rights to make a solemn declaration disclaiming any belief in the doctrine of Transubstantiation or the Invocation of Saints. The law, though framed during the reign of Charles II., dates from the year 1689, and has been repeated by every English sovereign on his, or her, accession since that year. In the case of our present King an objection was made by a large number of Roman Catholic peers to what they considered the exceedingly offensive and arrogant nature of certain expressions used in the declaration; they did not, however, obtain any satisfaction. The King is made to declare:

"I do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body of Christ at, or after, the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or

any other Saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous," &c.

It would be difficult to use stronger words or to condemn more unreservedly any heretic doctrine. The Roman Catholic party, realising that it would be useless to demand that the oath should be abolished altogether, have confined themselves to asking that the wording of it may be altered. They dare not hope that the repudiation of the doctrines in question may be any the less vigorous, but they demand some modification of the language of the oath "in which Almighty God is invited to bear witness that the doctrines held by the Catholic Church not only as awful, sacred, and stupendous, but also as vital and fundamental," are false, as if these doctrines were unworthy of acceptance by self-respecting men. It is unlikely that an old law of more than two hundred years' standing will be abolished because of those who object to it on sentimental grounds, but the answer to the plea of the Roman Catholics is very much harsher from some quarters than from others. Out-and-out Protestants, fired by the echo of the cry "No Popery" will not give way even a little, but many of their brethren—and surely the most charitable of them—are prepared to make some concession, without at the same time retreating from their main position. Briefly put, the case for each side may be stated thus: The Roman Catholics say, "You consider it necessary that the King should swear before the world that he does not believe in the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The expressions he makes use of in doing so are particularly disgusting to us. Could he not say the same thing in less offensive language? Please alter the wording of the oath if you cannot abolish it altogether." The answer is: "It is of the utmost national importance that the King should state in the clearest possible language that he does not believe in this doctrine. If the words used are offensive to you we will see what can be done to alter them, but, however they are modified, we must insist on a complete and emphatic repudiation on the part of the King. If, by any ambiguity of words, room for doubt on this point existed, it would afford an opportunity for popish intervention in the temporal affairs of this realm, which we dread above all things. This opportunity is, we consider, effectually denied by the pronouncement of the words of the declaration." This is approximately the answer given by the more moderate opponents of Roman Catholic opinion, and, in accordance with this spirit of compromise, an attempt was made to modify the "indecent" language of the oath, but without result, and the situation remains unchanged. The unconditional party will not, of course, hear of any change whatever. If, then, it can be shown that the contentions of even the former moderate party have no basis in fact, it will follow *a fortiori* that the apprehensions of the latter are groundless and, as a result, the *raison d'être* of the declaration will cease to exist.

Its political significance was the main cause operating in the institution of the oath in 1689. Purely religious motives were of secondary consideration. The time was past when men believed it was wise, nay, even a moral duty, to force a creed on a man or a nation. It is doubtful how far purely religious, as apart from moral, motives have ever influenced the most conscientious law-makers, but it is certain that the law-makers of the time of James II. and William III. were as keenly alive to the unwisdom of intolerance as we profess ourselves to be to-day. But there is tolerance and tolerance. Tolerance of a purely speculative creed is a very different thing from tolerance of a creed that is likely to have practical results. And that total indifference to the creed of the sovereign, at the period of which we are speaking, would have had very practical results of an exceedingly unpleasant nature, admits of no doubt. A High-Church writer has written as follows :

“Recent events have proved clearly enough how dangerous it was to entrust political power to the hands of a dissenter from the national religion. There was not a man in England, outside their own body, who was prepared to give civil or even religious rights to Roman Catholics. Whigs and Tories combined to pass in 1700 the Act ‘for preventing the growth of popery.’ By it a determined attempt was made by the legislature to root Roman Catholicism out of England altogether. By the combined effects of the penal code, an English Roman Catholic . . . was strenuously debarred from all civil or political life, and the experience of the reign of James II. was taken by all classes of Englishmen conclusively to prove the justice and necessity of the policy.”

This shows that there was cause enough in those days for partial intolerance, but it is clear that the disabilities imposed on those who held unorthodox views were imposed solely on account of the evil practical results that it was felt would inevitably have followed the acceptance of those views by public officials.

And if its political significance was the chief feature of the oath in 1689 it was still more so in 1901. I do not mean to say that the effect of religion is less apparent than it was—far from it—but the actual connection between mens’ opinions on any particular article of dogma and their practical life has certainly become less rigid. And it is essentially in respect of its supposed practical bearing on the every-day life of the British nation that the King’s religious opinion becomes of national importance. That this is so, and that as far as the declaration is concerned the vindication of the true faith is not the object in view, is obvious from the fact that no mention is made of the many other creeds antagonistic to the Church of England. The King calls himself “Defender of the Faith,” yet here is a splendid opportunity for announcing to the faithful that he intends to champion their cause deliberately thrown away for the sake of attacking a few

isolated tenets of one of the many other Christian creeds. Clearly then, the spiritual welfare of the National Church is not the object that the King is intended to have at heart, but the temporal welfare of his kingdom. And the safety from outside influence is, we are told, to be secured by the pronouncement of the words of the declaration.

Perhaps it may seem to certain people that there is no immediate connection between the repudiation of the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the preservation of the safety of the Empire from popish influence. Some there are, indeed, to whom the matter presents no difficulty whatever; those who will not stop to consider the rights and wrongs of the case, but condemn unreservedly everything that has the smallest appearance of being connected, or having originated, with Rome. They are only too willing to believe that anything that smacks of "Rome" must of necessity be anathema as far as the interests of England are concerned and is therefore to be eschewed as the work of the Evil One. With such persons I shall make no attempt to reason. But besides this class there are large numbers of Protestants who are willing to give a hearing to what may be said for their opponents, though none the less determined to maintain the unequivocal tenour of the words of the declaration. It is with the general line of reasoning followed up by the thinking section of this more moderate party, a line of reasoning connecting the repudiation of the doctrine of Transubstantiation with the safety of the kingdom, that I propose to deal.

I have used the word "Protestant," but it is a name that has little to recommend it. The fact that certain protests were made many years ago by some members of the Holy Catholic Church in England against the more ancient branch at Rome, and that these protests have been successful in keeping the two branches of the Church at daggers drawn ever since, is hardly a sufficiently grand performance to justify the protesting party in perpetually "rubbing it in." To say the least of it, it is exceedingly bad manners. If Mr. Smith defeats Mr. Jones at an election, his joy and conceit will hardly induce him to call himself the "vanquisher of Jones" for ever afterwards. At any rate, however vindictive he is, he will not be ashamed of his own name, and may sometimes call himself Smith, even without making any reference to his victory over Jones. But the Low-Church party act otherwise; they seldom make use of the expression "Church of England," or "Anglican," but never lose an opportunity of informing everybody that they are Protestants. The term "Protestant" is therefore a bad one generally speaking, but I shall continue to use it in this article because it happens to serve my purpose better than any other. The King's declaration is emphatically in the nature of a protest and not in the nature of a challenge. The attitude of mind is negative rather than assertive, plaintive

rather than strong. The Defence of the Faith is not, as I have pointed out, the object in view, and the King figures as a conscientious objector to the belief of another far more clearly than as an upholder of his own belief. For this reason the word Protestant most consistently describes the party whose arguments in favour of the spirit of the declaration we are now considering.

We may take it, then, that the ultimate object of the oath is "the more effectual preserving the King's person and government" from popish influence. The Protestants assure us that this can only be secured by compelling the King to pronounce the words of the declaration. The mental process by which the truth of this can be completely established consists of three steps; if any one of these can be shown to be false the whole case crumbles to pieces. The three steps are as follows:

- (a) If the King pronounces these words he cannot be a Roman Catholic.
- (b) If he were a Roman Catholic he would very likely play into the hands of the Pope.
- (c) So long as he is not a Roman Catholic he will certainly not play into the hands of the Pope.

By "playing into the hands of the Pope" is meant doing all those objectionable things which it is now alleged he will be prevented from doing by virtue of the declaration.<sup>1</sup>

The case from the Protestant point of view may appear in different lights to different minds. Arguments which will have weight with one man will possibly not appeal with equal force to another, but it is difficult to see how any aspect of the case, strictly germane to the question, can fall outside the limits of these three steps. It is as well to repeat again the main question, viz.: How is it that the pronouncement of the words by the King is very likely to insure the safety of the kingdom? Unless it can be shown to be truly "very likely" to achieve this end, the Protestants stand convicted of giving gross offence to the Roman Catholics without just cause. It will be seen at once that the three assertions are intimately connected and are each indispensable to the proof of the case. If (a) is disproved the safeguard presupposed in (c) vanishes, and the latter becomes merely of secondary interest. If the truth of (a) be admitted, the disproof of either (b) or (c) immediately causes the whole case to fall to the ground by rendering the oath useless.

The first assertion declares that if the King pronounces the words of the declaration he cannot be a Roman Catholic. Immediately we find ourselves confronted by difficulties, chiefly difficulties of defi-

<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed that no provision whatever is made for the future in the oath. There is nothing to prevent the King from changing his faith at any moment that he might wish to do so.

dition. What is belief? what is the doctrine of Transubstantiation? and what is a Roman Catholic? These questions are capable of an infinity of answers. We do not live in the same atmosphere to-day as regards religious beliefs as our fathers did several hundreds of years ago. There was a time when a belief held a place in the minds of grown men and women similar to what we now find it holding in the mind of a child. A man was either an uncompromising believer or an uncompromising unbeliever, and the belief, or doctrine, or theory was generally accepted in its entirety or utterly repudiated. There were, of course, at the same time as these simple believers narrow-minded casuists who fought over the splitting of a hair, but the ordinary mass of mankind threw in their lot either for or against a belief, asking no questions, believing as they were bid, and not shrinking from the consequences that such behaviour was often only too likely to bring with it. That is no longer the case. Education, critical analysis, and the extended principle of toleration have brought into existence any number of so-called dissenting faiths. And for every man that has had the energy to combine with certain of his fellows in an organised religious community there must be thousands who, without cutting themselves off from the particular church they were born and bred in, nevertheless consider themselves at liberty to think what they please on religious questions. It follows therefore that when a man says "I believe," or "I do not believe" this or that doctrine, he does not stand committed to much. A great deal of explanation and cross-examination is necessary before his position is defined, and a complete exposition of faith, quite apart from its defence, is a task fit only for the highest intellects. The doctrine of Transubstantiation, in particular, is so extremely complicated and capable of so many interpretations (and always was, even in the old days) that no worse choice as a test of faith of a tenet supposed to be the peculiar property of the Roman Catholic Church could well have been made.

In order to make this more clear, let the reader call to mind the phraseology of any legal document that he may have been concerned with. What is its chief characteristic? Is it not the elaborate care with which the words have been put together and the evident anxiety on the part of the compiler that no ambiguity should exist? Who, except the professional lawyers, would use such expressions as "to have and to hold," "any person or persons," "know ye, that We have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and do by these presents nominate, constitute and appoint," &c.? Clearly the object of these cumbrous phrases is to eliminate every possibility of doubt, or difference of opinion, arising in the interpretation of the law. Therefore we might reasonably expect to find in the legal instrument we are now discussing such intimate and definite relationship established between the doctrine of Transub-

stantiation and membership of the Roman Catholic Church, that all doubt would be completely set at rest on two most important heads, viz., Is the theory of Transubstantiation which is repudiated by the King identical with the theory held by the Roman Catholics; and, secondly, is acceptance of the latter absolutely essential to membership of the Roman Church? Not the slightest attempt, however, is made, either in the Bill of Rights or the Declaration, to answer these questions. Now perhaps I shall be told that these questions are already answered in the petition of the Roman Catholic peers, when they speak of "the doctrines of the Catholic Church not only as awful, sacred, and stupendous, but as vital and fundamental?" Let the reader turn to his own Church of England Prayer-book, where he will find the "Catholic Faith" set out in the three great creeds. In one of these he is told, "Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." Clearly every statement in these creeds might be said to be vital and fundamental, but will any one deny the existence of an infinite number of different views amongst members of the Church of England? And is a man who holds an unorthodox view, or several unorthodox views, or who holds no views at all, barred from the privileges of membership of the Church of England? Of course not, and the latitude that exists in our Church exists to an even greater extent in the older and more widely reaching Roman Church. That the Roman Catholic peers in their indignation at the words of the oath should have spoken as they did is perfectly intelligible, but I think that their case would have been even stronger if they had shown that the old proverb, *quot homines tot sententia*, applies with greater force than ever, and therefore that it was not "vitally and fundamentally" necessary for the King to turn a deaf ear to their protests.

If, after what I have said, the contrary is still maintained, we have only to consider what would have happened if the King had declined to make the declaration. If the Government had acquiesced and allowed him to go on being King without acceding to their demands, they would certainly have acted as wise men of the world, but the case for the declaration would have been completely given away, as their acquiescence would have amounted to a confession that the oath was not of supreme importance to the nation. And unless it can be proved to be a matter of supreme importance, we have no business to wound the feelings of the Roman Catholics. But if they had insisted on the King doing as they wished, and if he had still refused, they would have been obliged to remove him from the throne. And is it conceivable for a moment that such a step would have been taken because he declined to be dictated to in the matter of an abstruse theological speculation? No, it is impossible to believe it; the dangers of such a

course are so obvious that it is doubtful if any public man would even have suggested it. They would thus have shown that they realised that the oath was a mere matter of form, that its face value had no connection with its intrinsic worth as a test of faith, and still less as a guarantee of good behaviour. The result of all this is that the assumption involved in assertion (c), viz., "If the King were not a Roman Catholic," ceases to have any interest whatever, because we can never be certain that the King is not a Roman Catholic, and therefore there can be no possible object in forcing him to take the oath.

But this is not nearly the whole case, it is not even the most important part. I have dwelt thus long on the futility of the oath as a test of faith simply because the reasoning is less easy to follow and more open to criticism. Doubtless the reader, if he has persevered so far, has anticipated the argument which is now to come. Let us assume that all that has been already said on assertion (a) is unsound, that the connection between Transubstantiation and the Roman Catholic religion is so firm that the oath does actually make it impossible for the King to be a Roman Catholic. Now let us take the second assertion (b), "If he were a Roman Catholic he would very likely play into the hands of the Pope." The Protestants have here, apparently, the history of past centuries to justify their fears. This is their strongest ground. Memories of plots and counterplots, wars, intrigues, and abuses innumerable rise up before their minds and compel them to join in the anti-Roman battery of "No Popery." But it is not my object to expatiate on the deplorable state of affairs that prevailed in this country when the Roman Catholic religion had the upper hand. I have already alluded to the period and its attendant evils which are universally admitted. The important question is whether that state of affairs can ever prevail again. Has anything happened in recent times to alter the conditions favourable to the growth of the abuses so as to make the recurrence of them impossible? Yes, many things have happened, but it is only necessary to mention one. The Government of the country has passed, never to return, from the hands of the King to those of his Ministers, and it is not considered necessary that a Minister should declare his faith. Of the four factors in the guiding of the destinies of the Empire, the King, the Judges, Parliament, and the Executive, the King himself has perhaps the least influence in the management of affairs. It matters not that *in theory* he might go on dissolving Parliament after Parliament until the House of Commons was packed to his liking, that *in theory* he might make as many peers as he pleased and appoint to the Public Service his own particular favourites, we know very well that, if he valued his throne, he would never dream of doing such a thing *in practice*. And in foreign policy it is equally beyond



the bounds of possibility that he should make a single move, however small, without the consent of his Ministers. And yet no declaration of faith is required from any public servant, except the Lord Chancellors of England and Ireland and the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The premier peer of England is a Roman Catholic, and it is not long since the Prime Minister was a Jew; and every member of the House of Commons and Civil Service might turn Papist to-morrow for all the rules on the subject. How, therefore, the King could exert a baneful influence over the welfare of his kingdom, internal or external, in opposition to the wishes of his Ministers remains to be proved by the Protestants.<sup>1</sup>

The third assertion, (c), is the counterpart of (b), and similar reasoning applies. Even if (a) and (b) are assumed to be true, which they are not, (c) is essential to the Protestant case to clinch the argument. And here, again, we see at once that the King's behaviour is no more independent of the wishes of his Ministers than it was in the previous instance. It is quite possible to imagine that circumstances might arise where it became necessary, for political reasons, to make overtures of some sort to the Pope. Suppose, for instance, that it was felt that England ought to be represented at the Vatican, as well as at the Court, by an ambassador. We may be perfectly certain that if the Government of the day had satisfied themselves that this was necessary, they would not allow themselves to be thwarted in any way whatever by the personal opinions of the King. However great his dislike to the Vatican party might be, he would be given to understand very clearly that he must sink his private prejudices in deference to political expediency. The cardinal fact remains that whatever the King's opinions may be, they can never be allowed to influence his policy. No truer word, or one more applicable to the present day, was ever spoken in jest than when Charles II. replied to a taunt of effeteeness, "My words" (and he might have added "my thoughts") "are my own, and my acts are my Ministers'." Why then should the King go out of his way to wound the feelings of many of his subjects, and to discourage, rather than promote, the unity of nations?

In spite of what has been said, the reader, if a Protestant, may still feel some slight misgivings. He will be inclined to say, "Yes, we

<sup>1</sup> It is very interesting to note the attitude of King George IV. towards the Catholic Relief Bill in 1829. Sir Thomas Erskine May, in his *Constitutional History of England*, chap. xiii., writes thus: "Meanwhile the King, whose formal assent was still to be given, was as strongly opposed to the measure as ever; and even discussed with Lord Eldon the possibility of preventing its further progress, or of refusing his assent. But neither the King nor his Minister could seriously have contemplated so hazardous an exercise of prerogative; and the Royal assent was accordingly given, without further remonstrance. The time had passed when the word of a King could overrule his Ministers and Parliament." And this was more than seventy years ago, since which time the power of the people has been steadily encroaching on the prerogatives of the Crown.

agree that the King is practically incapable of making a move without the consent of his Ministers, and that the latter are not likely to be influenced by his religious beliefs, seeing that they are not influenced by their own. Nevertheless, we feel that the enforcement of this oath is somewhat of a safeguard; vague, if you like, but still not without effect in the right direction, and therefore we think that the practice should not be discontinued." It may indeed seem somewhat of a safeguard, but what should we think of a man who said to his guest at the beginning of dinner, "I do not like champagne myself, and I think your taste for it is senseless, disgusting, and wicked; and I feel it my duty to say so, because two hundred years ago your ancestors came to this house and drank too much, and did a great deal of damage." It both instances the insult offered is gratuitous and the security it confers infinitesimal, more so in the case of the King and the Roman Catholics than in that of the host and his guest. The fact of the matter is, the declaration is to-day absolutely unnecessary. It is hardly too much to call it a relic of barbarism. Now that Disestablishment of the Church—which in its widest sense means complete severance of Church and State—has come within the range of practical politics, and when every shade of religious opinion has its devotees among the ranks of public servants, it is idle to suppose that the King's private opinions are of importance. A simple vow to be a good King to his people should, if he is a man of honour, be all-sufficient; if he is not a man of honour, no oath will bind him. Let him live and let live; there is room for the Pope of Rome as well as for the King of England within the brotherhood of the Christian Faith.

CHARLES L. O'MALLEY.

## A GREAT PROBLEM SOLVED.

AMONG those who were favoured by the Lord Mayor's invitation to attend the ceremony of the foundation-stone laying of the Courts of Justice, destined to occupy the site of Newgate, were two friends who years previously had been associated in philanthropic work which at that time was regarded as experimental. These were Mr. William Wheatley, secretary and superintendent of the St. Giles Christian Mission, and the Rev. F. E. Lloyd Jones, who for seventeen years ending with 1882 was the Ordinary of Newgate. A strange thing had happened in the seventies; the spokesman of a gang who understood all about prison life, saw where the shoe pinched more clearly than those who sought to befriend him; and when his suggestion, that a little help would go much farther than preaching, was acted upon, a far-reaching new enterprise was founded, no one then suspecting that the grain of mustard-seed would become one of the greatest and most beneficent of trees. With a keen-sightedness, which experience in Newgate had quickened, Mr. Jones saw that a problem had been solved, and that the most effective way to ensure a diminution of crime was to encourage men and lads to turn into ways of honesty on the morning of their coming out of prison. He therefore encouraged what then looked like a strange innovation; and in the day of small things, when difficulties abounded such as have since been overcome, he did what he could to aid and encourage the work. A visit to the chief office in Brooke-street, Holborn, on any week day, would give any one some adequate idea of the growth of a work which practically extends beyond the prisons of London to all the penal servitude establishments of the country. While it is happily still possible to do something for adults, the real band of hope is made up of the boys—those juvenile first offenders who are taken into Homes instead of being sent to prison. "Formation is better than reformation," recently remarked Canon Fleming in connection with this subject. "That is what is necessary—formation of character," he added. "Not the education of the streets. Because there can be no question that if a boy does not receive something like spiritual education, he will receive that other education—the education of the streets."

There is a good deal of romance connected with some of the life-stories of many of the boys who were taken in hand as first

offenders. One who has shown special interest in their reclamation is the Chairman of the Middlesex Sessions. Some years ago he (Sir Ralph Littler, K.C.) had a lad brought into court who was a typical sample case of his class, one who was more sinned against than sinning, and who required to have everything needful done for him. Moved with the compassion which, under similar circumstances, has often inspired occupants of the judicial bench, the judge sent the youthful prisoner to be trained in one of Mr. Wheatley's Homes in order that he might escape the more uncertain discipline of the prison. The boy turned out a most successful subject; he was industrious: his conduct was good; so that at length he won quite an enviable position in the business house in which he was employed. From being a typical case of misfortune, he was now a typical example of successful training. The contrast between what he was and what he had become was so striking that some photographs of the boy were sent to Sir Ralph Littler, who remarked: "This case shows two things: first, the value of keeping sentences open; and, second, most conclusively my point, that without such help as yours the Court could take no such steps. This is a most interesting and pleasing example." This quite agrees with the testimony of Lieut.-Col. Milman, ex-Governor of Holloway Prison, who at the time of his retirement, wrote to Mr. Wheatley: "The judges at Sessions, and the magistrates at Police Courts, frequently express to me the value they have recognised in your services in befriending the lads brought before them."

The cases which are constantly being taken in hand enable us in a very realistic way to learn something about what is happening in daily life. A very commonplace example was that of a young man who blasted his prospects by an act of dishonesty; and who afterwards, as a discharged prisoner, was assisted to begin again. He would have been cast helplessly adrift in the world had not the Superintendent of the St. Giles Mission helped him to commence anew by securing for him a situation on the establishment of one of those helpful firms which give another chance to those who have forfeited their character. Of course a pound a week was "very inadequate for a clerk who has a wife and two children," while a main part of his wardrobe had been sold by the wife during the time of her extreme need. Even clothes are given under such conditions, however; and industry and good conduct ensure a rise in wages. Still, it is strictly true, as we are assured, "many of the men have not only been punished themselves, but have brought even more acute suffering upon their innocent wives and children." One after another such men confess that had they not found some one to befriend them, ruin, without any hope beyond, would have been their lot. One for whom an opening was found at 28s. a week after his discharge from prison, made this very characteristic confession:

"You would have laughed if you had seen my wife's face when I told her to-day. It has made us all so happy."

Now and then a case will occur to show how far from the truth certain of our preconceived notions concerning those who are arraigned in our courts really are. In the spring of last year a man of sixty-four was brought up for sentence at the County of London Sessions as "an incorrigible rogue, on a charge of begging." As previous convictions were proved, the case seemed to be only too clear against this offender; but the man made a most singular defence, which turned out to be strictly true. The prisoner said that during many years he had served as a gunner in the Royal Artillery, which entitled him to a pension of a shilling a day; but through the loss of the papers he had not been able to make good his claim for some years. The police discovered that the man's story was correct, but what could the magistrate do with such an adventurer? Difficulties only came to an end when Mr. Wheatley offered to take charge of the man, and if possible recover what was due to him. The pension of a shilling a day was actually recovered; but the authorities refused to pay the arrears of something like £70 which had accumulated!

Whatever the suffering of prison life may entail in the case of a married man who yields to temptation, his wife and children, though innocent of any crime, are often overtaken by more crushing trouble. Talk about exaggeration, we hear of cases which cannot be overstated. One of these typical instances was of a man who was visited at Brixton Prison while on remand for an offence committed when he was driven to desperation through lack of work and consequent semi-starvation. The wife wrote to her husband in a strain of true affection, showing her determination to sell the household goods in order to save her four little children from starvation; but still, she had to confess, "*I am trembling and heart-broken.*" When visited in her distress, it was found that "the home was as sad as the letter. The woman's cheeks were hollow, under the eyes were dark. She was indeed 'trembling and heart-broken.'"

"And what about this poor family upstairs?" was asked of a man living in the same house, and who was himself a discharged prisoner that had redeemed his character.

"Sir," replied the man, "they would have been dead if those of us who lodge in the house had not given them a bit of food. I'm sure it's the first time with the poor fellow. If you can help them, do."

Of course, the assistance needed was not withheld; and the heroic mother, who seemed to be well-nigh crushed by trouble which another had brought upon her, was enabled to hold on until the dawn of better days.

In connection with the aid accorded to women, there are darker

phases which suggest misgivings of what might happen if vigilance both by night and by day was not maintained. Take an example of a Dutch girl, Diana R., aged nineteen, who at midsummer 1902 came to London "to be placed in a good position"; and being unable to speak English, was found wandering about the streets late at night. Diana was taken to the Home for Destitute Women maintained by the St. Giles Mission; and on being communicated with, the Dutch Consul paid for her passage back to Holland. The female missionary accompanied the girl to the Custom House quay, and saw her on board the boat. In acknowledging the kindness received after landing in her native country, Diana remarked: "My parents were glad to see me in so good health, and are very grateful to you and the other lady for all the good you did me." She also sent back across the sea "A hearty kiss and handshake to all my benefactors." The girl might well be grateful; she had been rescued from the horrible dangers of those London streets, which at night in the West End, and in and about the Euston Road and elsewhere, seem to be in a more disgraceful condition, from a moralist's point of view, than any other thoroughfares in Europe.

There can be no doubt that such an all-round service among those who find their way into prison, but who are amenable to good influences when they come out, cannot fail to ensure a diminution of crime. This is the view of judges and magistrates; and any one who takes note of the continuous stream of applicants who daily apply at the office in Brooke Street, Holborn, will become of the same opinion.

In the interesting volume by Mr. Pitt-Lewis, K.C., recently published by Mr. T. Fisher Unwin—*Commissioner Kerr: An Individuality*—will be found some accounts of illustrative cases which Mr. Wheatley has assisted. The late judge of the City of London Court set a very high value on the work being carried on; and in this respect his sympathies were in unison with those of all his brother magistrates and judges in London. One and all prefer the training home to the prison for juvenile first offenders.

G. H. P.

## THE CARE OF THE PAUPER INSANE IN SCOTLAND AND ITS COST.

Lunacy administration in the three kingdoms is regulated by separate statutes in each and governed by different bodies, but the purpose of this article has sole reference to Scotland, and its care of insane persons becoming chargeable to the local rates levied upon the general public by Parish Councils.

THE care of the insane in Scotland is by a Statute of 1857 (20 and 21 Vic., c. 71), committed to a Board having its headquarters in Edinburgh, known as the General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy. This Board has full control over the various local bodies which provide for the maintenance of the insane, such as the Royal Chartered Asylums, the District Lunacy Boards and Parish Councils.

The insane of all classes were originally provided for in Royal and District Asylums, and in Licensed Wards of Poorhouses; but more recently somewhat glorified Poorhouse Wards have been licensed and called Parochial Asylums. There are at present in Scotland 6 Royal Asylums, 16 District Asylums, 3 Private Asylums, 3 Parochial Asylums, 15 Licensed Wards of Poorhouses. In 1871 there were 7 Royal Asylums, 10 District Asylums, 9 Private Asylums, 5 Parochial Asylums, and 15 Licensed Wards of Poorhouses.

In the early sixties a very strong feeling was created by the General Board against Licensed Wards of Poorhouses, by reason of the high death-rate and the alleged parsimonious treatment of the inmates by the Parochial Authorities. The result was that their licences were modified and reduced, and consequently it became necessary to provide accommodation for those displaced, and at the same time to meet the demands of increasing numbers. This was done by calling forth the functions of the District Boards, causing new and expensive district asylums to be built throughout the country. That process is not yet complete, for the ratepayers of Renfrewshire will shortly have to pay for the usual palatial building for the pauper insane at a rough cost of £300 per bed at the very least; while the Edinburgh District Lunacy Board is going through several phases of the building craze at a cost of £300 to £600 per bed. Aberdeen is in the same position, having to build

a new asylum, which might have been done without if the General Board had extended the existing Licensed Wards of the Poorhouses there, or had made use of vacant accommodation in other available poorhouses.

The reaction from the use of the Licensed Wards of Poorhouses has been overdone, and the same class of chronic insane are now provided for under most extravagant conditions.

It may be assumed that District Boards popularly elected would themselves be able to effect more rigid economy with equal efficiency in administration, but the standards laid down by the Government authority must be obeyed.

On January 1, 1871, the three largest parishes, viz., Glasgow, Barony, and Govan, had 760 lunatics distributed as under :

In Public Asylums . . . . .	274
In Parochial Asylums and Licensed Wards of Poorhouses . . . . .	425
Boarded in Private Dwellings . . . . .	61

at a cost for that year of £19,041 10s.

The population of those three parishes at that time being 556,070, the proportion of insane to population was therefore 0·13 per cent., while the average cost per head was £25 1s. 1d. In 1901, at the close of the financial year (May 15), there were 2672 lunatics cared for by those combined parishes, as under :

In Public Asylums . . . . .	1998
In Licensed Wards of Poorhouses . . . . .	188
Boarded in Private Dwellings . . . . .	486

at a total cost of maintenance for that year of £68,502.

The population being 913,012, the proportion is thus 0·29 per cent. to population, and the average cost £25 12s. 8d. per head. In 1871 the average daily rate of maintenance for pauper patients in Royal and District Asylums was 1s. 4½d.; in Parochial Asylums, 1s. 3d.; in Poorhouse Wards, 11¾d.; while in 1901 it had increased to 1s. 6d. in Royal, District and Parochial Asylums, and to 1s. 3d. in Poorhouse Wards.

During the same period of thirty years a complete change has occurred in the character of the inmates in Royal or Chartered Asylums. Originally they were founded about a century ago, on account of the inhuman treatment of the insane; and undoubtedly they rendered effective service in ameliorating the sad condition of the patients. But these institutions have now largely ceased to perform the functions originally contemplated, and they are now catering for the wealthier classes of the insane from all quarters of the country, receiving high rates of board for the care of ladies and gentlemen of considerable means. No further explanation is offered of the remarkable decrease of non-paying patients than the fact that the various District Lunacy Boards, having been called upon.



to provide Asylums at the cost of the ratepayers for lunatic paupers, have thus set free accommodation which has been utilised for patients who can pay for their board and treatment. Are we to conclude, therefore, that during the last thirty years causes have been in operation which have been and still are tending to convert institutions primarily of a charitable nature into commercial ventures?

It has thus come about that in Scotland the distinction between private patients and pauper patients is practically between the well-to-do and all the rest of the community. The Lunacy Commissioners have stated the opinion that "in very few parts of Scotland will there be found more than 10 per cent. of the population able to obtain asylum treatment otherwise than through application to the Parish Council." Now, it is obvious that in the large centres of population at least, a larger proportion than 10 per cent. are able and would be willing to pay a moderate rate of board for the benefit of treatment in a Royal asylum and so avoid the stigma of pauperism. The knowledge of these facts has led the Lunacy Commissioners to point out that while the Royal asylums are doing a certain amount of charitable work in the reception of some cases at unremunerative rates, still "they cannot be regarded as having done all that is desirable until all patients, for whom rates of board of not more than £25 a year can be paid, are provided for in these institutions as private patients." In most cases the lowest rate of board is £40 per annum.

The General Board have, in their Blue Books, discoursed at great length upon the increase of insanity. But they have never, as yet, to my mind grappled with those administrative questions, of enormous practical importance, in relation to the why and the wherefore of that increase; and the failure to do so explains why they have never suggested remedies for some modification of the cost of housing and feeding these largely accumulating numbers. The mental condition of the patients and why they are in our asylums at the cost of the ratepayers does not seem to come within the scope of the work of the Commissioners. The official reports seem to be confined to references to lighting, gas, electricity, heating, &c. There is a sameness and tameness in them all; but, in the meantime, the ratepayers have to pay, and that very lavishly, for the care and treatment of the chronic insane who have to be kept under lock and key of some kind.

From the statistics since 1858, after the Statute of the previous year, it appears that there is a marked downward tendency in the recovery rate to-day, in spite of all the means of treatment which progress and experience have placed at our disposal. Sir John Batty Tukey, M.P., writing in the *Nineteenth Century Review* of April 1889, says:

"There is a general consensus of opinion that the ratio of insane persons to population has not increased during this century, and that the apparent increase is mainly due to the milder type of cases placed under treatment and registered. Reference to the lunacy blue books shows that the annual proportion of recoveries in asylums calculated on the annual admissions is about 38 per cent., of which about one-half relapse, and that 10 per cent. of patients resident die. Allowing for increase of population, it is evident that the constantly increasing number of registered lunatics is due to the accumulation of unrecovered patients in asylums. It is the opinion of many authorities that the proportion of recoveries has not increased within the last fifty years; it is even held by some that the results of treatment during the first quarter of the century were more favourable than those subsequently obtained.

"The ideal arrangement for teaching is a department for the treatment of insanity in connection with general hospitals. But here, again, tradition interferes, and another instance of the severance of psychiatric from general medicine is afforded. In all infirmaries the admission of 'mental' cases is strictly prohibited. But county boards would do an immense benefit to science were they to add to their establishments curative hospitals worked on the lines suggested. They should be thrown open to the medical public, and utilised in every way for educational purposes.

"As the ratepayer must bear the expense of any such scheme, it is but fair to point out to him the fiscal advantages and disadvantages. The cost of a hospital patient would be considerably in excess of an asylum patient. But there is a further and more immediate measure of economy which would go far to liquidate the first outlay. Instead of lavishing large sums on structure and embellishment, a rigid economy should be exercised in providing for the care of our chronic insane paupers, a large proportion of whom would be well provided for in a workhouse, or by boarding out in private dwellings. In most pauper asylums there is a great deal too much of the Chinese lantern style of æsthetics, appealing more to the taste of the committees and the staff than subserving any good purpose to the demented inmates. It is impossible to estimate the amount, but any one not saturated with asylum tradition knows that large sums of money are year by year dissipated by a false humanitarianism, which should be devoted to the higher duty of promoting cure."

The General Board I hold to be responsible for this extreme and lavish provision for the insane. It arose originally in their requirements for buildings; equipment, dietary, and attendance. Now this is modified in regard to buildings, alarm having been taken at the extravagance of local bodies following their lead; but they are as insistent as ever in regard to the other points which go to provide expensive and luxurious treatment for the poor chronic, hopeless lunatics, which is not given to the inmate of a parish hospital or general infirmary. On the other hand, no initiative is given as to any modification of the internal and domestic economy of an asylum. There is no attempt to particularise any classification of the inmates such as we find in poorhouses, and in hospitals generally; no specific or even general instructions to medical superintendents regarding the discharge of patients on parole or to be boarded-out in the country; or even for transferring them to licensed wards of poorhouses, nor for greater personal attention on the part of the medical superintendents

In this connection I may again quote Sir John Batty Tuke :

“The whole arrangements [he says] indicate care for the comfort of the inmates—comfort which occasionally amounts to luxury. We find the institution divided into separate departments, each of which comprises a corridor, day-rooms, dormitories, and single bedrooms. Each department (technically termed gallery or corridor) contains from thirty to eighty patients, who are classified as far as possible according to the character of their insanity. One ward on each side of the house is invariably set aside as a sick room. A large recreation hall, used as a ball-room, theatre, or lecture room, is a special feature. A chapel is provided for religious services. The asylum stands in spacious grounds, and a large farm serves for labour and extended exercise. In all this we see the kindly work of the outside humanitarian, who seems to have endeavoured to place himself in fancy in the position of a pauper lunatic, and to have provided what he believes he would have wished for were he in that sad condition.”

But with all this care for outward conditions, and while gigantic strides have been made in the realms of every form of medical and surgical science, we are almost as far back in the medical treatment of the insane as in 1871. This may be denied, but whatever advance there has been is due to the work of a very few able superintendents who could devote some spare time from the layman's work of managing their asylums. Sir John goes on to say :

“A medical superintendent is at the head of the establishment, whose duties are of the most multifarious character. Every department is under his immediate supervision ; he is the executive officer, who is held responsible for the administration of the whole institution in all its details. Any man who has the management of an establishment holding from 500 to 2000 persons must give a large proportion of his time to pure administration ; and in practice it has been found that the medical portion of the work of an asylum superintendent is very much subordinated to executive duties.

“The superintendent, again, is the *entrepreneur* of entertainments. Amusements of all sorts have to be got up : parties, balls, theatricals, picnics, cricket matches, and fêtes of all kinds. The public thinks that madness can be eliminated by entertainment ; the superintendent is bound to work up to this theory, and often does so to an absurd and baneful extent. It is true that he has assistant physicians under his command in the proportion of something like 1 to 500 patients. There is something in the multifarious and incongruous duties of an asylum superintendent which is altogether inimical to scientific medicine, something in asylum life which paralyses scientific energy.

“And the worst of it is that the combination of offices is not only prejudicial but absolutely unnecessary. It is purely traditional, and traditional only so far as asylums are concerned.”

Sir John is now understood to have modified his views in so far as Scotch Lunacy Administration is concerned, but none the less are his strictures entitled to respect. Curiously enough they are supported, unconsciously perhaps, by Dr. Ernest White, President of the Medico-Psychological Society of Great Britain and Ireland, in his presidential address a few months ago, when he said :

" Much has been done in recent years to improve the means of care and treatment of the rate-paid insane in the counties and boroughs. Unfortunately, on the score of economy, the patients have been congregated in too large communities under one roof, and especially has this been the case in the County of London, with its huge asylums, each containing from 2000 to 2500 patients. Has not this been false economy? It may be urged that with the larger number you can show a somewhat lower weekly maintenance rate, but true economy would be in better results in recoveries even at a considerably higher maintenance charge for a short time. Think of the cost to the ratepayers of the patient who becomes insane at twenty and lives to the age of seventy or eighty years in a county or borough asylum! Huge institutions containing both acute and chronic cases stand condemned by the public and the expert alike! The medical superintendent knows relatively nothing of the patients individually. There is a certain amount of classification, it is true, and the cases are allotted for treatment to the care of the various assistant medical officers. These gentlemen are not all enthusiasts in medical treatment, or equally skilled. Some may do their utmost for the recent cases committed to their charge, others go the rounds and perform their ward duties in a perfunctory manner, devoting their best energies to the amusements which form a feature in asylum life, and which may be more to their taste. The recent admissions under officers of the latter class, unaided by medical science, *tend to drift*, and this is where the daily supervision of the medical superintendent is needed, but only obtainable in asylums with less than 600 patients."

At present in Scotland there are only twenty-three medical superintendents responsible for all the insane in asylums. They have the care of nearly 12,000 patients. The average recovery rate is about 38 per cent., calculated upon the yearly admissions, or 12 per cent. upon the actual number resident in the institutions. Little inducement, therefore, exists for medical students who desire to push themselves forward in this branch of their profession.

It appears from the Blue Books that whereas the population of Scotland has increased 50 per cent. since 1858, the number of lunatics has increased 186 per cent. We have to deal with this increase as indicative of conditions under which lunatics are being manufactured at a rate far in excess of the healthy population.

The combined Parish of Glasgow, comprising that portion of the city on the north side of the Clyde and the river Kelvin, has spent between 1871 and 1901 upon asylum buildings and furnishings £574,159; and the annual charge upon the ratepayers for the 1793 pauper lunatics they have to keep is £44,573. All over Scotland there exists a similar state of affairs, a heavy capital expenditure and a steadily increasing maintenance charge.

The rate for the relief of the poor this year in the parish of Glasgow, including interest and instalment of debt, is . . . . .	1s. 2½d. per £
The rate for the cost of the maintenance of the lunatic poor is . . . . .	3d. per £
(included in the above).	

The rate for the cost of the housing of the lunatic poor is 3d. per £  
 (which is levied separate from the poor rate, and is included in the municipal taxes).  
 So that the lunatic poor cost, roughly, about 6d. per £

Here are the statistics for the five chief parishes of Scotland :

PARISH.	Population.	Number of Insane.	Per-centage.	Total Annual Expenditure upon Maintenance.	Annual Cost per head of number chargeable.
Glasgow . . . .	571,569	1793	0.31	£ 44,573	£ 25
Govan . . . . .	341,443	879	0.25	23,929	27
Edinburgh . . . .	303,594	995	0.32	31,094	31
Dundee . . . . .	163,619	683	0.41	17,696	26
Aberdeen . . . .	153,497	398	0.26	10,000	25

The following table and that on page 459, relating to the whole of Scotland, afford interesting comparisons :

SCOTLAND.—Comparison of number and cost of lunatic poor in 1888-89 and 1901-02.

	1888-89.	1901-02.
Average number of patients . . . .	2996	6759
Assessments per patient :		
(a) For lands and buildings . . . .	£10 16 2	£16 14 1
(b) Maintenance and management	23 10 0	25 17 10
Total annual cost per patient . . . .	34 6 2	42 11 11

These statistics show that in ten years the cost has increased £6 per head, while the cost of the patients' maintenance has increased only £2 per head. The chief cause of this is that separate hospitals are being insisted upon as an adjunct to ordinary asylums, where curative patients can first be placed. Hospitals for the treatment of mental diseases, apart from asylums, did not meet with the approval of asylum superintendents as a whole ; but in a month or two there will be in operation in Glasgow a detached block of a general hospital for parish poor, devoted entirely to incipient cases of insanity. This class will no longer be recognised as lunatics, nor will the Parish Council of Glasgow be entitled to

## MAINTENANCE OF PAUPER INSANE IN SCOTLAND—YEAR 1901-02.

Asylums and Imbecile Institutions.			Lunatic Wards of Poorhouses.			Private Dwellings.			Cost of Certificates, Transport, &c.			Total.		
Average Number of Patients.	Expenditure.	Per Patient.	Average Number of Patients.	Expenditure.	Per Patient.	Average Number of Patients.	Expenditure.	Per Patient.	Cost of Certificates, Transport, &c.	Average Number of Patients.	Expenditure.	Per Patient.		
9980	£ 278,144	£ s. d. 27 17 5	1112	£ 22,527	£ s. d. 20 5 2	2814	£ 47,108	£ s. d. 16 14 10	£ 9834	13,906	£ 357,613	£ s. d. 25 14 4		
YEARS 1869-73.														
4200	£ 105,018	£ s. d. 25 0 1	613	£ 10,952	£ s. d. 17 17 4	1474	£ 16,345	£ s. d. 11 1 9	£ 4806	6287	£ 137,121	£ s. d. 20 6 1		

Cost of land, building, and furnishing was . . . . . £140,268  
 Money borrowed for above . . . . . 1,248,800  
 Assessments for interest and to repay instalments, &c., at May 15, 1902 . . . . . 112,916

the Government grant of nearly 4s. per week in respect thereof. This grant is of very doubtful advantage to local authorities, and in losing this contribution for the future, and in treating the incipient cases like ordinary hospital patients, the Parish Council is to be congratulated upon its departure from previous practice.

A writer in the *Scottish Poor Law Magazine*, in April 1903, says :

“That the garnering of the lunatic poor in vast asylums, where they are surrounded by every comfort, well nourished, tenderly cared for, and, to a certain extent, even pampered, should produce disastrous results, is a startling statement to make, but it is true. What has existed, what now exists, and what will, in all probability, continue to exist unless effectual steps are taken to prevent the spread of insanity, is this: these lunatic patients, after a more or less protracted residence in asylums under the treatment of experienced and skilful physicians, and, as just said, surrounded with every comfort, become convalescent; in fact, are so changed by kindness and by judicious treatment and nursing, as to present the outward and visible appearance of mental soundness, and in many cases are, it is said, restored to reason. What then follows? They are discharged annually in thousands, cured or quasi cured, and go out into the world to resume their places according to their several stations in life, and to transmit to their descendants the evil inheritance which is theirs, which cannot be taken away from them, and which they cannot renounce. The efforts made by tainted families to keep dark the fact that a relative is insane are notorious.

“We do not cultivate weeds in garden or on tillage farm, or propagate the degenerates of animal life on cattle range or sheep walk. Any one who did so would be regarded as demented. The predicament is very serious, and demands the grave consideration of all men of open minds and unbiased judgments. It has come to this: the national resources have been, and continue to be, squandered with a lavish hand in erecting beautiful and costly edifices for the housing and nurturing, not, be it observed, of the sane and virtuous poor, who have been worn out in the service of others, helpless waifs and weaklings, or else victims of misfortune, perhaps of wrong and injustice, forced to seek refuge from starvation within the comfortless walls of a workhouse. No; the tenderest care, the warmest sympathy, the most generous expenditure are reserved for the lunatic poor, many of whom are quite unable to appreciate, or even to understand, the kindness and care bestowed on them, and the cost of whose housing and maintenance is out of all proportion to the necessities of the case.”

Now, while no right-minded man will object to any kindness or rational outlay that may bring even temporary cure or even alleviation of mental trouble, the indiscriminate and unsupervised restoration of those to civil life is a matter of grave public concern.

At present persons discharged as recovered resume their occupations and exercise all the duties of citizens only to relapse sooner or later in a great many cases. And the consequence is that the propagation of insanity goes on, and the philanthropic twentieth century is laying up many unsuspected burdens for the future. One of the most distinguished physician superintendents in Scotland has

expressed that heredity as a factor in lunacy is not nearly such an important element as is supposed, and that environment before puberty and adolescence is at least equally responsible. This is an argument well worthy of the most serious attention, but while all this is in process, and with the full knowledge of the dire results, as the Blue Books show, the Board has never suggested any palliative measures to remedy this appalling result.

There is another aspect of the question, namely, the retention in asylums of quiet, harmless patients, who should be boarded in the country. This is largely owing to the difficulty of getting the hearty co-operation of the superintendents in sending out such cases. It has been stated that where institutions have not reached anything like their full number, the superintendents are anxious to get up their population so that they may reach the lowest rates of board, and this seems to weigh with some rather than reducing the numbers. Then there is the trouble to all concerned in training workers to take the place of those who may be boarded in the country. It is well known that the country poorhouses of Scotland are only partially occupied, yet the Board does not take any steps, legislative or otherwise, to make use of these buildings to which hundreds of poor, helpless, demented people could be transferred, and as well taken care of as the ordinary sane poor. Instead of doing so we go on building huge palaces chiefly for the care of such cases.

As a commentary on this, let me quote the following from the Board's Report of 1894 regarding Inverness Asylum: "Many patients have been discharged as being either recovered, or in a condition which made confinement in an asylum no longer necessary. These discharges have reduced the population to what it was in 1887, and have been so considerable in number that the District Board have postponed consideration of plans which had been prepared for a separate hospital."

And a writer in the *Poor Law Magazine* of that year says one can only ask in amazement why this was not done before? Why had they to wait for a new superintendent to do this, and in how many asylums at the present time does the same process require to be carried out, and who is to put the process in operation? Is it the General Board, or the District Boards; or must the long-suffering ratepayers and patients wait till new superintendents are appointed who will discharge patients as being either recovered or in a condition which made confinement in an asylum no longer necessary, and so reduce the population of the asylums to what it was in 1887?

The time is at hand when the treatment and care of the insane should be placed in the hands of a Government Department, with more administrative authority, like that possessed by the Prison Commissioners in Scotland or the Local Government Board in



England. In Canada, *e.g.*, the Government has power to transfer the superintendents of asylums and prisons, &c., from one institution to another, with great advantage to the general administration. Every patient should be treated as a unit for six or twelve months, and thereafter placed in proper classified conditions; where the man or woman with some transient attack may be carefully treated and speedily recovered; and where the derelict and the incurable may be relegated to some less costly confinement.

But we are a long way from that, and as a preliminary effort to attain the knowledge of some established facts, principles and causes, we should have a commission of inquiry of persons well qualified to conduct such an investigation, embracing the whole country. The causes and treatment of insanity are, or should be, pretty much the same in the three countries, and if the Government can institute an inquiry regarding poison in beer, much more surely should they look to the poison of the brain. It is said that 24,000 fresh cases of insanity were admitted into asylums in 1901 in England, Scotland and Ireland.

But I do not see any reason why the whole functions of the General Board should not be transferred to the recently formed Local Government Board, which has already the supervision of the whole of the pauperism and public health administration of the country. When we remember that the pauper insane number 14,191, and the private insane 2416, there are obviously strong reasons for this change.

The whole question of the lunacy administration of the country is ripe for inquiry and alteration, and if the points I have tried to explain are followed up in that direction my purpose has been achieved.

JAS. R. MOTION.

## DIVES' DEATHBED.

DRAW the death-cloth o'er his head ;  
Tawdry, gilded roses strew ;  
Let his wantons wake their dead.  
Priests, this is no place for you.

Put your crucifix aside—  
Fitter jester's cap and bells!—  
Which his scoffing voice decried  
In fair Monte Carlo's hells.

From yon stoup next pour away  
Holy water ; to the brim  
Fill it up with absinthe, pray ;  
With its poison sprinkle him.

Stay, O hallowed bells, your toll ;  
Cease, pale priest, your Mass to sing  
For the requiem of his soul :  
He took heed of no such thing.

Low buffoons his corse should bear  
To unconsecrated earth :  
Ribald songs for Latin prayer ;—  
Drunkards' jests are all he's worth.

In his coffin lay by stealth  
Gold snatched from his pander crew—  
Symbol of the boundless wealth  
Once he lavished, pimps, on you.

Life was but a sorry jest ;  
Death stole on him unaware,  
While futurity, he guessed,  
None but craven souls could scare.

In his hands a dice-box place,  
On his brow a harlot's kiss ;  
Daub with rouge his bloated face.  
Can death ghastlier be than this ?

WILLIAM FREDERICK HARVEY.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

## SCIENCE.

A COMPLETE and useful *Index to the Literature of Thorium*,<sup>1</sup> by Cavalier H. Joliet, has been published by the Smithsonian Institution. The period covered is from 1817, the year of the discovery of thorium, down to 1902. This is one of the series of indexes prepared under the auspices of the Committee on Indexing Chemical Literature appointed in 1882 by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, of which series thirteen have already appeared. It is difficult to over-estimate the assistance rendered to scientific men by these guides to our knowledge of such special subjects. The labour necessary to make a full search through the literature of all civilised countries is enormous, and we owe a debt of gratitude to those who have undertaken it. The index appears to have been carefully compiled, and to contain all references of importance relating to the subject. As the compiler requests corrections where necessary, we may remark that nouns are written in German with a capital letter, a fact that has been overlooked in many titles.

There is a curious uniformity in most of the phenomena connected with modern civilised life, even in communities widely separated from each other. On studying the statistics of the *Seven Colonies of Australasia*, by T. A. Coghlan,<sup>2</sup> one finds much resemblance to the Mother Country as regards the laws of population. In a country that possesses but 1.71 inhabitant per square mile, it is found that for some years past the birth-rate has been declining. This cannot, therefore, be due to over-population, to which the diminution in Europe, with its 100 inhabitants per square mile, has been attributed. The subject is as complicated as it is important, for Australian-born women have been found not to bear so many children as European women who have emigrated to the antipodes. As the total population is less than that of London, and Australia now discourages immigration, the future of the Commonwealth cannot but be regarded as serious. As regards the great scourges of humanity,

<sup>1</sup> *Index to the Literature of Thorium. 1817-1902.* By Cavalier H. Joliet. Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia.* By T. A. Coghlan. Sydney: Government Printer. 1902.

phthisis and cancer, the mortality from the former is found to be diminishing, which is attributed to the more skilful treatment of the disease and the effectiveness of the preventive measures taken against it. The mortality from cancer, on the other hand, has more than doubled within thirty years, and even making allowance for the possible inclusion in the cancer returns of obscure malignant diseases that were formerly not ascribed to their true cause, yet, as Mr. Coghlan remarks, "the conclusion must inevitably be arrived at that the spread of the disease is a dread reality." An interesting history of the origin and development of each colony is added, and the book is not by any means a mere collection of statistics, but a concise description of the whole of Australasia.

As regards the Colony of New Zealand, somewhat later information is available in *The New Zealand Official Year-Book*, 1903.<sup>1</sup> Not only is each province fully described, but some of the more prominent features are illustrated by means of excellent photographs. Among the special descriptions included in the work we may mention the chapter on Maori Sociology, by Mr. E. Best. Any one who takes an interest in, or purposes visiting New Zealand, cannot do better than consult this handbook.

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#### PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

The Platonic tradition of Balliol established by Jowett is being well sustained by Dr. Edward Caird, and his Gifford lectures on *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*<sup>2</sup> is a profound and masterly study of the highest speculative side of ancient thought. And yet we cannot but confess to some sense of a disappointment of the hope with which we opened the book, for which, however, the author is not entirely, if at all, to blame. For confessedly the somewhat nebulous presentation of theology which we find in these lectures is due to the fact that it was not theology but philosophy with which the ancient thinkers were concerned, and though in the later lectures, treating of Philo and Plotinus, theology takes a more prominent place, we are no longer in the company of Greek philosophers, but in that of men of a different school entirely, who owed no little, it is true, to the Greek philosophers, with whom, however, we should not class them. The discussion is largely of their

<sup>1</sup> *The New Zealand Official Year-Book*, 1903. By E. J. von Dadelszen. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*. By Edward Caird, LL.D., &c. (Gifford Lectures, Glasgow, 1901, 2, 3). 2 vols. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1904.

ethical and speculative ideas, principally those of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics, which, indeed, were often near akin to religion, but only indefinitely related to theology. The thoughts of Plato and Aristotle on the great speculative problems of the nature of ideas, of the chief good, of the absolute unity, may be admitted to be the source in a large degree of theology as they are of ethical systems; but the ethical teaching is definite, the theological scarcely attains to the coherency of a conscious system. In our opinion this is far from being a defect in these great minds, and we do not consider Philo and Augustine any improvement upon Plato and Aristotle. We have found more profit in Dr. Caird's own views in the earlier lectures on the relation of theology to religion than in his attempts to draw out of the ancient philosophy more than its authors consciously intended it to present. That the lectures deserve to be read, and will often be found illuminating on many points, we readily admit; but we hesitate to say that they attain the object which the distinguished lecturer evidently had in view.

The Rationalist Press Association are to be congratulated on the success of their enterprise in publishing a series of cheap reprints of notable books. The success is an evidence that there is a very large thinking public to be catered for, the demand for some of these reprints being extraordinary when we consider the popularity of the trashiest literature which ever issued from the printing-press. We venture to think that *An Agnostic's Apology*,<sup>1</sup> by the late Sir Leslie Stephen, is likely to be as popular as any book issued in this cheap series. The question of religion, as regarded by a cultured and highly intelligent man, is deserving of the most serious attention, and no religious man whose mind is open can have any reason to complain of Sir Leslie Stephen's manner of dealing with religious problems. But it is not so much with the liberal religious that the writer has to deal as with those whom he calls Gnostics, who not only profess to know many things which appear to most of us beyond the reach of our limited faculties, but who also condemn those who do not accept their assertions. Sir Leslie Stephen's defence of Agnosticism as against the Gnostics appears to us to be unanswerable, and his conclusion perfectly justified. "Wait," he says, "till you can give some answer, not palpably a verbal one, to some one of the doubts which oppress us as they oppress you. . . . Till then we shall be content to admit openly, what you whisper under your breath or hide in technical jargon, that the ancient secret is a secret still; that man knows nothing of the Infinite and Absolute; and that knowing nothing, he had better not be dogmatic about his ignorance." But in saying this, we should still be prepared to hold that there is a justification for religion which is not that of the

<sup>1</sup> *An Agnostic's Apology.* By Sir Leslie Stephen, K.C.B. London: Watts & Co. (Rationalist Press Association).

dogmatists and which is not destroyed by the Agnostics. Besides the first article, which gives its title to the volume, there are several others, the best of which are on "The Scepticism of Believers" and "Toleration."

Readers of Mr. Philip Sidney's *The Truth about Jesus of Nazareth*<sup>1</sup> must be prepared to find it more novel than attractive and more ingenious than logical. Mr. Sidney's position is a curious one, for though he gives evidence that he is well acquainted with the results of the higher criticism of the Gospels, he deliberately puts it on one side and takes the most literal view of the Gospel story, to an extent that only the most out-of-date and orthodox exponent on the other side would do. We are familiar enough with the extravagant lengths to which uncritical orthodox expositors will go in their presentation of the life and character of Jesus of Nazareth, and Mr. Sidney shows that their opponent can be just as biased and extravagant. That the Gospels are confused, obscure, and inconsistent in their account of the life of the Founder of Christianity every student knows, but Mr. Sidney makes little allowance for this, and, taking the Gospels in the most literal way, exercises no little ingenuity to make out that Jesus himself was an impostor, or something like it, and that his intimate friends were very doubtful characters. That Mr. Sidney is capable of better things we have no shadow of a doubt, but we think the present attempt an idle exercise of his talents.

The labours of the higher critics, as they are called, of the Bible have produced results of extraordinary importance in leading us to an intelligent appreciation and understanding of the Scriptures. The overthrow of the traditional supernatural theory of their origin, the placing of the various books in their proper chronological order, and showing their true relation to the times in which they were written, and the objects the writers had in view, is a work of inestimable value. It has entailed enormous labour and attention on the part of such critics as Canon Cheyne, Dr. Driver, W. E. Addis, and J. Estlin Carpenter, to mention only a few English workers in this field; but their work, as a rule, is of a learned and technical kind, which only students can fully appreciate. To popularise the results of all this labour is a work which is very much needed, and we therefore welcome such a book as Mr. Balmforth's on *The Bible from the Standpoint of the Higher Criticism*.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Balmforth is himself an industrious student, but he has also the gift of being able to present the results of his studies of the critics in an accurate and pleasant manner, and thus contribute to the diffusion of clearer ideas upon subjects which are still too little understood by the generality of religious people, whose only conception of the higher critics is that

<sup>1</sup> *The Truth about Jesus of Nazareth. As Derived from a Study of the Gospel Narratives.* By Philip Sidney. London: W. Stewart & Co. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *The Bible from the Standpoint of the Higher Criticism.* By Ramsden Balmforth. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1904.

they are a set of men bent upon destroying the foundations of the faith. We recommend all such to read Mr. Balfour's book, and they will learn that the critics themselves are not the enemies but the friends of religion.

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#### SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

*The Evolution of Local and Imperial Government from the Teutonic Conquest to the Present Day*<sup>1</sup> is the title of a useful contribution to the origin and history of local self-government, by Mrs. Fordham, daughter of Sir Walter Foster, Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board in the last Liberal administration. Mrs. Fordham is correct in saying that when the Local Government Act 1894 was passed the general opinion seemed to be that the grant of local self-government was a new and brilliant idea. Students of constitutional history know that this was far from being the case. But the idea had not become so obsolete as Mrs. Fordham supposes. The mediæval towns retained much of their independence and powers of self-government up to the middle, at least, of the eighteenth century, and examples of the village community, with its annual redistribution of arable land, occur up to the close of the same century. Another misconception is Mrs. Fordham's whole-hearted acceptance of the theories of the Germanic school. English local self-government did not commence with the Saxon township. The so-called Anglo-Saxon conquest of extermination was very partial in its application. The extermination theory is now thoroughly exploded. With the exception, possibly, of south-east England, there was no extermination of the British peasantry. The origin of our ideas of local self-government is to be found in the ancient British village community which, as in India, survived the successive waves of foreign invaders. These, however, are still controversial questions. It was sufficient for Mrs. Fordham's purpose to commence her history of the evolution of local government with the Saxon régime, and with her narrative we have little fault to find. In this her faults are rather faults of omission than commission. For instance, it is rather a lough jump, in her history of London, from mediæval vestries to the Metropolitan Board of Works. As might be expected from Mrs. Fordham's public career, subjects are explained from her own experience in practical government, and special emphasis is laid upon the great part which women

<sup>1</sup> *The Evolution of Local and Imperial Government from the Teutonic Conquest to the Present Day.* By E. Mary Fordham. With a Preface by Sir Walter Foster, M.P. London: Knight & Co. 1904.



have played in civil government. In the reactionary times through which we have recently passed women have lost part of the small advance they had made. We need scarcely say that Mrs. Fordham never loses an opportunity of warmly pressing their claims to a more extended share in local government. We look for an enlarged and revised edition of this eminently suggestive little book.

*Essays in Fury*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Arthur D. Lewis, is a somewhat misleading title, and to us it also appeared repellent. Upon its perusal, however, we were agreeably surprised. The author's idea of writing to save lazy people the trouble of arriving at the truth by wading through innumerable volumes is praiseworthy, but by no means novel. This is the object, we take it, of most authors. The essays are, in fact, an attack upon priestcraft and dogma. They are excellent reading and will appeal to all who are desirous of arriving at the truth, even to the destruction of their religious belief and preconceived prejudices. Many agnostics are inclined to think that some religious faith is essential to certain stages of civilisation, but we have always been amongst those who consider that priestcraft has, on the whole, been bad for humanity. Christianity no doubt stands out as one of the best religions the world has seen, but even Christianity has been made the vehicle and formed the excuse for some of the grossest cruelties and persecutions upon a wholesale scale that suffering humanity has endured. All religions without exception are purely egoistic. None are based upon pure moral conduct, the doing of right for right's sake. This is why they have all failed, and this is where the religion of humanity will succeed. Mr. Lewis is outspoken and militant. Religions die hard, and although free thought has made vast strides of late years, religious intolerance is still very powerful. If the masses are to be converted we want more men of the militant type like Mr. Lewis to come into the open and with the courage of their opinions to do "spade work." The arm-chair agnostic is almost as useless as the arm-chair politician.

*Fifty Years of Progress and the New Fiscal Policy*<sup>2</sup> is to some extent an expansion of the pamphlet by Lord Brassey which we noticed last month. As we might expect, it is a businesslike, scientific, and common-sense statement of the Free Trade position, based upon official statistics, Blue Books, and speeches of leading statesmen, British and Colonial. Amongst these are to be found statements by Mr. Chamberlain himself as recent as the year 1897, diametrically opposed to his recent utterances in his attack upon Free Trade. "Under Free Trade," says Lord Brassey, "our country has greatly prospered. It is for the advocates of change to give

<sup>1</sup> *Essays in Fury*. By Arthur D. Lewis. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Fifty Years of Progress and the New Fiscal Policy*. By Lord Brassey, K.C.B., D.C.L. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. 1904.

proof of its necessity. Under Protection we shall lose all the advantages of a Free Trade country in competition with hampered and hindered industries. Let us pause before we reverse the policy of fifty prosperous years." It is true that Mr. Chamberlain's policy is thoroughly discredited in the country, but none the less Lord Brassey urges every convinced Free Trader to be up and doing. In so doing he cannot find a better aid than this book, of which the only defect is its price of 2s. instead of one.

*The Financial Reform Almanack for 1904*<sup>1</sup> naturally gives the chief place to the Fiscal Question. Mr. Chamberlain's fallacies are clearly exposed and the financial position of protective countries ascertained by carefully prepared tables showing the comparative figures of population, imports and exports per head of the population. Other useful tables are those showing the expenditure by normal working-class families in various countries. National finance, as usual, receives a large amount of attention. No student of economics and no politician can afford to be without this invaluable manual.

We have nothing but praise for the first volume of *The Free Trader*,<sup>2</sup> the organ of the Free Trade Union, which has contributed so largely by its weekly issue, distributed broadcast, to bring down in confusion the Tariff Reformer's house of cards. In the present volume the platform speaker will find reliable information relating to the "ruined industries" of Mr. Chamberlain's morbid imagination, showing them to be very much alive indeed. The volume is fully indexed and thus forms a ready book of reference.

M. Edmé Champion is already known for his *La France d'après les cahiers de 1789*, and now we have from his pen *La Séparation de l'Église et de l'État*,<sup>3</sup> which he modestly styles, in his sub-title, an introduction to the religious history of the French Revolution. The work is not merely of historic interest; it not only throws a vivid light upon the whole series of events comprised in the word "revolution" but it contains valuable lessons for both the present and the future. Upon this aspect French history has been sadly mishandled. Friends and foes of the Revolution alike have fallen into errors of fact and errors of judgment, and each equally alike have proved deficient in the true spirit of liberty. In dealing with this aspect of these momentous events M. Champion has displayed his usual accuracy in handling his facts and his usual discernment in his deductions therefrom.

<sup>1</sup> *The Financial Reform Almanack, 1904.* Liverpool: The Financial Reform Association. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *The Free Trader.* July 31 to December 18, 1903. London: The Free Trade Union.

<sup>3</sup> *La Séparation de l'Église et de l'État en 1794.* Par Edmé Champion. Paris: Armand Colin.

*The Vagrant and the Unemployable*<sup>1</sup> is the title of a pamphlet by "General" Booth of the Salvation Army, containing a proposal for the extension of the Land and Industrial Colony system, whereby vagrants may be detained under suitable conditions and compelled to work. In spite of our Radical principles, we cannot help feeling a sneaking sympathy for this scheme of forced labour. It sounds terrible, no doubt, to the lover of personal liberty that any one, however unfortunate, should be seized and forcibly compelled to work. But when we remember that such men are *in fact* supported by the community, it only seems fair that they should, in the form of labour, make some reciprocal return to the State. With the unemployables who are willing to work there is no difficulty, but with the loafer, or man who won't work when he gets the chance, the case is otherwise. "General" Booth therefore proposes a central authority, analogous to the Prison or Lunacy Commissioners, to frame regulations and deal with the unemployed problem. He proposes that the Vagrancy Laws should be amended so as to give magistrates power to commit vagrants to colonies or settlements, and that municipal and Poor Law authorities be empowered to establish such colonies. Such a scheme as this appears to be eminently practicable. It is quite clear that our present Poor Law system is a complete failure.

*The Evolution of Suffrage; the Remedy for the Evils of the Present Rudimentary Suffrage*,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. Frank J. Scott, is a whole-hearted appeal for woman suffrage. Mr. Scott's remedy is a cumulative system of plural votes, allowing additional votes for marriage, for a homestead, and for every additional ten years up to fifty years of age. Having not yet got rid of the property plural vote, we are not much enamoured of Mr. Scott's scheme.

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#### HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

*Les Demoiselles de Verrières*,<sup>3</sup> who form the subject of an unusually interesting monograph by M. Gaston Maugras, played a conspicuous part in *la vie galante* of the eighteenth century—the epoch in which feminine influence reigned supreme and uncontested. Woman was

<sup>1</sup> *The Vagrant and the Unemployable*. By General Booth. London: International Headquarters of the Salvation Army. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *The Evolution of Suffrage*. By Frank J. Scott. Toledo: Ohio.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Demoiselles de Verrières*. Par Gaston Maugras. Paris: Librairie Plon-Nonrrit.

paramount in arts, science, literature, and politics; young authors sought her patronage; the doors of the Academy opened at her behest. Gallantry—it would be rank blasphemy to call it love—became the ruling passion, the sole aim of life, the inexhaustible theme of books, pamphlets, pictures, plays, and music. Manners were free, morality was non-existent—at least in Court circles—and the only hypocrisy discernible throughout that period of scepticism is the external homage paid to religion. The high-sounding name, De Verrière, was assumed by Marie and her younger sister, Claudine-Geneviève, at the zenith of their prosperity, to conceal the vulgarity of their origin. Marie—the superior in wit, but the inferior in beauty, to her sister—became the mistress of the famous general, Maurice of Saxony, and, in 1748, bore him a daughter, who was christened Marie-Aurore. The latter contrived to keep herself unsullied amidst a corrupting atmosphere, and finally married Dupin de Francueil. Her son Maurice was destined to be the father of Mme. George Sand.

Linnaeus is not only the glory of Sweden, but he is also incontestably the greatest scientist of the eighteenth century. Although his fame chiefly rests, in the popular mind, on the botanical system associated with his name, yet in the domains of zoology and mineralogy he did yeoman service. In medicine, too, he was, in many respects, in advance of most of his contemporaries; indeed, his *Materia Medica* will always rank as a classic in pharmacology. Strangely enough, he suspected the existence of bacteria as causative not only of zymotic diseases, but also of fermentation and corruption. He refers to them as *idel lefwande partielar* (mere living particles). Linnaeus died in the beginning of 1778, but hitherto all biographies of this illustrious scholar have been incomplete, and, what is still worse, in many respects misleading. Sweden, however, may now be congratulated on possessing, in *Linné*,<sup>1</sup> by Professor Th. M. Fries, a life of Linnaeus which fulfils all the conditions of a perfect biography. It represents the research-work of more than three decades, only interrupted by the duties of his Chair. No more important work has been issued by the Swedish press within the last ten years. We hope soon to see an English translation of it in a style worthy of the original. In conclusion, a word of praise is due to the publishers for the artistic excellence of the *format*.

<sup>1</sup> *Linné*. Af. Th. M. Fries. 2 vols. Stockholm: Fahlcrantz & Co. 1903.

## BELLES LETTRES.

THOMAS DELONEY—mentioned by Nash, in *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, as the “ballading silk-weaver of Norwich”—was a prolific writer, in both verse and prose, between 1586 and 1600 (?), the year of his death. Of his forty-seven ballads which have come down to us, the majority are to be found in the *Garland of Good-Will* and the *Strange Histories*; the rest exist in blackletter broadsides. In *Thomas Deloney: Eine Studie über Balladenlitteratur der Shakspeare-Zeit*,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Richard Sievers deals critically with this mass of material apart from the text. The most curious of these ballads is that of *The Kentishmen with Long Tails*, which presents a parallel with the Birnam Wood of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. Dr. R. Sievers tells us, on the authority of Lappenberg, that a similar legend occurs in the history of Holstein, where the event is placed in the fourteenth century. The Appendix contains a revised text of the 1630 edition of *The Pleasant History of John Winchcomb, in his younger years called Jack of Newbery*—a companion story to *The Gentle Craft*, an edition of which was noticed some time ago in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

*Le Bonheur des autres*,<sup>2</sup> by M. Alexis Noël, is a distinct advance on *Paulette se marie*, which has already been favourably noticed in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW. Both belong to a happily increasing class of novels which, without being directly addressed to them, may be read with pleasure and profit by unsophisticated youth. The story, which is saturated with the pure air of a forest village, is touched but scarcely contaminated by the follies and vices of Paris. So deftly woven is the plot that, up to the final chapter, the reader cannot determine whether the issue will be happy or otherwise.

It has been stated by the most analytical of contemporary writers on French literature that as much is to be learnt, in the 500 pages of *Le Rouge et le Noir*, of the acts and interior motives of the society created by the Revolution as from the whole of *La Comédie humaine*. In *La Dame aux Lévrier*s,<sup>3</sup> M. Alfred Poizat has proved himself to be an enthusiastic and intelligent disciple of Stendahl, whose methods he has mastered and whose profoundly keen, but superficially elusive, insight into souls he has caught. *La Dame aux Lévrier*s is not of the sisterhood to which *La Dame aux Camélias* belonged, but a most unhappy lady of mystic temperament, mated to a well-born clown and pursued by a lover, from whose toils she eventually escapes to a

<sup>1</sup> *Palæstra* XXXVI. *Thomas Deloney: Eine Studie über Balladenlitteratur der Shakspeare-Zeit*. Von Dr. Richard Sievers. Berlin: Mayer & Müller. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Bonheur des autres*. Par Alexis Noël. Paris: Librairie Plon.

<sup>3</sup> *La Dame aux Lévrier*s. Par Alfred Poizat. Paris: Librairie Plon.

region of peace and patriarchal simplicity. The story is professedly *un roman de décadence*, depicting, in an idyllic environment, that debilitating unrest which pursues a generation deaf to the voice of religion.

In the February number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW we had the pleasure of noticing Herr Ludwig Kuhlenbeck's *Im Hochland der Gedankenwelt*. We have now before us his translations into German of two famous treatises by Giordano Bruno,<sup>1</sup> entitled respectively, I. *Das Aschermittwochsmahl* (Cena de la Ceneri, or Ash Wednesday Supper); and II. *Die Vertreibung der triumphierenden Bestie* (Spaccio de la Bestia Triumfante, or Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast). I. which is a conversational exposition of the Copernican theory, was originally dedicated to M. Castelnau de Mauvissiere, French Ambassador in London in 1584, the year when Sir Philip Sidney met the author at the house of Falke Greville, and the pair discussed "moral, metaphysical, mathematical, and natural speculations." Although the fervent Protestantism of the English nobleman must have taken alarm at the scepticism of the ex-Dominican, the latter, nevertheless, dedicated to him his *Spaccio*—the allegory which gives the quintessence of his philosophy. II. In it the gods resolve to banish from heaven the constellations which reminded them of their iniquities, and to substitute for them the moral virtues. Herr Kuhlenbeck tells us, in his preface, that Julius Schiller tried, in his *Coelum Stellatum* (1627), to sanctify the stars by renaming them after the personages of the Old and New Testament. Thirty years afterwards Ehrhardt Weigel, Professor of Mathematics at Jena, with disgusting servility, actually proposed to substitute for these mythological names the coats-of-arms of princely houses! The translation reads very well, and the notes are concise and to the point.

A new and enlarged edition of *Spanish Self-Taught*<sup>2</sup> has just been added to Messrs. Marlborough's well-known series. The task of revision has been entrusted to Mr. W. F. Harvey, an acknowledged authority on romance literature. The present edition has been brought up to date, and contains much additional matter which will greatly increase its value as a practical manual of the language. We can heartily recommend this little book to all young students.

*A Comedy of Conscience*,<sup>3</sup> by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, is a miniature masterpiece, terse and epigrammatic, without a superfluous word. Its *format* is as dainty as befits the story, which may be read well within an hour, or the time occupied by an after-dinner cigar.

English eighteenth century novels fall into two classes: on the

<sup>1</sup> Giordano Bruno. I. *Das Aschermittwochsmahl*. II. *Die Vertreibung der triumphierenden Bestie*. In Deutsche übertragen von Ludwig Kuhlenbeck. Leipzig: Eugen Diederichs Verlag. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Spanish Self-Taught*. Edited by W. F. Harvey, M.A. London: Messrs. E. Marlborough & Co. 1904.

<sup>3</sup> *A Comedy of Conscience*. By S. Weir Mitchell, M.D. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1904.

one hand the character-dissecting stories of Richardson, which arose out of the essays in the weekly papers; on the other hand the romance of adventure, which Defoe, Swift, and Fielding borrowed from Spanish and French sources. Goldsmith was nearer akin to Richardson than to the opposite school, but he surpasses his model by not only analysing his characters, but also developing them. *Entstehungsgeschichte von Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield*,<sup>1</sup> by Dr. Bernhard Neuenendorff, is an exhaustive inquiry into the sources of a classic which, despite its antique diction, seems still to be extensively used as a text-book in German schools. As a contribution to the history of English literature this prize composition from the University of Berlin is, possibly, not without a certain value.

*Sœur Alexandrine*<sup>2</sup> is not only the greatest achievement of Champol, but possesses a special interest at the present time by depicting, with photographic minuteness subordinated to art, the operation of *la loi sur les associations* as directed against the Sisters of Providence, whose ministrations are the safeguard of society against the Hooligan and the Anarchist. It is a story of pathos and power, such as only a man of letters, keenly observant of the welter of Paris life, could conceive and execute.

<sup>1</sup> *Entstehungsgeschichte von Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield*. Von Bernhard Neuenendorff, Dr. Phil. Berlin: Mayer & Müller. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *Sœur Alexandrine*. Par Champol. Paris: Librairie Plon.

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YELLOW SLAVERY—AND WHITE!

I.

“ Now, gentlemen, I have said that some of the rumours which have been current are inaccurate, but there is one rumour so inaccurate that I think it necessary to refer to it. Apparently—I judge only by the telegrams I have seen—but apparently it has been rumoured in London that there is an ignoble bargain between my friends who represent the mining interests and myself ; if they consent to be taxed, I on my part, and on the part of the Imperial Government, will agree and approve of a proposal to introduce Chinese labour. Well, a rumour of that kind does great credit to the ingenuity of its author, but it would not be creditable to any intelligent man if he gave it the slightest credence. Anything of that sort would be discreditable to the mining interest, and almost treasonable on my part.”—Right Hon. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN at Johannesburg.

“ It is even possible that, when the Ordinance is brought into operation, the contribution of ten millions towards the War Loan, which the Rand magnates promised Mr. Chamberlain to underwrite, will be forthcoming within a reasonable period.”—*Standard*, February 19, 1904.

EVENTS have amply justified those who from the first denounced the South African War as a crime of the deepest dye.

Even Mr. Chamberlain, who was at one time disposed to regard the war as “ a feather in his cap,” is now anxious to assure us that he did “ everything humanly possible to avert a war.”

“ Everything humanly possible,” forsooth ! Did not the right honourable gentleman himself admit that President Kruger had conceded nine-tenths of our demands, and that the remaining tenth was not worth a war ?



And yet we went to war!

Even our old friend, "the man in the street," beloved of Mr. Balfour, can now trace the connection between cause and effect. Even he now realises that the war in South Africa was a struggle, not for race ascendancy but for class ascendancy; that at bottom the fight was not political but economic in its issues; that it was not sought by the Boers, but was forced upon them by a gang of cosmopolitan adventurers, anxious to consolidate their vast gold-mining interests and exploit to the uttermost the workers in their employ.

Told by Mr. Chamberlain that, "The war was, in a certain sense, a miners' war—that was to say, it had been undertaken in order that justice might be done to the British miners of the Transvaal,"<sup>1</sup> told by Mr. Chamberlain that, "We are not going to allow the foreign workman, unless he be of a very desirable description, to take the bread out of the mouth of the British workman,"<sup>2</sup> the Jingo, sobered and saddened, now finds that Mr. Chamberlain is apparently of opinion that the yellow man with the pig-tail is a "foreign workman . . . of a very desirable description!" and that "justice . . . to the British miners of the Transvaal" requires that British miners shall be kept out of the Transvaal altogether!

Twenty-five thousand of our brave fellows done to death! Two hundred and fifty millions sterling worse than wasted! And the net result: The impudent notification, "No white men need apply," and an Ordinance empowering the importation of Chinese slaves!

Well may "the man in the street," stung to the quick, now swear freely at the corrupt and incompetent Government he formerly swore so strongly by.

Small wonder that Mr. Munro-Ferguson, M.P., ardent Liberal Imperialist that he is, or was, should bitterly exclaim that he supported the war because "he thought it would create a British colony, not a country governed by Jews and peopled by Chinamen."

Small wonder that Major Seely, M.P., returned to Parliament while serving at the front, should resign his seat in protest against the proposed iniquity. Small wonder that, Conservative though he be, he should declare in a letter to the *Times*:

"But if the most tangible and visible result of all the labours and sorrows of that prolonged struggle is to be the importation of Chinese labourers, whose presence is so distasteful to the inhabitants of the Transvaal that they must needs be forced to work, with every circumstance of ignominy, in strict seclusion, and under conditions making them no better than slaves, it will seem that our labours have been in vain, and that it had been almost better had there been no war."

The pity of it is that Major Seely, Mr. Munro-Ferguson, and

<sup>1</sup> Cannock Chase, October 18, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Leeds, 1903.

other supporters of the war, did not some four or five years ago avail themselves of sources of information as accessible to them as to those whom they then stigmatised as Pro-Boers and Little-Englanders; for then the South African War, the crowning infamy of the nineteenth century, would have been avoided, or, if begun, would right speedily have been stopped.

The position, to those who had eyes to see, was as plain as the sun at loontide. What they stood to gain by the war, the Rand magnates themselves had told us.

Says Mr. J. A. Hobson, in his able and convincing book, *The War in South Africa*:<sup>1</sup>

"There is no secret about the matter. This war is a terrible disaster for every one else in England and South Africa, but for the mine-owners it means a large increase of profits from a more economical working of the mines, and from speculative operations. Mr. [now Sir Percy] Fitzpatrick puts into the mouth of 'leading men of the Rand' the following statement of grievances in 1896: 'If you want the chief economic grievances, they are: the Netherlands Railway Concession, the dynamite monopoly, the liquor traffic, and native labour, which together constitute an unwarrantable burden of indirect taxation on the industry of over two-and-a-half millions sterling annually.' In other words, the mining capitalists stood to gain an income of two millions and a half by a successful political or military coup." "Mr. Hays Hammond, of the Consolidated Goldfields," continued Mr. Hobson, "'would regard the sum of 6s. per ton as a conservative estimate of the direct and indirect benefits of good government,' while Mr. J. B. Robinson takes 6s. as a minimum statement of the gain. Now, Mr. Hammond shows that a saving of 6s. per ton works out at 'an increase of annual dividends by £2,413,268, based on last year's tonnage of ore crushed'—an independent corroboration of Mr. Fitzpatrick's estimate. . . . The one all-important object is to secure a full, cheap, regular, submissive supply of Kaffir and white labour. Wages form about 55 per cent. of the working expenses of the mines, and of the 6s. per ton in which Mr. Hammond expresses the advantages of 'good government,' another expert, Mr. Curle, estimates that 5s. would accrue from a full supply of labour, with proper administration of the Pass and Liquor Laws, which keep the Kaffirs from deserting their employment and prevent them from obtaining drink."

Nor were we left without warning in regard to the desire of the Rand magnates to import Chinese labour. Earl Grey, addressing the Chartered Company's shareholders at the close of 1899, said:<sup>2</sup>

"We must dismiss from our minds any idea of developing our mines with white labour. . . . It is obvious that the black labour of the aboriginal inhabitants of South Africa must be our first line of defence. . . . An incentive to labour must be provided, and it can only be provided by imposition of taxation. I look forward to the imposition of a hut-tax of £1 per hut in conformity with the practice that prevails in Basutoland, and I also hope that we may, 'with the permission of the Imperial authorities,' be able to establish a labour-tax which those able-bodied natives should be required to pay who are unable to show a certificate of four months' work. *I may add that the directors are already making inquiries on their own account as to the possibility of obtaining 'Asiatic' labour.*"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Times* report, December 15, 1899.

<sup>3</sup> *Italics mine.*

While at the same meetings the Duke of Aburca stated, significantly enough, that, at the settlement following the war, her Majesty's Government would "rather wish war to die in disregard of the sentiments of their loyal supporters in South Africa."

Again, at the General Election of 1900, Dr. Rutherford Harris, returned for Monmouth but unseated for good and sufficient reasons, was challenged as to his attitude and that of his associates in regard to the importation of Chinese labourers into the Transvaal. He denied that they had any such desire or intention, and obtained a telegram from Mr. Cecil Rhodes also denying it. But what such denials are worth we now know, for Dr. Harris, who so recently as the Dulwich by-election, stigmatised as a liar the statement that he supported the introduction of Chinese slaves, voted on March 21 last in support of the Yellow Slavery Ordinance!

The truth is, the prospect of the additional two-and-a-half millions of dividends each year made the mouths of the Rand magnates water, and they were willing to do anything—or anybody—in order to obtain it. Their first objective was "to secure a full, cheap, regular, submissive supply of Kaffir and white labour." "Asiatic labour" was but an afterthought. Kimberley, with its huge octopus-like monopoly and its "compound" slavery system was the industrial ideal of these "patriots" with the outlandish patronymics; and they were minded to improve if possible even on that system. "Good government," in the eyes of these gentlemen, meant the abolition of the Transvaal mining laws, the most liberal in the world, perhaps—mining laws specially directed against monopoly of the mines—mining laws which the miners of Alaska petitioned to have enacted there. Then as the De Beers Consolidated Mines swallowed up and absorbed all interests in Kimberley, so the Consolidated Goldfields Company would swallow up all interests in the Rand, and be absolutely master of the situation.

Mr. Hobson tells us<sup>2</sup> that for the natives "the Kimberley 'compound' system converts a labour contract into a period of imprisonment with hard labour, and a truck system of wages."<sup>3</sup> But a more subtle and more effective method of exploiting and enslaving the Kaffirs commended itself to the Randlords—the method of establishing "a system of native locations along the Rand."

With reference to this system, Mr. Hobson points out that—

"While the 'compound' system gives the companies a full control of the labour during the period contracted for, it does not secure a permanent supply upon the spot, which is the thing most desired. If, on the other hand, a large number of able-bodied natives can be induced to break up

<sup>1</sup> Italic mine.

<sup>2</sup> *War in South Africa*, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> Yet Earl Grey, speaking in the House of Lords (*Daily News* report, March 19, 1904), would have us believe that "the conditions under which the Chinese would live in South Africa might be said to approach those of a garden city!"

their tribal agricultural life<sup>1</sup> in distant parts and plant themselves with their families in a dense population upon lands belonging to the companies and adjoining the mines, a really more effective control will be obtained. Once there, their old tribal life abandoned, prevented from wandering by the vigorous administration of the Pass Law, *deprived of the opportunity of getting land enough to earn a living*,<sup>2</sup> they can only keep themselves and their families by regular employment on the mines for a wage determined by the Chamber (of Mines). Such a system of native locations, assisted by Pass and Liquor Laws, a Hut and Labour Tax, will furnish a serf population, *ascripti glebe*, who, nominally free, will be virtually compelled to devote themselves and their families to the service of the mines. This course will have many advantages; it will save the cost of bringing labour from longer and ever longer distances, it will keep the labour when it has been got, and furnish a regular, reliable, cheap, and experienced body of workers, some of whom may be taught to do skilled work which will displace white labour; their presence will raise the value of surrounding lands, and will, by forcing the wages to be spent upon the spot, enable the mining capitalists to take another profit out of shops owned by the companies or built upon their land.

"Another advantage of this system of 'locations,'" adds Mr. Hobson, "is that it is applicable, without the name, to the case of white labour. The white miners at Kenilworth, the suburb of Kimberley, are absolutely under the control of De Beers Company: drawing their wages from De Beers, living in houses owned by De Beers, trading with shops controlled by De Beers, they are the political and social serfs of the company; if they object to any terms imposed upon them by the company, they must quit not only their employment but their homes, and must leave Kimberley to find a means of living outside the clutches of the diamond monopoly. The same will be the position of the white miners who may be induced to bring their families and settle down upon the Rand."<sup>3</sup>

Such was the "little game" of the Randlords, and for ten years prior to the war the Chamber of Mines was constantly demanding of the Transvaal Government—

1. That the Government itself should assist in organising the supplies of native labour.
2. That stringent Pass Laws should be enforced, so that the natives might be prevented from moving about as they liked.
3. That "the hut-tax should be increased as an incentive to the natives to work."
4. That "permission should be granted to the mining companies to establish locations."

The history of the whole agitation is contained in the evidence which the mine-owners themselves gave before the Transvaal Industrial Commission appointed by the Volksraad in 1897, at the instance of the Chamber of Mines, and in the letter addressed to the Commission by the Chamber of Mines.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare the Glen Grey Act, passed by Cecil Rhodes when Premier of Cape Colony. In order to divorce the native from the soil and thus deprive him of his independence, the land clauses of this Act broke down the old system of communal tenure and substituted individual ownership.

<sup>2</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 238-9.

<sup>4</sup> See admirable summary of same in pamphlet, *British Workmen or Chinese Slaves*, issued by the New Reform Club.

On all four of the above points the Boer Government declined to accede to the wishes of the mine-owners. The Randlords then (in December 1895) had recourse to that most desperate and criminal of measures, the Jameson Raid. The Raid proved an ignominious failure, and Mr. Rhodes thereupon declared his intention of gaining his ends by "constitutional means." The Boer Government treated the raiders with unexampled leniency, and in 1896 passed three Acts—the Liquor Law, the Gold Law, and the Pass Law—in the interests of the mining industry. In 1897, also, the Volksraad appointed the Commission, already referred to, to inquire into the mine-owners' grievances. The mining magnates again formulated their demands for facilities to "compel" the Kaffirs "to recognise the dignity of labour"—at reduced wages for soul-less gold-grabbers! But the Commission very properly reported that they "cannot recommend any measure which would be equivalent to forced labour, neither can they recommend the imposition of a higher tax upon the Kaffirs," and they further reported against "the desirability of establishing locations for Kaffirs close to the mines."

Indeed, in view of the conditions laid down in our Treaties with the South African Republic, it is difficult to see how the Commission could have reported otherwise, even had they so desired. In the Sand River Convention (1852), it is agreed that no slavery is or shall be permitted or practised in the country north of the Vaal River by the emigrant farmers. By the Convention of Pretoria (1881) these provisions are reaffirmed, and it is agreed that no slavery, or *apprenticeship partaking of slavery*, will be tolerated by the Government of the Republic. The declaration was renewed in the Convention of London (1884); but, whether by accident or design, it would not appear to have been contained in the treaty that brought to a close the war of 1899–1902.

The Randlords, foiled in their attempts both to coerce and to buy the Boer Government, finally determined to call in "the Imperial factor," and, thanks to the persuasive powers of the "Hawkesley dossier," as applied to Mr. Chamberlain; thanks to the "chartering" of a lying Press; thanks to a huge bogus petition presented to her late Majesty, the Jameson Raid, amidst much waving of the "greatest commercial asset in the world," blossomed into an Imperial Raid.

The war, estimated to take 30,000 men three months and to cost £10,000,000, took more than ten times 30,000 men nearly three years, and cost twenty-five times £10,000,000; while there lie buried beneath the veldt 25,000 British officers and men and 5000 burghers, and in the Concentration Camps—the "Cemetery Camps"—some 20,000 Boer women and children!

In 1900, as soon as Lord Milner took the helm, Kaffir wages were reduced by one-half. A shortage of labour naturally resulted, and to remedy this Lord Milner, in August 1902, promulgated an Ordinance

imposing an annual capitation-tax of £2 on every male adult native, and a further tax of £2 on every wife beyond the first a native might have. But the Randlords had failed to break down the "tribal agricultural life" of the Kaffirs, and, in spite of the capitation-tax, the natives were able to set them at defiance.

Strangely enough, this strike of the Kaffir miners synchronised with the strike of the Denaby miners here at home. The Denaby miners had a strong trades union at their backs, the Kaffirs had nothing of the kind. Yet the Denaby miners lost while the Kaffirs won their strike. How was this?

The Johannesburg *Tribune*, the labour organ of the Transvaal, puts the case very clearly:

"In the gold mines of the Rand, before the great war," it tells us, "there were some 90,000 black men working, and these men were paid the wage of £2 10s. a month. When the war was over, the great mine-owners of the Rand all agreed that in future they would only pay these natives £1 10s. a month. Then, too, like the Denaby miners, these ignorant Kaffirs refused to work, and they stayed in their homes. . . . At last the mine-owners of the Rand—the millionaires, the multi-millionaires—submitted. They raised the wages of the black miners to £3 a month, and the black miners, getting all they asked for, poured back to work.

"So ended the strike of the black miners.

"And now, what was the reason why the ignorant Kaffir succeeded in maintaining his freedom, while the free-born Englishman has to acknowledge himself a slave?

"This it is. When the Kaffir struck work he returned to his kraal. There he was part-owner in the tribal lands. He grew maize and pumpkins to eat, there was milk and beer for him to drink, and a roof to shelter him. He did not starve, for he had access to the land, on which he could support himself till he cared to go back to work.

"The free-born Englishman—the Denaby miner—had no land of his own to go to. From that on which he lived he was ejected by the owner. He had to work in the mines, on the mine-owners' terms, or starve.

"*The land of the Kaffirs belongs to all the Kaffirs.*

"*The land of the English belongs to only a few of the English.*

"That is why the English miner was beaten in the strike and the Kaffir succeeded."

When wages were raised the Kaffirs came back to the mines in greater numbers, but the Rand magnates were by no means satisfied. Their maw is insatiable. Moreover, although wages had been increased, there were other causes at work to hinder the return of the natives to the Rand. Flogging was general, and the rate of mortality was such as to give even the boldest pause. As against a mortality in our mines of 1.25 per thousand, as against a normal death-rate among the Kaffirs of 17 per thousand, as against a mortality at the Kimberley Diamond Mines of 30 per thousand, as against a mortality amongst our soldiers during the war of 40 per thousand, the native mortality in the Rand mines, from November 1902 to July 1903, ranged from 44.9 to 106.7 per thousand, with an average death-rate of 70.6 per thousand!

A "garden city" death-rate this, my Lord Grey!

Still, the natives came to the mines, the numbers increasing from 35,254 in December 1902, to 52,487 in June 1903, and to about 70,000 in March of the present year; while there is good reason to believe that the number would have been even greater than this had not the mine-owners, with ulterior and sinister motives, purposely retarded the development of the mines.<sup>1</sup>

Even if there had been a real shortage of native labour, there was plenty of unskilled white labour to be had. Hundreds of men who had been "fighting for Queen and country" while the Randlords were blubbering into their soup at Capetown in fear that the Boers would destroy their mines, were standing at the street corners, out at elbows, and out of work. But "*No white man need apply!*"

"Equal rights for all white men?" say you. Oh yes; an equal right to stay away!

And, as for the Britishers already there? Well, if they don't behave themselves, if they don't order themselves lowly and reverently to their betters—the German bureaucrat, Lord Milner, and the lords of the Rand—they can be expelled the country!

"What! expelled from the country?" asked a gasping British legislator of Mr. Chamberlain, then Dictator to the Colonies. "Well, no," said Joe, amid guffaws of laughter from the young Tory bloods; "all that was done with them was that they were kept in prison till they consented to leave the country of their own accord!"

"No white men need apply!" The Rand magnates, you see, don't like British miners. British miners are trades-unionists, and, as the Randlords told Mr. Chamberlain in the report on the mining industry presented to him at Johannesburg, Beit, Wernher, Wolfe, Joel, Eckstein, Dunkelsbuhler, Zoeppritz, Reyersbach, Breitmayer, Friedlander, Schumacher, Strakosch & Co. (mind the spelling, Mr. Printer; and go slow, Mr. Reader, if you wouldn't have your jaw in a sling for a week!) desire that there shall "be no opening for the trail of the serpent, the formation of labour unions,"<sup>2</sup> in the Transvaal.

The war was "a franchise war," but the mine-owners have a rooted objection against employing workers who are likely to demand any voice in the government of the country.

<sup>1</sup> Note the following significant extract from a speech by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick at Johannesburg (February 26, 1903): "I cannot share the despondency which many feel, or affect to feel, regarding the African supply [of labour]. It is perfectly clear that the numbers we had before the war have not returned to us. In what respects are our prospects worse than before? I say they are better—much better. Nor do I share the view which some have expressed that to get back to our pre-war position of about 100,000 boys would be a calamity, because that would be our sticking-point, and because that supply would be too small for our future needs and yet too large to warrant importation of Asiatics."

<sup>2</sup> How comes it, by-the-by, that, as the *Morning Leader* has pointed out, this illuminating phrase, though it appears in the *Times* of February 9, 1903, is omitted on page 341 of the Blue-Book, which purports to give the report in full?

Read the letter that Mr. Tarbutt, a director of the Consolidated Gold Fields Company, wrote to Mr. Cresswell, formerly manager of the Village Main Reef Mine. Mr. Cresswell had been fool'ish enough to demonstrate the practicability of the economical employment of white labour in the mines, and he was dismissed for his pains. Here is the letter, dated St. Swithin's Lane, July 1903 :

" Dear Mr. Cresswell,—With reference to your trial of white labour for surface work on the mines, I have consulted the Consolidated Goldfields people, and one of the members of the board of the Village Main Reef has consulted Messrs. Wernher, Beit & Co., and the feeling seems to be one of fear that, having a large number of white men employed on the Rand in the position of labourers, the same troubles will arise as are now prevalent in the Australian colonies, viz. that the combination of the labouring classes will become so strong as to be able to more or less dictate not only on the question of wages, but also on political questions by the power of their votes when a representative Government is established.

" Yours sincerely, PERCY TARBUTT."<sup>1</sup>

Equally damaging is the utterance of Mr. Rudd :

" Could we replace 200,000 native workers by 100,000 unskilled whites, they would simply hold the government of the country in the hollow of their hands, and, without any disparagement to the British labourer, I prefer to see the more intellectual section of the community at the helm."<sup>2</sup>

And that of Mr. Henner Jennings (Commissioner of Mines) :

" White labour must come, it is absolutely inevitable ; but I do not want to have it come."<sup>3</sup>

While Lord Milner, the egregious public servant who " does not care twopence for the opinions of people (his employers) six or seven thousand miles away," has the audacity to state boldly :

" We do not want a white proletariat in this country."<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Cresswell sent to the *Times* an account of the tests he made with white labour in his mine. The results were as follows :

" Labour in cyanide works, excluding work of shifting sand still done by Kaffirs in 1903 : cost per ton in July 1899 (Kaffirs), 5·3*d.* per ton ; cost per ton in July 1903 (Kaffirs nearly all replaced by unskilled whites), 4·92*d.* per ton.

" Labour in mill : cost per ton in July 1899 (Kaffirs), 4·83*d.* per ton ; cost per ton in July 1903 (Kaffirs replaced by unskilled whites), 4·25*d.* per ton.

" Cost per ton mined of machine drill contract work on South Reef, developing and stoping : in May to August 1899 (with Kaffirs) 7*s.* 0·64*d.* per ton ; in July and August 1903 (unskilled whites), 6*s.* 9·46*d.* per ton."

Of course the magnates have attempted to pooh-pooh these figures ; but, as Mr. Cresswell says :

<sup>1</sup> Cd. 1895, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Minority Report of Native Labour Commission.

<sup>3</sup> June 2, 1903. Cd. 1895, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Cd. 1896, p. 65.



"They clearly recognise that in trying to prove that a thing is impossible, mountains of evidence on their side can be of no avail against one piece of evidence which they cannot shake, that the thing has been done."

Aye; and done in spite of every obstacle they could possibly put in his way.

The experience of Australia also shows that it is not too costly to work even low-grade mines with white labour alone. In a letter to the Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley, Acting High Commissioner for South Africa, dated October 2, 1903, Mr. Walter J. Studds (Mining Engineer and Metallurgist), expresses his amazement at the "amount of money. . . expended during the past ten years at mining on the Rand, under the designation of 'working costs,'" and states that he is "quite unable to realise how it was possible to squander money to this extent, unless both the grossest extravagance and criminal incompetence ran riot." Quoting from an article, "Working Costs in Western Australia," published in the London *Mining Journal* of August 15, 1903, he shows that in Western Australia, in spite of most difficult and expensive conditions:

"very hot and enervating climate, barren arid soil, expensive transport, great scarcity of all (water) and almost total absence of fresh water—water for the battery and extraction purposes has to be purchased at prices ranging from 6s. to 10s. per thousand gallons, while water for drinking purposes, horses and boilers has to be obtained by the costly but only possible method of boiling the salt water. . . ."

the working costs with *all white labour at 1s. 9d. per hour, work out at 20s. per English (long) ton, or 17s. 10d. per American Rand (short) ton; whereas on the Rand, with native labour doing the same work at 2s. to 2s. 6d. per day of ten hours, the working costs amount to 33s. 7.2d. per English ton, or 30s. per American ton.*

And he then adds:

"I have the honour to suggest that, if those at present controlling and managing this industry cannot mine and treat these ores for less than 30s. per (short) ton with the present cheap native labour (without Chinamen), the Government of the Transvaal undertake this work for them at that price, handing over to the local representatives of the shareholders the value of all gold recovered in excess of this amount. Under competent management all white men could be employed and paid 20s. per day of ten hours, and the Government make a profit of about 2s. 6d. per ton, which, on an estimated output of thirty-two million tons of ore, five years hence, will yield a profit of £4,000,000 per annum, or if employing one white man at 20s. to every eight Kaffirs (the proportion under normal conditions) at 2s. 6d. per day, a profit of about 17s. 6d. per ton, which, on the above estimated thirty-two million tons annual output, would yield a profit of £28,000,000 per annum."

Mr. Studds prefers all white labour for working the mines, because, as he points out, "the Transvaal would become one of the most prosperous Colonies of the Empire, if say 400,000 white men were employed at Rand mining . . . earning 20s. and spend-

ing, say, 10s. per day, equal to a spending power of £200,000 per day, or  $(200,000 \times 313)$  £62,600,000 per annum." This would constitute a splendid market for our home manufactures; and, while the presence of so many British miners in the Transvaal would tend to settle many political difficulties, their going to South Africa would also greatly relieve the labour market in this country and tend to raise wages at the expense of mineral rents and royalties, &c.

But no, the Rand magnates, with dividends ranging in some cases from 100 to 180 per cent., and with the price of their £1 shares nearing £20,<sup>1</sup> cannot afford white labour, and so John Chinaman is to be "dumped" into South African compounds by the hundred thousand. "The old world," as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman put it, "is to be called in to redress the balance of the new."

This means the abandonment of all hope of ever making the Transvaal a truly British Colony, and it also means restricting very materially the market for our goods. For John Chinaman, as they say in Australia, "can live on the smell of an oil-rag per week"; and he will save up by far the greater part of his munificent wage of  $7\frac{1}{2}d.$  to 1s. per day and take it back to China with him.

The proposal to import Chinese labour was met by a storm of protest.

Speaking at Johannesburg on January 17, 1903, Mr. Chamberlain himself said (*Times* report):

"The overwhelming popular opinion of the colony was opposed to the importation of native labour. (Loud cheers.) The other great colonies regarded that step as retrograde and dangerous."

And again, in the House of Commons, July 27, 1903, he said:

"... the opinion of the Transvaal is hostile to the introduction of Asiatic labour. . . . And so long as the opinion of the Transvaal is hostile, the right hon. gentlemen may rest perfectly satisfied that I shall

<sup>1</sup> Mr. F. Mackarness, M.P., gives the following table in a letter to the *Daily News*:

The Crown Reef from 1893 to 1903 paid an average annual dividend of $126\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. Its £1 shares stand to-day at £16.	The Jubilee from 1891 to 1903, $76\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. Its £1 shares stand to-day at £3 $\frac{3}{4}$ .
The Ferreira from 1891 to 1903, $179\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. Its £1 shares stand to-day at £19.	The Henry Nourse from 1896 to 1903, 66 $\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. Its £1 shares stand to-day at £8 $\frac{1}{2}$ .
The Wemmer from 1895 to 1903, 132 p.c. Its £1 shares stand to-day at £10.	The Geldenhuis Deep from 1897 to 1903, 43 p.c. Its £1 shares stand to-day at £10.
The Meyer and Charlton from 1892 to 1903, $46\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. Its £1 shares stand to-day at £5.	The May Consolidated from 1895 to 1903, 20 p.c. Its £1 shares stand to-day at £3 $\frac{1}{4}$ .
The New Primrose from 1891 to 1903, $36\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. Its £1 shares stand to-day at £3 $\frac{1}{4}$ .	The City and Suburban from 1896 to 1903, 10 p.c. Its £1 shares stand to-day at £7 $\frac{1}{2}$ .
The Robinson Gold Mining from 1893 to 1903, $10\frac{7}{8}$ p.c. Its £5 shares stand to-day at £9 $\frac{1}{2}$ .	The Angelo from 1893 to 1903, $36\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. Its £1 shares stand to-day at £6 $\frac{1}{2}$ .
The Langlaate Estate from 1891 to 1903, $31\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. Its £1 shares stand to-day at £3 $\frac{1}{2}$ .	The Rose Deep from 1898 to 1903, $38\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. Its £1 shares stand to-day at £7 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

not assent to it ; and I shall certainly not be a party to imposing it upon a hostile majority."

He added further that he had informed Lord Milner

"that before I assented to any introduction of Asiatic labour, Chinese or Indian, I must have reasonable proof that it was a policy which the Transvaal, if a self-governing colony, would approve."

One can understand now why Mr. Chamberlain embarked so suddenly on his raging and tearing fiscal propaganda. He realised that a lightning-conductor was a vital necessity, and he desired to sever himself from the Government before they incurred the odium of forcing Chinese labour on an unwilling colony and an unwilling Empire.

A chartered Press met the meetings of protest with a conspiracy of silence ; the Rand magnates used all their arts—the breaking up of opposition meetings by gangs of roughs hired at 15s. per head, the organising of bogus petitions, and packed pro-Chinese meetings, &c. ; while Lord Milner, for his part, set up a Labour Commission, and, in the words of the *Times*, "thus the path was prepared officially for the introduction of Chinese labour."

The Commission was formed on the lines of the Brummagem Tariff Commission. Four of its members took a leading part in organising the Jameson Raid ; and, as the *South African Guardian*, a new democratic weekly, puts it :

"The appointment of nine avowed advocates of Chinese labour to a Commission of thirteen left little to chance, and when one of the four underwent a sudden conversion before any evidence had been led, and another resigned in protest, assurance was made doubly sure."

The findings of the majority of the Commission, never for a moment in doubt, were that the demand for native labour in the Transvaal, for agriculture, for mining, and for other industries, including railways, was "greatly in excess of the present supply," and "will greatly increase." The demand for the mining industry was found to be about 129,000 labourers in excess of the available supply, and it "was estimated that the mines on the Witwatersrand alone will require, within the next five years, an additional supply of 196,000 labourers"; while the Commission reported that "there is no adequate supply of labour in Central and Southern Africa to meet the above requirements."

Not a word about Chinese labour. The Commission simply confined itself to showing that there was no other avenue of escape for the gold-mining industry !

This report was quickly followed by the passing of an Ordinance by Lord Milner's nominees, the Legislative Council, "to regulate the introduction into the Transvaal of unskilled non-European labourers";<sup>1</sup> and this his Majesty's Government, in spite of strongly

<sup>1</sup> Note the omission of the word "Chinese."

worded protests from all our self-governing Colonies, has decided "not to disallow."

The flooding of the Transvaal labour market by the importation, assisted or otherwise, of free Chinese labour would be bad enough. All fair-minded men would revolt at such wholesale "black-legging"; for, as Dr. Pearson writes in his *National Life and Character* :

"No one in California or Australia, where the effects of Chinese competition have been studied, has, I believe, the smallest doubt that Chinese labourers, if allowed to come in freely, could starve all the white men in either country out of it, or force them to submit to harder work and a much lower standard of wage."

But the importation of free Chinese labourers would not suit the book of the millionaires.

Had they wanted free Asiatic labourers they could have obtained from British India an ample supply of coolies to work in the mines. Such coolies, however, would be British subjects, and as such would have rights that would conflict with their effective exploitation at the hands of the Randlords.

What the millionaires want is, in the words of the *Times Mining Correspondent*, November 11, 1903, "muscular machinery." As Major Maurice Heany, a director of the Eagle-Vulture Mines and other Rhodesian properties, stated years ago, when the importation of Asiatics was first mooted :

"The Chinaman, if he comes, must come as a hewer of wood and drawer of water—as nearly a *beast of burden* as it is possible to make the human animal—and when his task is done he must go."<sup>1</sup>

Such is their ideal! And to that end the Ordinance provides :

"Section 9.—*Introduction of labourers subject to conditions.*

"The introduction of labourers shall be subject to the following conditions, which shall be embodied in the contract between the importer and the labourers :

"(a) That so long as the labourer remains in this colony he shall be employed only on unskilled labour in the exploitation of minerals within the Witwatersrand District . . .

"(b) That he shall only serve the person introducing him or any other person who has obtained a licence under this Ordinance to introduce labourers, and to whom the rights of such first-mentioned person under the contract may be lawfully transferred . . .

"(c) That on the termination by effluxion of time or otherwise of the contract or a renewal thereof, the labourer shall be returned without delay at the expense of the importer to his country of origin.

"Section 14.—*Labourer not allowed to trade, or to acquire lease, or hold land.*

"No liquor, mining, trading, general dealer, importer, hawker, or other licence whatever shall be granted to any labourer or to any person on behalf of or as agent or trustee for any labourer ; nor shall it be lawful for any labourer to acquire, lease, or hold, either directly or indirectly

<sup>1</sup> *Italics mine.*

be responsible for, any house, land, building, or fixed property, or any mynpacht, claim, stand, or any right whatever to minerals or precious stones, either in his own name or in the name of any person on behalf or as agent or trustee for him."

In short, the imported Chinaman shall work only for the Randlords, nor shall he by any means whatsoever become possessed of any land, lest he be enabled to employ himself and so become as independent of the mine-owners as, by reason of their tribal agricultural system, are the Kaffirs.

Other sections provide that :

"Any labourer who shall desert from the service of his employer or shall refuse to work for him when required to do so, or who shall unlawfully absent himself from work, or who shall perform any work or carry on any business other than that of unskilled labour in the exploitation of minerals, or who shall enter the service of any person to whom his contract has not been lawfully transferred under this Ordinance, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £25, and in default of payment, imprisonment not exceeding two months.

"Any person who shall harbour or conceal any labourer who has deserted from the service of his importer, or who has committed any breach of this Ordinance, or who shall aid and abet any labourer to desert, as aforesaid, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £50, and, in default of payment, imprisonment not exceeding three months.<sup>1</sup>

"No labourer introduced under this Ordinance shall leave the premises on which he is employed without a permit in the form, and containing the particulars prescribed by regulations signed by some person authorised thereto by the importer, provided that no such permit shall authorise the absence of such labourer from such premises for more than forty-eight hours from the time when it was issued.

"The said permit shall bear the date and hour on which and the periods for which it was issued, and also the name of the labourer to whom it was issued, with his registered number, and shall not authorise the labourer to go outside the Witwatersrand district.

"Labourers shall reside on the premises on which they are employed, and shall be provided with accommodation which in the opinion of the superintendent is sufficient and suitable, and shall be in charge of a manager appointed by the importer and approved of by the superintendent."

The system is, in short; chattel slavery masked as contract labour.

Indeed it was left to the Chinese Minister, Chang Ta-iên, to suggest the very necessary provisions :

"that the person styled "the importer" shall be a *bona fide* employer of labour, and not a mere dealer or speculator in labour, and that the transfer or assignment of the labourer shall only be made with the consent of the immigrant and the approval of the Consul or Consular Agent of his country."

Failing this, as Chang Ta-iên very rightly points out, there is nothing to "prevent the immigrant being made a mere chattel or article of commerce."

<sup>1</sup> Practically a re-enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law.

Further, it was left to the Chinese Minister to urge that:

“In no case shall it be allowable for the employer or his servant to inflict corporal punishment on the immigrant, and any violation of this provision shall be punishable at law as a common assault.”

Our new Colonial Secretary, Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, has given the necessary assurances on these points; but official assurances in regard to such matters are not, as a rule, worth very much. Indeed, it is but too probable that even the most stringent legislation would prove unavailing, so long as the Randlords rule the Transvaal.

Our Colonial Secretary regards as “nauseous” any reference to conscience in respect to this question, and to liken the proposed indenture system to slavery is to him like a red rag to a bull. But, in truth, what difference there is between Chinese contract labour under this Ordinance and Negro chattel slavery, as it existed in the Southern States of America, is all to the advantage of the Negro.

*(To be continued.)*

## ONE-SIDED FREE TRADE.

## I.

It is unfortunate that a large part of the present controversy centres round points which have little bearing on the main question at issue. Protectionists, on the one hand, rely largely on attempts to prove that foreign tariffs have injured our export trade, and pass lightly over the second, and vastly more important, step in their proof, namely, that these injuries can be remedied or prevented by the adoption of a counter tariff. The Free Traders, again, instead of concentrating their defence on the second question, where they possess an overwhelming advantage, have rather weakened their position, from the controversial point of view, by seeking to minimise the harm inflicted by hostile tariffs. After all due allowance has been made, it must be admitted that our export trade has grown much less rapidly than it would have done had it not been hampered by duties. However, waiving the objection that prosperity cannot be measured merely by export trade, let us consider the next question, as to how a country may guard against these injuries, such as they are, by resorting to import duties of its own.

The commercial relations of a trading country with its neighbours may be classified broadly under four types, though there are, of course, innumerable cases lying between these and merging into them by imperceptible gradations. We might have: (1) a Free-Trade country trading with a group of Free-Trade countries; (2) a protected country trading with protected countries; (3) a Free-Trade country trading with protected countries; or (4) a protected country trading with Free-Trade countries.

Now, though Mr. Chamberlain and almost all his supporters have repeatedly declared in the clearest terms that the first type is the one which they regard as most desirable, provided it could be attained, most of their arguments, carried to their logical conclusion, are wholly in favour of the last. If there be anything in the considerations they urge, then such a country would be in a most enviable position, and might flourish exceedingly at the expense of its neighbours. This is a point worth dwelling on had our object been merely to expose the logical weakness of Mr. Chamberlain's case, but it is hardly relevant to our present topic. As we are little likely to see the first set of conditions realised in the near

future, and still less likely to occupy the happy position of the last, we are left practically with a choice between the second and the third. It is with this point that Mr. Balfour has professed to deal in his *Insular Free Trade*, but, as he has misapprehended the real issue, his argument has little force. For example, discussing the nature of the injury done to a Free-Trade country through the adoption of Protection by its neighbours, he says: "Presumably such a country bears its share in the general economic loss which the widespread adoption of a bad fiscal system inflicts on the world at large. Does it in addition suffer any special loss? This is in other words to ask what is the special value to a Free-Trade country of open markets." (*Insular Free Trade*, p. 10.)

Far from being one question stated in different words, these are two perfectly distinct questions. To ask whether such a country suffers in addition any special loss, is really to compare the relative advantages of our second hypothetical case and of our third; that is to say, would the country referred to secure herself against any special loss by adopting Protection as well as the others? This is by no means the same thing as asking what is the special value to a Free-Trade country of open markets; but rather how far she could compensate herself for the obstacles to her exports by putting similar obstacles in the way of her imports.

This curious confusion renders much of Mr. Balfour's argument quite ineffective. There remain, however, several serious considerations raised by Mr. Balfour and Professor Ashley which really bear some relation to the changed conditions insisted on so strongly in all Mr. Chamberlain's speeches, and which are free from the extravagances of the latter's doctrines about imports and employment. It is true that many of the Cobdenites believed themselves within sight of an era of universal Free Trade, and this mistake is supposed to invalidate the whole of their case. Free Trade theory, we are told, is unassailable so long as we have real Free Trade all round; but now that we see all nations but ourselves settling down to a fixed policy of Protection, such theories fail completely in their application to new and unforeseen facts. On this point it is worth quoting the opinion of Professor Patten, a well-known American Protectionist. Discussing the reasons which should deter America from copying our policy, he says:

"The success of this experiment in England was due to particular causes which cannot have much force in America at the present time. Previous to that time there had been no Free-Trade nation, and all civilised countries needed a world's market. We all gain by having the various national economies brought into contact along many lines. This was impossible so long as every nation followed a restrictive policy. England was the first nation to open up a world's market, and, as a result, not only all England became more prosperous, but all other nations acquired an advantage from the free markets of England. The world now



has such a market. A second market of the same kind would not have that effect on the development of industry that followed on the opening of the English markets. One nation may make a great gain by putting itself in contact with other civilisations and becoming a market for their surplus; but a second nation would find the field occupied."

Among the objections raised by Mr. Balfour and Professor Ashley to our present policy of free imports there are three on which they lay great stress, and it is with these that it is proposed to deal in the remaining sections of this paper.

## II.

If the countries from which we at present draw our supplies of food and raw material adhere to their policy of developing manufactures and thus altering artificially the balance between the two great branches of industry (*viz.*, agriculture and manufactures), a time must come when these countries will have little or no surplus of raw material or food to send us; we shall thus find ourselves in the position of being unable to obtain our supplies of these goods, or of having to offer our own products at a great sacrifice in order to induce the foreigner to sell. The process of adjustment to these new conditions will necessarily be a painful one; and, as our home supplies of food can only be increased at a higher relative cost, owing to the law of diminishing returns, this adjustment may involve the forced emigration of a large part of our population before we can approach the stage of being a self-sufficient community.

Of the three objections this is by far the most important. I have stated it in its strongest form, and, as it seems to me, in a way which exactly represents Mr. Balfour's main contention. It is difficult, indeed, not to be struck by its force, for it points to what every one must recognise as a real danger should the protectionist zeal of other nations continue unabated; one, moreover, which no fiscal system can provide against. We might, it is true, lessen the abruptness of the change by taking measures now to make ourselves self-sufficient. Since, however, it is as difficult to forecast the economic as the political future, it would be folly to anticipate an evil which, after all, is as yet problematical. Nor is this the remedy that Mr. Balfour and his supporters urge. Their hope lies in the Colonies. If we can induce the Colonies to forego their aspirations after manufactures and to enter upon a system of preferential trade, with low duties within the Empire and a tariff against all outsiders, we may yet save the situation. If, on the other hand, we reject Canada's present overtures, she will either imitate the example of the United States in starting industries of her own behind a tariff wall, or end by being absorbed by her mighty neighbour. In the event of our acceptance Canada will consent to remain an essentially

agricultural country. We shall not, as Cobden hoped, remain the workshop of the world, but we can at least become the workshop of the Empire. While our colonists dig, delve and plough for us, we shall spin and weave for them, and thus with Free Trade within the Empire we can afford to watch with indifference the rising tariffs of our rivals. This is very plausible, and it should be carefully noted that Mr. Balfour seems to regard the real difficulty as being not to dispose of our exports, but to obtain our imports, thus giving his sanction to the Cobdenite maxim so much scoffed at by Protectionists: "Take care of the imports, and the exports will take care of themselves."

Within this reasoning, however, there lurks a deadly dilemma which Protectionists either fail to see or purposely ignore. The whole case, as we have seen, rests upon the assumption that we can persuade Canada that her interest lies in Free Trade—or, at least, preferential trade—with the Mother Country. She must be content to remain a wheat-growing region, and take her manufactures largely from us. Now a protective tariff—a "scientific" one, if you like—with its consequent development of manufactures, must either be a good thing or not. If it is a good thing—and Protectionists never tire of dwelling on the prosperity that tariffs have brought to foreign countries in general, and to the United States in particular—then we are asking Canada to abandon a policy which would bring her the same priceless benefits that it has brought to her next-door neighbour; we are asking her to sacrifice herself on the altar of Imperial loyalty, and we should be at her mercy should she ever change her mind and withdraw the boon. For no government can pledge itself for future generations in such a vital question of national policy. Our position would still be one of unstable equilibrium and of the most helpless dependence. If, on the other hand, a tariff with all its accompaniments is a bad thing, then we are offering Canada a costly bribe to adopt a system which is greatly to her own advantage, and to which eventually she would doubtless have recourse when she had seen the error of her ways. Moreover, should the price of American wheat rise—as Protectionists assure us it must—owing partly to the gradual exhaustion of the soil, partly to the demand of an increased manufacturing population in the States, this rise would of itself give a sufficient inducement to the Canadian grower to extend the area of cultivation, and the required result would thus be brought about without any fiscal legerdemain. The moral, then, is plain; if strict Protection becomes a permanent part of the policy of foreign nations, and if regions not hitherto protected continue to come under their control, the industrial prosperity of this country must decline, and no manipulation of tariffs can stay this process, but, on the contrary, may accelerate it. Further, by giving our adhesion to the protectionist creed, we shall greatly weaken and discourage the forces

which in foreign countries are making for Free Trade, and which perhaps are stronger than our alarmists suspect. Circumstances have quite changed, they tell us, within thirty years. They may change again; and if universal Free Trade is the best system, as they all profess to believe, it is not altogether absurd to hope that foreign nations at length may come to recognise the fact.

## III.

The second question is considerably less vital than the one just discussed, but both Mr. Balfour and Prof. Ashley deal with it at some length, and it is one that will appeal even more directly to the business community. One of the prominent features of present-day industrial conditions is certainly the great amount of fixed capital employed, and this change may quite well modify to some extent the course of international trade. It is claimed that this new condition, taken in conjunction with what has been termed the "law of increasing return" in manufactures, renders it possible for protected countries to ruin the industries of Free-Trade countries. If the German manufacturers, for example, have the home market secured to them by a duty, while the British market lies open as well, they are enabled to raise their output and so obtain all the economies of production on a greater scale. Thus not only can they undersell the British manufacturer in his own market, but they can at the same time oust him from foreign markets where he has hitherto had it all his own way. The charges, besides, for fixed capital are almost independent of output, and provided the duty enables the German manufacturer to reap the whole benefit of a good year, it pays him in times of depression to dispose of his goods abroad at any price that will cover wages and material, and leave a margin, however small. This latter is the celebrated "dumping" argument.

As regards the first advantage, it is clear that the value of a market to a trader varies directly as the extent of that market, and inversely as the number of competitors supplying it. Consequently, the advantage of the greater market may be lost by the number of rivals attracted into that trade by the high prices. The trade may be divided up to such an extent that a high tariff cannot make it advantageous even for the producer, much less for the consumer. Though the total output is large, the output of the individual manufacturer may be so limited by competition as to admit of few of the economies that a large scale of production renders possible. Protectionists here point to the tendency of the larger businesses to absorb or kill out the smaller, the climax being the formation of a kartel or a trust. The latter form of organisation, so far as the profit comes from economies in production resulting from unified

management, might conceivably be a benefit to the community as a whole. The kartel, on the other hand, being primarily an association of producers for the purpose of keeping up prices, and offering few facilities for lowering costs, any extra gain must come out of the pockets of other sections of the community. Prof. Ashley seems to recognise the important difference between high profits that result from high prices and those that result from low costs, and he would fain convince us that the latter are especially fostered by Protection. But the evidence he offers is quite insufficient. It is easy to show that a particular industry would benefit by an import duty on its own product; what Protectionists really have to show is that this gain is not merely at the expense of other industries or other classes of the people, and that similar protection could be extended to the remaining branches of industry without cancelling the initial advantage to the first. Now, by laying such stress on the part that dumping plays in one-sided Free Trade, Protectionists virtually give away this part of their case. "Slaughter prices" for export mean higher prices maintained against the home consumer, and thus the economies resulting from the larger scale of production go to benefit the foreigner. In view of the assertion that Protection increases the national income, or aggregate wealth available for distribution among the members of a community, the following quotation from Professor Ashley is of interest, containing, as it does, a frank admission of the real nature of dumping. The italics are mine:

"When the home market is the chief permanent outlet for the product, a considerable immediate temporary loss may be quite worth suffering in order to avoid the greater loss of lower domestic prices and their subsequent slower recovery. *It is only another form of the same policy of restricting the supply which used to lead the Dutch merchants in the East Indies to destroy part of the spice crop when the market was in danger of glut.*"—(*The Tariff Problem*, p. 86.)

It would seem, then, that the process of "relieving the market" by dumping is really equivalent to the destruction of a quantity of wealth, so far as the dumping country is concerned, and constitutes *pro tanto* a diminution of the national income measured in commodities. This is an apt illustration of the real character of Protection, viz., an enhancement of values caused by a limitation of quantity; an apparent increase, an actual decrease, of wealth. In technical language, the rise in marginal value, resulting from the diminished supply, may render the total value greater than before.

#### IV.

Besides curtailing our exports and enabling the foreigner to invade our home market, foreign tariffs are supposed to possess the further power of altering the character of our industries. While

those that we have come to regard as our staples, *e.g.*, the textile; and the iron and steel trades are slowly yielding to unfair competition, there is a class of industries that are growing steadily. Of these the chief are apparel and slops; jam, pickles, &c.; oil and floor cloth; caoutchouc manufactures; soap; furniture and upholstery wares; cordage and twine. Professor Ashley considers that all these represent a lower grade of industry. They are carried on largely by means of sweated labour. Some are unhealthy in their nature, or by reason of the long hours and the overcrowded garret workshops where the work is performed. All agree in being poorly paid and requiring little skill. This change for the worse is one of the effects of one-sided Free Trade, and if such forces are left unchecked we may quite well see all our skilled trades disappear and their places taken by unskilled, unhealthy or degrading forms of employment that are not worth filching. There is certainly no *à priori* impossibility in such a case. If foreign nations were to form a concerted plan to tax certain of our exports and allow others to enter free, they could, no doubt, succeed in largely altering the distribution of employment in this country, by forcing us to pay for our imports in one class of goods rather than another. But that such conditions will ever arise is at present so improbable as scarcely to merit discussion. Foreign nations appear to be as eager to compete with us in apparel and slops as in other articles, and, to judge by the duties they levy, evince little desire to be supplied by us even with sweated goods. Ready-made clothing can only enter Austria, for example, after paying the duty on the material of which it is made, with an added 40 per cent. The additional duty levied by other countries varies from 35 per cent. to 400 per cent. The great bulk of such exports goes to the Colonies, a fact which indicates that foreign tariffs are as effective against this class of goods as against the others. The value of apparel and slops sent to all foreign countries during 1890–1902 averaged only 14 per cent. of our total export of such goods, and is tending downwards. From 18 per cent. in 1890 the percentage fell to 14 per cent. in 1900. In 1902 it was only 11 per cent. As if to cap the absurdity of Professor Ashley's contention we find from the *Statistical Abstract* that the German export of "wearing apparel" largely exceeds our export of "apparel and slops." France is not far behind with "apparel." These names may not include quite the same categories of goods, but even making allowance for considerable differences on that score, the amounts tell strongly against the presumption that we are being forced down to lower grades of industry by the deliberate policy of our rivals. All the products that Professor Ashley mentions formed in 1902 less than 3 per cent. of our total exports of manufactured goods. Yet this small figure causes dismay among the advocates of Protection.

“England, with a lessening hold on the industries that require skill and cultivate independence, is turning apparently more and more to occupations in which it has ‘a differential advantage’ over America and her colonies in the presence of a mass of cheap, low-grade and docile labour.” (*The Tariff Problem*, p. 110.)

The growth of these industries even within such narrow limits may or may not be an unhealthy sign, but the attempt to connect this phenomenon with the want of a tariff must rest upon something more than a mere *post hoc ergo propter hoc* argument. Economic phenomena at the best are so complex that any attempt to arrive at the causal relations by this rough and ready empirical method is of little value. When the warping effect of political opinions and private interests is taken into account, it will be seen that the only result of such attempts is to discourage real investigation, and in place of Economic Science to substitute Economic Claptrap, exemplified so constantly in the speeches of Mr. Chamberlain.

W. M. LIGHTBODY.

## FISCAL FALLACIES.

## II. TARIFF RESTRICTIONS AND INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY.

WITH the means of enlightenment now at the disposal of the people it is truly remarkable to observe the amount of popular ignorance still prevalent regarding those economic disturbances persistently agitating the community and steadily contributing to the social problems that are sapping the foundations of society. Although it is probably undesirable to reflect too harshly upon the conduct of those whose educational opportunities were limited, as were also their subsequent means of enlightening themselves as to the demerits of the conditions by which they are environed, the political vagaries of those individuals better circumstanced are entirely subject to criticism and reprehension. The relations of capital and labour have ever been a fruitful source of recrimination and contention. There are probably few other subjects before the public at the present time so little understood and, consequently, more fiercely debated. The tongue and pen of misrepresentation have been vigorously and freely exercised, to the confusion of intelligence, and many incomprehensible delusions have been circulated by the breath of popular applause. All this is highly detrimental to the national prosperity, and gives opportunity for those gusts of passion that demolish the patiently constructed fabric of civilisation and social progress. It is an evil thing to contemplate, but we are fully assured that, meantime, there appear no bounds to the vaulting ambition and avarice of the plutocracy, as there are evidently no limits to the expansion of ignorance and credulity now prevalent.

It is freely asserted, and even in certain quarters accepted as an established doctrine, that the prohibition, or restricted importation into this country, of all articles of foreign manufacture would greatly favour the national industries, and create incalculable benefits for the working classes. The assumption is founded on a great delusion and sometimes a wilful deception which deserves to be unsparingly combated and demolished. The prosperity of the working classes will never be secured by the schemes of the Protectionist capitalists. The ambitions of the manufacturers would

transform the British nation into the workshop of the world. But with all their acuteness they have seemingly been possessed by an evil dream which is likely to result in a malevolent nightmare.

There is an aspect of our industrial system whose consideration is very important to the elucidation of the subject, although seldom referred to by the practical politician. Every person at all acquainted with the present state of the labouring classes must be aware that the changes effected in our economic and social relations by the introduction of the manufacturing system have now entirely deprived the wives and children of the peasantry of the employment upon which they were formerly able to subsist, besides augmenting the domestic comforts. The handicraftsman finds little remunerative employment to occupy his industry in the rural districts. The artisans of the towns are not much better situated. The introduction and general use of labour-saving machinery has created a surplus population for whose employment there is now no adequate or profitable demand. They but deceive themselves, however, who imagine that the unemployed surplus will ever be absorbed by the application of Protection. The entire history of our industrial system is opposed to the unwarrantable assumption.

At a period, not very remote, the manufactures of this country were entirely domestic. There were then no large establishments in which mechanical contrivances were steadily supplanting the necessity for manual labour. In the farmhouses and cottages of the country parishes were fabricated almost every article of clothing and domestic necessary which the community required. Under such simple conditions a family, instead of being a burden, was a distinct advantage to the household. With the exception of the few first years of infancy the children did not depend entirely for support upon the labour of the single parent. Instead, at a very early age, they began to contribute something towards their own maintenance. But the introduction of machinery and the development of the factory system gradually diminished, and have now utterly annihilated, the opportunity for all kinds of domestic manufacture. The wheel is silent in the vale, the bench is unoccupied and the ring of the anvil unheard, and all the offspring of the labourer, however industriously inclined, are now entirely dependent upon the father's wages for support. We are not advocating a return to the ancient and now obsolete system, which is alike impossible and undesirable, but simply instancing the industrial conditions under which the former generations toiled and struggled for a humble competence.

It has to be remembered always that the development of our present industrial and social system has been a process of considerable time and mutation. Owing to various causes, this country was particularly well circumstanced in obtaining a pre-eminent



position in the markets of the world. In the application of machinery to manufacturing processes the British people were then in advance of other countries. Their exertions to become the universal providers, and even to compel the foreign purchasers to buy their goods, was earlier in point of time and more successful in practical effect than those of other nations. This enabled the British manufacturer, for a time, to undersell all rivals, and by degrees to dominate the markets through obtaining a monopoly of supplying the great body of purchasers of cheap articles who had in former times been customers for the wrought goods of other industrial countries. This additional demand to supply the foreign markets minimised for a time the inevitable effects of machinery in throwing the industrial population out of employment. The increased demand for manufactured commodities to be exported absorbed in a measure the surplus human labour which would otherwise have been displaced by machinery. But even with these advantages there was a considerable amount of disturbance in the labour market. It has to be recollected that by the aid of machinery a single individual was capable of performing as much work as formerly had occupied the energies of several times that number. The foreign markets, however, absorbed the greater portion of the increase in our industrial produce. Consequently the people of this country then imagined that they had certainly secured the millennium of trade monopoly. But it was the phantasy only of a dream which was to be cruelly shattered.

That portion of our manufacturing superiority over all rivals which sprung from certain adventitious circumstances was necessarily of a fleeting character. Every observant and reasonable individual saw plainly that it would diminish and cease with the causes which gave it existence and temporary expansion. Although the British capitalist prospered greatly for a time from the circumstance of having cheapened goods by abridging manual labour with mechanical contrivances, it was unreasonable to expect that this advantage should last for ever. It was but natural that other nations, also burdened by a surplus population thrown out of employment mainly by our capture of the markets, should be stimulated to exertion, and endeavour to better our example. The States of Europe and America, relieved from the artificial trammels of war, have consolidated their energies, and are now successfully competing with us in the various fields of industrial and commercial rivalry. They, in their turn, introduced machinery, and have gradually acquired a superiority of skill in its application which now enables some of them to dominate the vantage ground to the detriment of the British capitalist. Manufactures can now be fabricated as economically, more expeditiously, and with even less expense in human labour in other countries than our own. Other

nations have now learnt to produce commodities even cheaper and better than those with which we used to supply them. In this manner an embargo has been placed upon the expansion of our industrial prosperity. The foreigner peremptorily declines to be further exploited by the British capitalist, and the working classes are awakening to the unpleasant sensations of a social problem.

As may well be imagined, the privileged plutocracy are undesirous of seeing any serious diminution in their personal interests, and still strive to maintain the ascendancy by some ingenious application of artificial restrictions. Strenuous and persevering efforts have occasionally been made from interested quarters to persuade the public that the apparent stagnation which now prevails in our manufacturing industry arises chiefly, if not exclusively, from the operations of a limited system of Free Trade. It is also hinted that certain other democratic invasions have contributed something to the limitation of capitalistic expansion. It is likely enough that the Protectionists are deceiving themselves in imagining that even the imposition of a restrictive tariff will ever again precipitate the country into the class domination of the previous generations; and it is abundantly evident that the populace are certainly in error in anticipating any appreciable amelioration of their miserable conditions from the taxation of foreign-grown food-stuffs or even imported manufactured articles.

If a return to Protection and the re-establishment of the old system offered any reasonable expectation of employment and the means of subsistence for the increasing and submerged surplus of the population, the obligations of the Parliamentarian would be easy and the conduct of the people clear. No considerations of sectional interests, not even of the advantages which the consumer derives directly from the reduction of prices, should deter the country from adopting a measure which would ensure a sufficiency of wholesome food, to say nothing of permanent prosperity, to the hopeless and starving crowd. But every social economist who has scientifically explored the sources of our social problems is fully convinced that the opinion is erroneous. The prosperity of the nation is not to be sought through the gates of Protection, nor would even the absolute exclusion of foreign-grown wheat, or wrought goods of every description, be likely to produce the effects which the proletarian opponents of Free Trade anticipate from the introduction of any such measure. Indeed, it would be more likely to operate severely in an opposite direction. This error of opinion is all the more regrettable because it makes them the easy prey of the demagogue, and prevents them from exercising their powerful electoral assistance in the furtherance of schemes which are demonstrably in their own favour and that of the general community. Without an electorate sufficiently intelligent and resolute in reform to main-

tain the proposals, it is in vain for the progressive politician to persist in devising and urging the adoption of those domestic measures of reform which are absolutely certain and scientifically demonstrable to be the most efficient, if not the only, practicable means of relieving the despondent forebodings of the populace, and at the same time solving the presently persistent unemployed problem.

There is artificial stagnation enough at the present time, and surely the more intelligent portion of the wage-earning populace dare not indulge the empty expectation that, under the circumstances, any conceivable change merely in the fiscal policy, either of our own or any other country, will ever to any extent revive the foreign demand for the produce of our manufacturing industry. Still less is there any chance of it supplying employment that will permanently absorb that vast surplus of that species of labour which now, unhappily, remains unoccupied. The impotence of Protection to improve the evil conditions of the proletariat is self-evident, while the arguments in opposition are indisputable. One man, with the aid of machinery in a large manufactory, will speedily produce as large a quantity of wrought commodities as could have been fabricated by many persons at home on the old manual system. And, with the aid of mechanical invention, the tendency is distinctly to still further reduce the necessity for any considerable proportion of hired assistance. Indeed, if any mechanical genius were successful in the invention of some labour-saving contrivance which would satisfactorily serve their purpose, there is no difficulty in predicting that the capitalists would cheerfully dispense entirely with the human hireling. The interests of the labourer have been sacrificed to the money-producing power of machinery for all time, and there is certainly no visible evidence to suggest that the present race of capitalists are anything more benevolently inclined to the distribution of justice than were any of their predecessors. How the proposals of the tariff restrictors are to obviate these social anomalies passes the wit of any intelligent individual to determine. It is here where the Protectionist puzzle is inscrutable to the observant sociologist, and the solution is still sufficiently concealed in the rhetorical periods of those aspiring politicians whose ambitions and perverted inclinations inspire their utterances in the propagation of class interests and supremacy. Should the working masses permit themselves to be entangled in the meshes of their sophistries, it will baffle their brains to discern the promised advantages, although they may have no difficulty in determining that the prophecies of a plutocratic politician are false in the invention and withered to the hope. By then, however, it may be too late to repair the errors of a misplaced confidence.

The safer method will be for the populace to face the problems by which they are confronted in an intelligent fashion, and by the

exercise of reason, the application of the collective wisdom, encounter and overcome the difficulties by which we are now surrounded. With some method and perseverance in the reformatory principles, there is no manner of doubt that the evils might be gradually eradicated, and some satisfactory arrangement carefully introduced in the social economy of the country which would abate the present warring elements in industry, and secure the permanent advantages of the community. If some such change be not effected, and that very speedily, in the management of our internal affairs, it is absolutely certain that at no distant period the entire sources of supply, the produce of the land and industry, will be wholly absorbed by purely parasitical interests. The disease is steadily increasing, and it is, therefore, perfectly clear that, if no means can be devised for checking the depredations of privileged selfishness, the very existence of the people will be threatened and may ultimately disappear. So long as the labouring masses are selfishly excluded from the substance of the soil and the produce of industry, no improvement is possible in their conditions. So long as the labourers are stringently subjected to servitude, no possible improvement in the political administration, no alteration even in the mere formalities of possession, no available power or ingenuity can avert the consequences of a moribund and rotten social system. Yet it is within the circumference of practical possibilities that the sacrifice of the masses may be only the prelude to the inevitable downfall of the classes. Such, indeed, may be the certain punishment which awaits the mistaken and sordid policy of those who have created a mass of irreclaimable misery, in the cities and villages of the country, by dissevering the peasantry from the land, and depriving them of the fruits of their agricultural and mechanical industry.

It is, indeed, high time for the country to examine the records of plutocratic exploitation, as well as to compare the results of its commercial procedure. From a period that almost closely succeeded the collapse of the feudal system, down to the present time, every effort seems to have been made to force the industrial energies of the country into a manufacturing and commercial channel. So completely has this strange prejudice become ingrained into the habits and feelings of the community, that even the duller witted peasant, whose whole life has previously been passed ploddingly at the tail of a plough, imagines that the prosperous fate of himself and family beckons towards the cities where, in expectation, affluence and preferment await the plucking of his horny hands. It never, seemingly, enters his dreams that the occupation and skilful labouring of the unoccupied land, by which he is surrounded, could be rendered profitably productive in supplying the means of subsistence to that portion of the populace which cannot otherwise be employed in any other department of manufacture. It never evi-

dently enters into the calculations of even his better educated compatriot that the aristocratic idler might be taught to earn his own subsistence by the use of some agricultural or industrial implement. Such a suggestion will seem appalling to the individual sedulously nurtured in the sophistries of sycophancy and superstition. It has even, apparently, crept into the doctrines of certain types of our orthodox political economists that the idleness and exhausting extravagance of the aristocracy are of distinct advantage to the proletariat. It is even contended that to exact from these luxurious idlers any portion of productive labour, in return for the cost of their maintenance, would be positively injurious to the wage-earning classes. It is a common thing for them to urge the plea that any diminution in the ranks of privileged indolence will only add to the supply of hired labour which is already over-abundant in the market. The assertion is intentionally deceptive, and otherwise founded in a shallow fallacy. It is only necessary to mention that the abundance consumed by the idler diminishes the comforts of the populace, and the means of conserving their prosperity, in a greater ratio than the idleness of the aristocracy, diminishes competition in the labour market. But all the fiction-spinning of the class apologists is contemptible in the presence of palpable facts and indisputable evidence.

It has been reiterated incessantly that the evils under which the industrial populace now grovel are due to some mysterious diminution in the demand for wrought commodities. It is freely alleged that there is presently an excess in the powers of productivity over the consumptive capacities of the purchasers. There is no such thing. The apparent stagnation is due to the artificial restrictions placed upon the requirements of the community. But even were it otherwise, it only strengthens the argument for collective access to the sources of wealth and the effective control of the methods of distribution. The admission of the argument summarily dismisses the specious pleadings of the protectionist oracles. The confusion of ideas exhibited in the political explanation of social problems is truly remarkable. The dissociation of thought from things is the cause of much incalculable mischief. It is scandalous to spread the fiction of over-production and diminishing exports when the necessities of the native-born population are steadily increasing, without any adequate means of satisfying their wants. The wealth and industry of the country cannot surely be better employed than in satisfactorily supplying these irresistible demands. The natural produce of the country, the development of production, and the comforts of the populace should be the sole criterion always in regulating the magnitude of supply and the order of distribution. All artificial restrictions, of any kind whatever, should be rigorously excluded from the operations of our social economy. The bucksterning ambitions of the capitalists and their caterpillars would rejoice in the degradation of

the British proletariat and the reduction of the country to the workshop of the world; but, happily, their evil intentions have been sufficiently frustrated by the stronger current of events. The sordid ideals of the plutocracy are fruitful of disorder, while the petty proposals of the conventional politician are entirely undeserving of any consideration from the scientific sociologist. There is, indeed, little occasion for the agriculturists and the craftsman to pinch and toil in the endeavour to flood the foreign markets with cheap and worthless ware. Everywhere at home will be found markets expansive enough to absorb the produce of the soil and of manufacture; and still unoccupied by supplies, although there are consumers in plenty whose wants, in the nature of clothing, and feeding, and general comforts, are clamant. These may be only Little Englanders, forsooth, but that is surely an insufficient excuse for their wants being so miserably supplied. Their claims for existence upon the soil of their native country can scarcely be dismissed as the delusions of disturbing agitators, although the clamorous patriotism of the commercial imperialists is expended in supplying, for a consideration, an antidote to the afflictions of every country but their own. Their patriotism becomes suspiciously like selfishness when the miserable conditions of the working classes in their own neighbourhood are the subject of discussion.

The simple-minded artisan asks merely for employment—begs to be graciously permitted to spend his toil in the interests of his masters, and he is recommended to tax his food, to diminish the sources that supply cheaply the wholesome necessaries of his existence. He is informed that the profits on the export trade being below the expectations of the capitalists, the application of industry shall be curtailed, and, in consequence, the employers will be obliged either to discharge their workmen altogether or reduce their wages to the meagre margin of starvation subsistence. They also insinuate that the introduction of Protection would considerably minimise this distressing necessity. They always forget to mention, though, the almost incalculable extent to which machinery and individualist monopoly have been perfected to displace the human labourer, and have produced an alteration so great in the national industry as to demand the immediate reorganisation of all our social institutions. There is no probability of any return to the ancient domestic system of manufacture, and, consequently, the only visible means of meliorating the condition of the populace is the drastic reorganisation of our land system, and the introduction of saner principles into the development of our methods of production and distribution. It might also be well to consider whether we should continue relying on manufactures alone as the means of giving steady employment to the disorganised masses of human derelicts whom the constantly

spreading application of machinery and other economic causes may have thrown out of work and the means of subsistence. The commercial aspects of our industrial system are certainly not based upon benevolence, and the economic evils arising, and probably inseparable, from their operations are spreading human misery and speeding the ambitions of the plutocracy to deplorable results. And it is also no less true that the irresponsible concentration of individualistic monopoly has the natural tendency to aggravate, rather than to alleviate, the dire distress occasioned among the working classes. From the circumstances already in evidence it is only reasonable to suppose that the diminution in the demand for productive employment will be steadily on the increase. So also will be the natural expansion of the native population. These two facts in themselves are sufficiently disquieting without being threatened with the additional terrors of protective increase in prices and scarcity of food-stuffs. There has been much petty tinkering by the Parliamentary machine with the political creeds of the country, but the admitted evils of our social and economic system are not yet diminished, have not even shown a symptom of diminishing, and do not appear to be of a character susceptible to self-cure. That being so, the exposition of this deplorable state of affairs surely should be successful in stimulating the public conscience to adopt some decisive and efficient measures to alleviate and ultimately remove the pressure of poverty which now falls so heavily on all classes of the wage-earning populace.

And these desirable results will never be obtainable through the class partialities concealed in the vicious proposals of Protection. It is also undeniable that certain sections of the so-called Free Traders were by no manner of means solely actuated in their agitation for repeal by any unwonted solicitude for the welfare and the interests of the working man. Indeed, many ardent supporters of the repulsion of the old Corn Laws believed that by securing cheap bread, as a complement to the adoption of free importation in agricultural produce, they would be enabled to lower the standard of wages, and thus meet any trade competition by reducing the prices and quality of the articles supplied. It is historically certain that they were steadily opposed to economic reform, and had an inveterate antipathy to any extension of benevolent Factory Legislation. Their attitude was otherwise than friendly towards the aspiration of Trades-unionism. The apostles of free importation had no intention of securing the economic emancipation of the producing proletariat, but were solely desirous of advancing their own interests by securing control of the markets as a result of supplying the consumer with cheap commodities. Their desire was to make Britain the cheapest market by reducing the rate of wages and the comforts of existence. The same sordid expectations also encouraged their opposition to the Factory Acts that formulated benevolent proposals for the protection

of children and women. It is thus plainly evident that the monopolists in land and manufacture are always more eagerly eloquent in advancing those interests which are primarily their own. However they may succeed in disguising their sentiments in language which is generally unintelligible to the public, their ulterior motives are always intensely selfish and meanly unsocial. Where, then, in this tumultuous scramble of greed is the poor bewildered, and many times deceived, proletariat to apply for deliverance and support in his day of dire necessity and domestic affliction?

His case is hopeless unless he bestirs his own intelligence and applies his energies to the speedy elucidation of those conflicting political problems by which he is shackled to servitude and encompassed with poverty. It is surely now apparent, even to his limited understanding, that the manufactures alone of this country, under existing social conditions, no longer offer a resource for the superabundant hands not absorbed by agriculture, also so seriously crippled by the vicious land-holding system. The only alternative, therefore, seems to be the recovery of the land, and the means of production, so that a fair opportunity may be provided for the increasing multitudes of destitution to apply their energies to the cultivation of their native soil, and the free development of the natural resources of the country. If it be impossible either to remove or diminish the dispossessed population of the country, under existing circumstances, it will be more reasonable to accomplish what is still better than either inhuman proposal.

It is always possible to change the conditions, and to augment the produce. In this way some satisfactory results are certain, and a measure of social progress recorded in the development of the greater scheme of human philosophy. Already there is a perceptible movement in this direction, and every sympathetic intelligence will observe, with no inconsiderable satisfaction, the growing strength of an impression that some great effort must be made to render the land of this country an available source of supply to the indigent population. There are incalculable possibilities in the system of public control, and the partial experiments in various directions are convincing enough to the public intelligence of the immense advantages to be obtainable from the extension to all available departments of the national economy.

The advantages that will accrue to an industrial community from the unrestricted occupation of the land exceed even the expectations of those whose existence has been passed in cities, and whose opinions have been mainly formed by reading of such matters, or by observing the present state of agricultural stagnation under the blighting domination of the monopolising landlords. In some parts of the country where the ancient system of occupation is not superseded entirely, no enormous provision for the poor rate is requisite.



If the land had been in the possession of the people, and strictly preserved from subsequent alienation, it certainly would have proved equally beneficial to the labourer and to the public. To place the entire populace in a situation which will make them dependent for some portion of their subsistence on the produce of the land which they cultivate is the only guarantee against the increase of indigence and the spread of degeneration.

The anticipations of the sociologists, as opposed to the inconsequential performances of the class politicians, are not all fabricated upon theory, and the ultimate justification of the economic alterations will be amply demonstrated by experiment and proof. But it is an absolute necessity that the regenerative principles shall be employed in the eradication of those corrupting influences which are now so aggressive in the social system. To realise these very desirable results will no doubt require some considerable exertions on the part of reformers. The great landlords and enterprising capitalists will be always found more willing to counteract than to promote such righteous schemes. Their privileges rely upon other methods, and so they seldom lose an opportunity of prejudicing the minds of the people against these social ameliorations. That the internal economy of the nation should formerly have been organised upon a speculative manufacturing basis may have appeared both natural and proper to the limited intelligence of the people. But the consequences of the error have been most disastrous to the communities.

The employers control the wages of servitude and the markets of the world. The periodic fluctuations in what is known as good and bad trade are purely artificial and are due always to the manœuvring of the capitalists in their endeavour to enhance the profits of the bond. The commercial doctrine of supply and demand is a fiction, intended to concuss the community into acceptance of the profit-seeking maladministration of public affairs and property. Meantime there is no general dearth of commodity due to natural causes. It is neither protective imports nor new markets, but proper methods of production and distribution that are wanted to revive the languid prosperity of the land. But the working classes have never learned the arts of effective combination and persistent endeavour. Although they may numerically control the governmental administration of these realms, they have still to be taught to protect themselves against the assaults of injustice and self-deception. They are shaken, like reeds in the wind, at every fresh outburst of sectarian fury and frenzied fanaticism. The masses are moulded to the heels of the plutocracy, and there is no intelligence in their councils.

JAMES DOWMAN.

## PHILANTHROPY AND THE COSMIC PROCESS.

LORD ROSEBERY, as every one knows, has recently cleaned his political slate, and much of what he once wrote on it will now most likely have very little value for him. No doubt this is the case with his pronouncements on the land question, some of which, however, have not fared with everybody so badly as with himself. For examples take a few sentences from the speech he made at Slaithwaite on October 22, 1885:

“What we want in the first place,” said Lord Rosebery, “is to free the land, and in the second place to distribute it among more people—to give more people of this country an interest in the soil on which they were born. I regard these measures as of the most vital importance. The Tory magnates claim that they have a stake in the country. *But I want the nation to have a stake in the country.* Depend upon it, that will be a real strength to the nation, while it will not detract from the importance of those who have already a stake in the country.”

But what, it may be asked, has the land question to do with philanthropy? More than appears on the surface. Much of the philanthropy of to-day is a ministrations to social sickness arising from lack of sufficient touch with nature, and in a healthy society the energy used up by it with such unsatisfactory results as things are now, would be devoted to higher objects—the pursuit of truth, the spread of knowledge, the cultivation and expression of æsthetic tastes, the simplifying and beautifying of life for all. But how shall such a society be obtained? Life in cities and towns as they are arranged to-day will never give it. The houses, workshops, factories, &c., are built too close together.<sup>1</sup> There is not enough vegetation around them. Too much time is spent inside them. The people are injuring each other without intending to do so (and without, in most cases, knowing that they do so) because there is not enough breathing space for each person. Living and working in pure air on the land by the largest possible portion of a country's population are indispensable conditions of that mental and physical vigour which gives success in the struggle for existence, and without these conditions no people can reasonably expect to prosper and survive. We cannot abolish this struggle, nor ought we to abolish

<sup>1</sup> The Garden Cities Association deserves praise and support for the attempt it is making to remedy this evil.

it if we could. Without it advance is impossible. In its absence retrogression is inevitable. But we can at least so arrange matters that those who are obliged to carry it on shall have an opportunity of equipping themselves to a much greater extent with health and strength than is the case with most of them to-day; and this we are in justice bound to do to the full extent of our power. "If ever," said Macaulay, "we are forced to yield the foremost place among commercial nations, we shall yield it to some people pre-eminently vigorous in body and mind." Healthy conditions are necessary for the production, and consequently for the survival, of the best possible specimens of humanity. Even the best results under unhealthy conditions are but poor bests. Concerning the means to the end here indicated there may be more than one opinion, but surely there can be but one as regards the end itself.

Right use of land by the largest available portion of the people is the true specific for all social disorders, not even excepting that which just lately has been perhaps the greatest and most dangerous one among them in this country. I mean aggressive Imperialism. Landless people take readily to piracy and wars of conquest. Having been robbed of their birthright in the soil, they become slaves and tools in the hands of their spoilers to rob and enslave the peoples of other lands. Listen to the voice of history, which is "philosophy teaching by example":

"At the time when all the kings of the earth paid homage to the Roman people, represented by the Senate, this people was rapidly becoming extinguished, consumed by the double action of external war, and of a devouring system of legislation; it was disappearing from Italy. The Roman, passing his life in camps, beyond the seas, rarely returned to visit his little field. He had, in most cases, indeed, no land or shelter at all, nor any domestic gods than the eagles of the legions. An exchange was becoming established between Italy and the provinces. Italy sent her children to die in distant lands, and received, in compensation, millions of slaves. . . . Thus a new people succeeded to the absent or destroyed Roman people. Slaves took the place of masters, proudly occupied the Forum, and in their fantastic saturnalia governed, by their decrees, the Latins and the Italians, who filled the legions. It was soon no longer a question where were the plebeians of Rome. They had left their bones on every shore."<sup>1</sup>

No wonder that "the Empire perished for want of men."<sup>2</sup>

In other words, their blood and their treasure had been sacrificed to advantage foreigners, just as the blood and the treasure of John Bull have recently been sacrificed in the Transvaal to advantage foreign mine-owning importers of Chinese slavery. And if it is not nipped in the bud, this iniquity will spread further than South Africa. Let aggressive Imperialism go on, and eventually its

<sup>1</sup> Michelet's *History of the Roman Republic*. Translated by William Hazlitt. London: David Bogue. 1848. Page 244.

<sup>2</sup> "Roman Imperialism." By Professor Seeley, *Macmillan's Magazine*, August 1869. Part II. "The Fall of the Roman Empire," p. 287.

outcome will be the importation of slavery into this country at the bidding of foreign financiers. But a people with a stake in the land of their birth will not, for the sake of a few shillings a day, be tempted by Jingoism into wars of aggression and robbery in all the corners of the earth. Hence the true remedy for Jingoism is a land reform that will give the people a stake in the country, and a direct, personal interest in its improvement. But now to the special subject of these pages.

It may be doubted whether blind love on the part of those who are well-meaning but ignorant, that is, of those who do not understand how to bring about the good which they desire for the objects of their affection, does not do as much mischief as the equally blind hatred of their emotional opposites. Possibly no love at all is better than a love unallied with wisdom. If a person is injured, the practical outcome is pretty much the same to him whether his injury proceeds from love or from hate. And the same truth holds good when a community is the sufferer. The logic of consequences is not altered by sentiment. Things work in a certain definite way, be the causes that set them in motion what they may. Fire warms, ice chills. Wholesome food nourishes, but adulterated food does not nourish, even when the hand that gives it is the hand of a philanthropist. Previously to taking any action, therefore, it is above all things necessary for love to put on its thinking cap and diligently study the laws of things, namely, the inevitable and unalterable uniformities of behaviour, together with the fixed relations, exemplified by the facts with which it proposes to deal. For necessity and immutability are the characteristics of every true law. On these science, so far as it is science,<sup>1</sup> is built; and without science all attempts at human amelioration are only blind gropings in the dark. Let love, then, think well, or else it cannot act well; unless, indeed, it manages to act well by chance—a most unlikely result, and one not worthy of a rational being even when it happens. For right action is right service, and right service is free obedience to reason's dictates. It is the duty of love to give this service. It is the right of reason to receive it.

To those who view all events as parts of one great whole; to those who therefore know that their lives are related to all that is, and was, and is to be; to those, that is, who realise the meaning of cosmic citizenship, and who cherish the sense of union with the whole of nature, it makes little practical difference whether the persons who injure them are friends or enemies. For health of body and health of mind are individual advantages, the loss of which cannot be compensated for by the goodwill of others. They are not affairs

<sup>1</sup> As uncertainty comes in, science goes out, and certainty rests for science on the necessity and immutability of the relations and behaviours of things. This is why it walks by sight, while its rival has to be content to walk by faith.

of imagination. They are not matters of sentiment. Even though those who are deprived of them may not be aware of the loss, yet are they still sufferers, if also sufferers in ignorance; and to suffer and be ignorant at once is to be doubly injured. Let us look at life in a plain, matter-of-fact way, without illusions arising from any source. Let us view all things simply as they are. No good ever came or ever can come from any other course. The supreme good for each individual is to possess a body capable of performing the greatest possible number and variety of actions, together with a mind capable of thinking the greatest possible number and variety of thoughts. Instead of thoughts, read "psychical activities," and then this great truth reaches deeper down than humanity. In a word, the supreme good, not only for you or for any other member of your race, but for all living creatures whatsoever, is *efficiency*. Whatsoever hinders you from achieving this good, or from getting as near to it as you can, is not one wit less injurious because it proceeds from the unenlightened affection of your friends instead of from the equally unenlightened hatred of your enemies; for hatred, like every other passion, is in its very nature a state of ignorance, and in proportion as real knowledge advances in the world there will be no room for any such disturbance in the human mind—which will become the servant of reason, and not of passion, in proportion as "the thoughts of men are widened by the process of the suns." This, however, by the way.

In connection with the present subject, injuries may be divided into two kinds—direct and indirect. Much of the weakness in modern society is due to and is inherited from well-intentioned ignorance that blundered in the past. It is easily possible to injure one generation by the conferring of what, to unenlightened minds, appeared at the time of its introduction to be a benefit to a preceding generation. A thoughtful contributor to the issue of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for April 1891 gives a striking example of this. "The origin of the grouse disease in Lincolnshire," says she, "has lately been traced to over zeal on the part of the keepers, who, in their anxiety to protect the young broods, completely exterminated all the rats in the country round, so that the weakly birds, which would have been the first to fall a prey, were now left unmolested, reared young, and spread a perfect epidemic through the covers, which threatened to exterminate the grouse in their turn."<sup>1</sup> If all the facts illustrative of the truth here pointed at were given, it may be doubted whether all the books that are written, or that could be written, would suffice to contain them. And what do they mean? They mean that a struggle for existence in one form or another is a necessary condition of mental and physical efficiency for all creatures, and therefore as much so for the creature called

<sup>1</sup> *The Fetish of Charity.* By Emily Glode Ellis

man as for any other creature. Is man in any less degree a part of nature than are other creatures? Is he in any less degree subject to the operation of natural processes within and without him? Can he afford to ignore these processes? Will it pay him as a species to blunder blindly on his way as though he either did not know or did not care about their existence? So far as he is under the control of emotions and imaginations that lead him to take rosy but short and narrow views of things, he will, of course, detest these cold, impersonal, cosmic processes, and will wish them anywhere; but in proportion as the spirit of science takes hold of him, in proportion as, through being animated by this active and fearless spirit, he seeks only to know the truth about nature in order to live by it, these processes will become unto him guiding stars and friendly helps as he steers his path across the sea of time towards his only real good, namely, mental and physical efficiency in the individual and in the race. For the end of science is the guidance of human action for the promotion of human good, and all the good that man can enjoy is summed up in the well-known phrase—a sound mind in a sound body.

According to Darwin's fifth chapter of the first part of the *Descent of Man*, it appears from what is seen in certain portions of South America that a so-called civilised people, such as the Spanish settlers, is liable to become indolent and to retrograde when the conditions of its life are extremely easy. Could anything except sentimental imagination crying for the moon ever persuade itself into expecting any other result? While pointing out that the natural selection exemplified in the extermination of one savage tribe by another, does not obtain when highly civilised nations are concerned, Darwin nevertheless argues that the more intelligent members within the same civilised community will succeed better in the long run than the inferior, and will leave in the majority of cases a more numerous progeny; and this, as he says, is undoubtedly a form of natural selection. By intelligence we must here, of course, understand the much-needed mental power of handling and overcoming the practical difficulties of life, with a view to mental and physical efficiency in the greatest possible measure for the longest possible time in self and in offspring. A great deal of what now passes for intelligence will not bear testing by this standard. It is called intelligence, but the cosmic process evidently does not appreciate it, and in the last resort the cosmic process determines what kind of intelligence shall, and what kind shall not, survive and go down to ages that are to be. Failure to cope with the difficulties of life, failure to support one's self, failure to leave strong, sturdy, intelligent, active, and self-supporting offspring, can scarcely be regarded as evidence of intelligence of the highest order. Certainly nature does not appear to take it for such, if facts are any criterion. And what nature rejects, science, which

is the truth in nature become through man articulate, will condemn as being essentially inferior, and unworthy of continuance down the line of racial life.

Success? Survival? What do such words mean when used in the present connection? They mean that self-preservation in the extended sense which includes the preservation of offspring is the ultimate endeavour at the foundation of the struggle for existence. To deny this fact is to fly in the face of reality. A sentimental politician, or the votary of an unnatural, dangerous, and misleading religion, may deny it if he likes, but a man filled with the spirit of science, a man resolved to sit at the feet of nature and know things as they really are, is obliged to affirm it as one of the deepest truths he sees. But there is struggle and struggle. Inasmuch as the movement of the cosmic process in this part of space is undoubtedly in the direction of the evolution of ever higher and higher reaches of intelligence; and inasmuch as, the more intelligent man becomes, the less is he enslaved by those violent desires for perishable objects and pleasures that war against the calm activity of thought; it follows logically that the struggle for existence, as the years and the centuries go by, must necessarily assume a less violent, cruel, and bloody aspect, until at last the beast element in human nature is worked out, and the apish and tigerish leaven has given place to the spirit of peace. But this in the long run of ages can only be brought about by the struggle itself, and the consequent survival, generation after generation, of the best, involving, as that does, the gradual disappearance of the inferior, until eventually there remain only :

“Those that, eye to eye, shall look  
On knowledge; under whose command  
Is Earth and Earth's, and in their hand  
Is Nature like an open book.”

Whether the more intelligent members within a given community will succeed better in the long run than the inferior, depends largely upon the political arrangements in that community. If that community is so organised as to take from the intelligent what they earn, in order to give to the unintelligent what they do not earn, it is quite clear that the former will *not* succeed better. Their means of living and of propagating themselves in their offspring will, in these circumstances, be taken away from them in the interests, real or imaginary, of those who are inferior. It may be replied that a community so organised could not long continue. Undoubtedly it could not. The last state even of its unintelligent survivals would be worse than the first. In fact it would inevitably go on getting from bad to worse until it either died from sheer internal decay, or was swept away by some other community in which sounder principles were carried out; and were carried out not

only in the interests of the intelligent, but to an equal extent in those of the community as a whole, which is not worth its salt, not worth life and breath, if composed only of unintelligent clods of flesh.

"Suppose," says Herbert Spencer, "two societies, otherwise equal, in one of which the superior are allowed to retain, for their own benefit and the benefit of their offspring, the entire proceeds of their labour; but in the other of which the superior have taken from them part of those proceeds for the benefit of the inferior and their offspring. Evidently the superior will thrive and multiply more in the first than in the second. A greater number of the best children will be reared in the first, and eventually it will outgrow the second."

And again—

"Of man, as of all inferior creatures, the law by conformity to which the species is preserved is that among adults the individuals best adapted to the conditions of their existence shall prosper most, and that individuals least adapted to their conditions shall prosper least—a law which, if uninterfered with, entails survival of the fittest, and spread of the most adapted varieties. And . . . ethically considered, this law implies that each individual ought to receive the benefits and the evils of his own nature and consequent conduct: neither being prevented from having whatever good his actions normally bring him, nor allowed to shoulder off on to other persons whatever ill is brought to him by his actions."

What is a political community? Is it one generation of persons only? If it were, much might be said for short-sighted philanthropy, whether political or non-political, whether compulsory or of a purely voluntary character. But a political community is something which is of much longer duration than the life of a single generation. Its flag has often "braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze;" and if those who own that symbol are not swamped by the nursing, and the consequent numerical increasing, of their variations in the direction of weakness, it may brave the battle and the breeze for another thousand years. This is why nothing should be done for any particular generation which is at all calculated to injure those that are to follow. This is why weakness should never be nursed in such a manner and under such circumstances as tend to enable it to 'transmit itself to posterity. It is our duty to take into account the whole life of a community. We are trustees for posterity. As we know, as our light is, so we must act. Our love, if it is not to be a curse to our race, must see further than to-day. Whatsoever weakens the life of humanity when considered in its entirety, when considered, that is, as something that has a future, is pernicious, be the motives for it what they may; and justice towards unborn generations sternly forbids the enacting of it, however strongly any existing generation may desire it. Only those political and non-political arrangements are just, only those compulsory and voluntary contrivances are right, which tend to elevate the race; which tend, that is, to make the future of



the race better than its past, by increasing, either negatively or positively, or both negatively and positively, the mental and physical efficiency of the countless generations which have yet to bear the burden of duty, and carry on the race's life when we have finished our work,

“Home art gone and ta'en our wages.”<sup>1</sup>

By doing this such arrangements will be doing infinitely more for humanity than has ever been done for it by the popular but short-sighted philanthropy which thinks and feels merely for one or two generations, and which, in consequence, only tends, by its foolish nursing, to increase and perpetuate the very weaknesses which it is the object of sound methods of treatment to remove. If a man has no reason for believing that a philanthropic action will elevate the race by giving the strength that removes the need for help, it may be doubted whether he has any ethical warrant for performing the action; and if he has no time to inquire into and think about the consequences of conduct, it would perhaps be as well if he had also no time to believe and act. “If,” wisely remarks Voltaire, “you are in doubt whether an action is right or wrong, abstain from doing it.” A physician who prescribes for his patient without understanding what he is doing deserves hanging. Either know what you are bringing about or leave nature to take its course. If you can improve things, improve them. If you cannot, let them alone.

It will doubtless be objected here that to lay down propositions of this sweeping character is to display an utter lack of feeling for a considerable proportion of present-day humanity. But it is to do nothing of the kind. So far as existing weakness can be relieved without injury to posterity, and without injustice to any portion of the existing generation, there cannot be much harm done in relieving it. Serious mischief only comes in when pity towards the weak and unfortunate in the generation present is allowed to blind us to justice towards the generations to be in the future, as well as towards the portion of the present generation that is burdened with the support of the inefficiency, mental or physical, or both mental and physical, which pity, when armed with political power, is always ready to thrust upon it. Narrow-minded and shallow-minded pity is undoubtedly a force that has got to be recognised. It cannot be destroyed, but it may be controlled with a view to minimising the mischiefs that result from it. Some vent, some scope, however, it must have and will have, but it will need to be held well in check until it has grown wise enough to consider more than one or two generations. What it requires is permeation by the scientific spirit. Then will it be able to take wider and longer and deeper views of society.

<sup>1</sup> *Cymbeline*, Act. iv., scene ii. Slightly altered from the original, which reads—  
“thy wages.”

Then will it both desire man's good and know how to bring that good about. For then only will it be the union of love with reason.

A certain man had an orchard. Some of the trees in it were strong, sturdy trees, well able to support their own branches and withstand the winds of heaven. Others were puny trees that required constant propping. The man cut down the largest and strongest branches of the sturdy trees to prop up the trunks and branches of the puny ones. The more he propped them up, the weaker they became, and the more propping they required. Eventually the man used up all the branches of his best trees to preserve his worst ones. Then came the storm which brought to the ground trees and props alike. The man imagined that he could ignore the cosmic process with impunity. He found that he could not. When tested by the test that no human power can get rid of, this man's policy was found to be no kindness even to his weak trees. In trying to preserve the worst at the expense of the best, he lost all, worst and best alike. Science, which masters nature through studying and obeying it, would have saved his orchard, but he despised science.

Apply this to humanity. Nothing is good that does not tend to make man strong. Everything is bad that tends to make him weak. The cosmic process tends to make him strong. He has only prospered and survived as a species in virtue of the strength, mental and physical, which the cosmic process has given to him. His strength is born of the struggle which the cosmic process has obliged him to carry on. The intelligence by which he adapts himself to it is part of it. So far as he is filled with this intelligence he will never seek to modify the natural conditions around and within him in any manner that tends to weaken himself and his unborn posterity. In other words, he will never struggle against the cosmic process by seeking to abolish the struggle for existence. It would almost appear that the greatest sinner in a community organised and conducted on modern philanthropic principles in the supposed interests of the unintelligent, is the intelligent and virtuous person who endeavours to earn an honest living for himself and his family; and who, by thrift and self-denial, seeks to provide for his old age and that of his wife, so as not to become a burden upon others. This person economises. He foregoes all pleasures save those of the mind, which cost little or nothing. He toils with muscle, hand, and brain. In addition to supporting his own family he may in some cases be found supporting an aged father and an aged mother, whose longer experience of life is a source of strength to him. He thinks for the future, and provides against contingencies beforehand. Such a person is fair game for exploitation at the hands of political philanthropy, which takes good care that he shall "pay, pay, pay" (as the Jingo jingle words it), and which

endeavours that he shall have an ever increasing portion of his earnings spent, not as he would spend it, but as the enemies of his interests, and of the interests of his family, choose to decree that it shall be spent. It would almost appear that the greatest virtue in the eyes of political philanthropy is a shameless, unblushing readiness to live without earning the means of living. It would almost appear that the greatest vice is to object to being deprived of the means that have been earned. Intelligent industry, the expression of an active mind in an active body, may starve in its proud silence for aught that political philanthropy seems to care. Let it wrap itself in its own virtue, and may that virtue keep it warm. (To borrow a phrase from Mr. Chamberlain.) Its losses and hardships are often quite as great as those of philanthropy's darlings, but as it says nothing about them it can well afford to be exploited for the good of others.

Such are philanthropy's political principles, approved of by millions to whom the voice of truth is the very last thing desired to be heard. Well, time will test them. Events will find them out. The cosmic process will have something to say about them. The community in which they are popular, and in which they are extensively practised, will not be a lasting success; and in years to come the descendants of those whom they have weakened and demoralised will bitterly regret the extent to which short-sighted pity has been allowed to apply them. No doubt those who have applied them have in some measure been influenced by the conviction that under existing social conditions men in many cases get what they have neither earned nor otherwise equitably obtained, while in other cases they have been prevented by unjust laws from earning anything. There is much truth in this view. But the remedy for old injustices is not the enactment of new ones. Mankind will never advance if one evil is always made an excuse for another evil—one injustice for another injustice. By all means clear the ground of weeds. By all means sweep away whatever keeps the people from getting whatever the people have a right to have. But do not remove old privileges simply to make room for the planting of new ones in their places. The people have a right to conditions under which, by the practice of industry, economy, and all the other virtues, they can earn an honest living in health and freedom and security. More than this they have no right to claim. If they obtain and make the best of this they will not need charity, and when they do obtain it and make the best of it the political philanthropist will have to find a better occupation.

The shortcomings of present political and social arrangements will never in any degree give a quality of goodness to principles which are demonstrably bad in themselves. If these politico-philanthropic principles are unsound, no inequalities, just or unjust, in the present

distribution of wealth will make them sound. They must be considered on their own merits as political principles, and not on the demerits of any existing arrangement. This truth it was which Herbert Spencer saw clearly and expressed unanswerably :

“Under a reign of absolute justice unqualified by generosity, a social life may be carried on, though not the highest social life; but a reign of generosity without any justice—a system under which those who work are not paid, so that those who have been idle or drunken may be saved from misery—is fatal; and any approach to it injurious. That only can be a wholesome state in which conduct brings its natural results, good or evil, as the case may be; and it is the business of Government, acting on behalf of all, to see that each citizen shall not be defrauded of the good results, and that he shall not shoulder off the evil results on to others.”<sup>1</sup>

It is certain that if the unintelligent formed a community to themselves they would suffer the full consequences of their natures. Why, then, in any community should they be enabled to escape these consequences by saddling them on the backs of the intelligent? The very means by which they are provided with an escape from the consequences of their natures are the surest methods of keeping them in a low state of intelligence. Inferiority has no adequate motive for improvement when it knows that it can force superiority to support it. The best, and in the long run the kindest, teacher it can have is experience of the consequences of itself. The struggle for existence will educate it up to higher levels of mental and physical activity if there is any possibility of improvement for it, and if there is not the race is better without it. There is great and glaring injustice in arrangements which enable it to escape its own share of the struggle by the increasing and intensifying of that struggle for those who are obliged to bear a double share of it—their own and that of those whose burdens are unwarrantably put upon them. For the shifting of burdens does not get rid of them. Philanthropy does not abolish and cannot abolish the struggle for existence. As a political compulsory agency all it can do is to favour the unworthy at the expense of the worthy, and multiply the unfit at the expense of the fit.

One of the best examples of the pernicious effect of unenlightened philanthropy on a large scale was furnished by the working of the English Poor Laws during the early part of the last century. These laws were found to be checks to industry; rewards for improvident marriages; stimulants to population and blinds to its effect on wages; national contrivances for protecting the idle, the thriftless, and the vicious from the natural consequences of their conduct, while discountenancing the industrious and honest; destroyers of filial, parental, and conjugal affection; preventers of the accumulation of capital and squanderers of the capital that existed; reducers of

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Review*, vol. xlvii., p. 515.

the ratepayers to pauperism ; and premiums for illegitimate children, as was shown in the allowance they gave for illegitimate as compared with that given for legitimate. All these allegations are proved up to the hilt in *Extracts from the information received by his Majesty's Commissioners as to the administration and operation of the Poor Laws*.<sup>1</sup> This copious and useful work consists of reports from the Assistant Commissioners employed by the Chief Commissioners to make inquiries and collect evidence in reference to the working of these laws in various parts of England. No student of social and political problems ought to be without it, and a more complete demolisher of the sentimental principles of popular utopianism has, perhaps, never been produced.

"But these mischiefs," it may be said, "are now things of the past. The Poor Laws have been reformed, and what occurred in 1830 does not occur to-day." Limits of space at present forbid inquiry into the truth (or otherwise) of this objection. For facts bearing upon it the reader may with profit consult *The Fetish of Charity*, which has already been referred to in these pages, and which appeared in two parts in the issues of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for March and April 1891. "The Failure of Philanthropy," an unsigned article that appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* for March 1896, is also worthy of attention. "Philanthropists," says the writer of this article, "should think before they act." Herein lies the need of to-day. Philanthropy fails, and always will fail, in so far as it proceeds on the principle of helping persons simply because they are in need, and quite irrespective of whether they are good and industrious members of society. This principle is bad. It is bad for the persons helped, because it encourages them in vice and idleness. And it is bad for society because it tends to increase the number of society's worthless and dangerous elements. Moreover, it effectually blocks the way of true reform. In proportion as the people are dependents upon private or public bounty they can neither have the spirit to assert their rights nor the power to obtain them. Whosoever would wield strong political force must be content only with what he honestly earns. The same rule holds equally good for parties and classes. Privilege cannot fight privilege. Parasitism cannot fight parasitism. Sops, doles, boons weaken all who receive them. Manhood will not sell its independence for the best that private or public philanthropy can give. It will demand justice, not charity. It will claim only its rights, and will obtain them because it seeks for nothing else. Until the people of this country, putting aside all base thoughts of unearned ease and comfort, are animated by this spirit, political progress is impossible for them, and privilege in all its shapes and forms will dazzle, corrupt, and rob them with impunity. But they cannot be animated by it if they

<sup>1</sup> Published by authority. London : B. Fellowes, Ludgate Street. 1838.

desire anything beyond justice. Privilege likes nothing better than for them to accept public and private sops and doles in lieu of rights, because it knows that so long as they do this its corrupt foundation will stand, and its reign of jobbery and favouritism continue; whereas the very day on which they determine to fight for rights only will be the beginning of the ending of privilege, and the first step towards the freeing of the land from its baleful power.

M. D. O'BRIEN.

## SCIENCE AND THE DRUNKARD.

INEBRIETY is one of those hard and serious facts of which every civilised community must take account. Each political organism will deal with the problem in its own way, according to the stage it has reached in social development. The method and manner of treatment will vary with the varying wisdom of statesmen and the degree in which for the time being the State suffers from the presence of the evil of drunkenness ; but no State can afford to shut its eyes, if it would live, to the presence of any influence which tends to reduce its vigour, or to hinder its healthy growth and development as a social organism. Every organic body which does not vanquish its diseases is ultimately overcome by them. To this general rule the State is no exception, and a drunken population is undoubtedly one of the most dangerous, because most insidious, diseases to which communities are subject. The evils of drunkenness need no recapitulation. It would be bad enough if the moral degradation, the disorderly conduct, the excessive expenditure, and consequent impoverishment of the drunkard, acting and reacting upon one another, did no more harm than to render the wretched victim of the drinking habit an unproductive and useless individual unit of the community. But the evil does not end there. For a man is always something more than a unit : he is a vital part of the living growing organism called the State. If it be true that he is the product of his environment, it is not the less true that upon his environment he has a thousand influences for good or evil. It is only necessary to know something of a drunkard's home life to realise, in all its grim significance, the danger and the exhausting nature of the malady set up in the national organism if the distress which follows in the drunkard's train is largely multiplied.

The disease and its baneful effects once recognised and a cure sought for, the higher intellectual activities of the political organism are baffled at the outset by the difficulty of agreeing upon a common basis of treatment. As doctors disagree in the learned professions, so also they differ in social science. The subject of temperance especially is controversial in the highest degree ; public opinion wavers ; is undetermined and contradictory ; every man who considers the problem at all has a pet solution ; too often the attitude of the rival reformers is as intemperate in its way as that of the drunkard himself ; and too frequently the extremists among the

reformers are an actual hindrance to progress. Many of them are so fearful of holding a candle to the devil that they will hear nothing of compromise, and refuse to assist any measure that stops short of prohibition. Happily, the problem will not be compelled to await solution by the extremists; it is rather being slowly and gradually solved by the developing opinions of unbiased students, who are more careful thinkers than the extremists, though not such mighty shouters. Progressive development is assisted more by the cold careful reasoning of scientific sociologists, and by the sturdy common-sense of the great middle body of public opinion, than by the efforts of those whose emotion is more powerful than their foresight.

The character of the almost innumerable remedies proposed differs so widely that it is difficult indeed, if not impossible, to discover any general principle underlying the study of the question. Attempts are seldom made in connection with this subject to find principles at all; but, unless we are prepared to seriously strive after such scientific knowledge and utilise such scientific method as is within our reach, our efforts will prove to be so much wasted energy.

The careful scientist will seek to accurately diagnose the disease he sets out to cure; will ascertain the stage it has reached; will endeavour to discover whether it tends to become more or less acute; will consider the effect produced by suggested remedies in analogous cases; and will proceed with great caution in experimenting with untried remedies. The temperance reformer must dig deep down into the history of the drink question. He must carefully investigate the economic and sociological causes which produce the drunkard. Not until he has patiently mastered and arranged all the facts available to him should he be dogmatic with regard to the virtues of his panacea.

As a matter of fact, although it is often recklessly stated that drunkenness increases in England, it seems clear that this is not so. Mr. Charles Booth is of opinion that drinking increases, but drunkenness decreases. As compared with what we drank in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we are almost a temperate nation. According to the late Mr. Lecky, in 1688 the beer brewed in England amounted to 12,400,000 barrels for a population of a little over 5,000,000, or ninety gallons a head; whereas now the average consumption is thirty gallons a head. Mr. Arthur Sherwell calculates that the United Kingdom contains 24,000,000 actual consumers, who dispose of liquor to the value of £7 a head per annum; and Professor Levi estimates the expenditure of the working classes who drink at one-fifth of the entire family income. These are serious figures, and undoubtedly we are large drinkers, a failing which we share with the Teutonic races in general. But the quantity consumed is, of course, no criterion of the extent of drunkenness.



The evidence as to its decrease is mainly to be found in the criminal statistics, and in the Reports of the Public Inquiries of 1834, 1854, and 1876, and the Royal Commission of 1896. In 1834 it seems to have been the accepted condition of things for groups of men, women, and even children to be found revelling in drunkenness in the light of day, lying about in the streets and lost to all sense of shame and decency. By 1854 things had greatly improved. But twenty years later came the period of British prosperity which culminated in about 1875, and this improvement in trade apparently resulted in the great increase in drunkenness which is revealed by the 1876 Commission. But even this phase passed away as suddenly as it had come, and it can hardly be disputed that in the intervening period the state of public opinion and the standard of social indulgence had definitely improved. This is distinctly confirmed by a mass of reliable evidence given before the Peel Commission.

The present state of the drinking custom seems, therefore, to be much less alarming than some people think. And it is not altogether surprising to find this decrease. Drink is an important selective influence in the weeding out of undesirables in the course of evolution. It is true that in a high state of civilisation undesirables are not left to die off: they tender rather to be preserved and reproduced. But nevertheless the defective organisation of the drunkard is much less amenable to the preservative influences of civilisation than are other forms of physical weakness, where the accompanying mental and moral deficiency is less marked; and along with the improvement in the race we may expect to observe the disappearance of the drunkard. But still, inebriety is, as it always has been in these islands, a great and serious evil.

It will not be disputed that the State, for the sake of its own organic efficiency, not only possesses the right to interfere with the freedom of the individual drunkard, but also bears the onus of taking all available steps to foster social well-being. Communities rightly do not hesitate to segregate the leper; and a moral pestilence being as dangerous to the life of a community as a physical one, they need not hesitate to restrict the freedom of the drunkard. Indeed, the principle is often carried by reformers farther than prudence warrants; as is the case with those who advocate prohibition. Prohibition is too drastic a remedy, having regard to the extent of the disease; it is like cutting off one's finger to cure warts. Public opinion rightly believes prohibition to be an unwarrantable interference with the liberty of the individual who is not a drunkard; and it should not be advocated as a remedy until all other methods have been proved ineffectual, which is not yet the case. If it were universally admitted that drink, even in small quantities, is injurious, then it would perhaps be justifiable to place as great a restriction on its sale as upon the sale of poisons. But it is by no means

agreed that intoxicants are always injurious, and until the majority so agree it is as unjustifiable to forbid all to drink because some get drunk as to forbid eating because some are gluttonous.

We have had some attempts at prohibition even in this country. The Gin Act of 1736 was theoretically, though not practically, a prohibitive measure, and aimed at abolition by heavy taxes and licensing fees; and it was one of the most disastrous legislative failures on record. The drinking of gin actually increased in the immediate following years, and the Act had to be repealed.

Prohibition, then, as a remedy, must be set aside. On the other hand, there seems to be no evidence to support the theories of those who advocate unrestricted sale in the hope that competition will produce a high type of public-house. Indeed, such evidence as exists in this country supports the opposite view. Under the influence of the reaction after the Gin Act the State removed all restriction, and gin-palaces were permitted upon payment of £1 a year. The results were at once seen to be far worse than under the semi-prohibitive system; as also were the results of free trade in liquor a century later in Scandinavia and in other countries. Possibly it may reasonably be doubted whether the same or similar results would follow in our time, but it is at least highly improbable that the system would in any way decrease drunkenness. It would be easier to support the theory of unrestricted sale, were it not for the fact that the removal of all control would, under the stress of competition, lead to even greater inducements than exist at present to the spending of time in the public-house.

The liquor traffic being admittedly far more liable to abuse than trade in other commodities, some form of effective public control is essential. The licensing system, which in one form or another has existed in this country since the reign of Edward VI., provides a controlling power which has been found more and more effective as the standard of public opinion has risen; and it has removed many of the worst dangers of the public-house. But it must be observed that the licensing system, useful and powerful as it is, and might yet be made, can never exercise the complete control that public opinion will probably in the near future demand of the nation. It is obvious, from the widespread formation of public-house trusts, that the time is rapidly ripening for the destruction of private monopoly in drink. Further evidence of the tendency of events is to be found in the comparatively few hands into which the ordinary forces of modern industrial development have brought the liquor trade. In this age of highly developed commercial organisation, it is not surprising to find immense brewing corporations easily controlling huge districts known as "brewers' areas," and though the existing evils of the brewers' area system can hardly be exaggerated,

the system itself is an important link in the chain of development of the drink question, and must undoubtedly greatly facilitate the next step to be taken.

The trade cannot be swept away like the Augean stables by one great effort, and if it is to exist at all, as it undoubtedly must for a long time to come, State ownership, either direct or indirect, is the only method by which control can be satisfactorily carried out. The new point of view that is being taken in temperance reform appeals to drinkers as well as to abstainers: it is the view of the average commonsense citizen, who sees that the drink traffic, as at present carried on, is injurious to the highest interests of the State; that there must be monopoly, but that the monopoly should be held by the community itself. The prohibitionist party resists; but the prohibitionists are fighting against the eternal laws. The movement towards municipalisation marches on in nearly all the civilised countries of the world.

Whether the system of State control will solve the difficulty in this country remains to be seen. The net results of the system in Scandinavia seem to be a general improvement in the drink traffic and a diminution in spirit-drinking; but there is at present, owing to the Scandinavian statistics being almost useless for the purpose, no reliable evidence as to whether or not it has reduced drunkenness. Probably it has not. It does not, of course, follow that the same results would follow its introduction here, as it must not be forgotten that the object of the Scandinavian system is not directly to reduce drunkenness, but to raise the physical standard of the spirit-drinkers; whereas under an English system the reduction of drunkenness would be a direct aim, and beer as well as spirits would have to be brought under its control. Foreign methods must not, of course, be closely copied without great caution. No scheme can be successful in any country which is not in complete harmony with its own traditions and natural development.

But the experiment should be made. The danger should be controlled by the society which it imperils; and the brain of the national organism should have the fullest freedom in devising means for the cure of the disease by which its healthy activity is threatened. To the ardent and impatient reformer, it seems amazing that the State should allow its life-blood to be vitiated, without taking the most obvious first step in attempting its purification; namely, the removal of the vitiating interest. The scientist, who finds no due place in his curricula for impatience, is content to await the extension of scientific method to the region of practical statesmanship, secure in the knowledge that an awakening will come to our legislators, when the true relation of the drink question to the health and strength of the nation will be not merely recognised as a rough-

and-ready principle, but will be fully appreciated in all its scientific bearings.

So far I have only referred to preventive measures. But curative legislation is only less important than preventive, because its results are necessarily less successful. Though the drunkard tends to disappear by reason of physical inadaptation and selective influences, it takes many generations to rid the family physique of the inebriate taint and the liability to lapse; and face to face as we are with the same evil that leads us to consider steps for prevention, our concern for the health of the national organism impels us to strengthen its constitution by curative as well as preventive means.

In the old days, when drunkenness was deemed to be a "voluntarily acquired madness," and the drunkard was *voluntarius dæmon*, he was considered to be fully responsible morally and physically for all his acts. But the progress of sociology has taught us, as it has in the case of the criminal, that the drunkard is to be pitied rather than blamed, that his condition is often the result of a diseased or defective organisation, made worse by environment; and that the proper method of dealing with him is not to visit him with severe physical penalties, but to seek for such methods of treatment as will tend to cure his disease, or at least to render him a less harmful member of society.

It is now generally recognised that to keep the drunkard from drink, which is the first step in his treatment, he must be removed from his accustomed surroundings. The principle of segregation (which was first definitely recognised by our own Legislature in 1879 and extended by the Act of 1898) is said to have been fruitful of good results in America and on the Continent. But until we have had more extended experience of the results of compulsory detention in this country, it is impossible to advocate it with any certainty of success. The experience of other countries, however useful, is no real evidence of what similar systems will do for us. Allowance must always be made for racial and climatic temperament, which seems to have far greater influence upon the drinking habit than upon other forms of moral delinquency.

Inebriate homes are mainly intended for, and are only suited to, the case of the social wreck who is constantly drinking and constantly drunk. But the drunkard who makes a point of soaking himself when he draws his wages every Saturday, and is a passably good citizen during the rest of the week, obviously stands on a different footing. His case is by no means suitable for asylum treatment, and in him there is more hope. His drunkenness is not the involuntary result of an enfeebled will. He is frequently a skilled workman, and presents no signs of physical deterioration. The evil that he does is that he keeps his family in perennial

want; leaves the little ones dependent on him hungry and insufficiently clothed; and perhaps himself commits some violence while under the influence of drink. Him the State must take in hand, especially for the sake of his children, in whom lies the future hope of the nation.

With this type of drunkard mild punitive measures are sometimes useful if wisely administered; and to this type the provisions of the Licensing Act of 1903 were more particularly meant to apply. The mere fear of apprehension is often sufficient to prevent him from indulging to excess, and the prospect of deprivation is a still greater horror to him. If the "Black List" sections of the Act could be more strenuously administered the Act might be more beneficial than it is; but, unfortunately, this provision has been considerably weakened, if not practically scotched, by the judgment in the "Donovan case," which, in effect, decided that a man cannot be "blacklisted" without his own consent. No careful observer could have failed to notice the marked decrease of drunkenness in the London streets when the Act first came into force, and a continuance of the wholesome terror which it inspired was very desirable.

But punitive measures at best are but palliative, and scientific attention should be directed to the removal of the conditions favourable to the development of the element of drunkenness in the community. Not the least important of these is the food question. The health and strength of the people is the chief and most valuable asset of the State. Every effort should be made to maintain the physical condition of the masses at a high level, efficient feeding being foremost among the sources of physical and moral well-being, and lack of food being the best possible breeding-ground of vice. Mr. Booth and Mr. Rowntree have shown us that about 30 per cent. of our urban population obtain 25 per cent. less food than scientific experts consider necessary to maintain physical efficiency. Lack of food leads to an ill-nourished nervous system; weakness of nerve-power sets up that indefinable desire which has been well described as "nerve-hunger," and this is often sought to be satisfied by indulgence in alcoholic stimulants. Attention should therefore be directed to the feeding problem, and the poor should be helped by the establishment of food centres, and by the teaching of the elementary principles governing the wise selection and cooking of food.

Not less important is the question of housing. So long as eight million people in the United Kingdom are improperly housed, so long will they seek relief from their evil and depressing surroundings by spending their leisure in the public-house. We are justified in hoping for good results in this direction from the work of

County Councils, Garden City Associations, and public-spirited manufacturers; but the problem is a very terrible and difficult one, and needs all the energies of those interested in it.

Every influence which tends to raise the moral standard of the people, whether religious, ethical, or educational in the widest sense, will at the same time necessarily tend to reduce drunkenness. Side by side with constructive reforms such as those that have been mentioned, the State, as well as private enterprise, should do everything possible to provide and encourage counter-attractions to the public-house. The reasons why a man spends his evenings behind the glittering swing-doors are, of course, obvious. His home is wretched, and is made more so by his habits; he has no intellectual resources; at the public-house he gets cheerful companionship, his pipe, and his pot of beer. Temperance reformers too often forget the pot of beer. Obviously the man will not give up the public-house unless he is offered something more attractive. He is not easily enticed away from his accustomed haunt, and entertains a holy horror of anything that savours of an attempt to "rob the poor man of his beer." It is a debatable question whether the temperance public-house should or should not allow each visitor, say, one glass of beer. If not, the substitutes must be both good and cheap; there must be facilities for smoking, billiard-tables and other games, comfortable seats, music, and popular literature in abundance. But temperance public-houses should be looked upon as a means and not as an end; a relief from the miseries of home life, and not as a substitute for the home. The standard of home life, however, must necessarily be raised by any influence which tends to raise the moral standard of its members, and this should be the true mission of the temperance public-house.

Much energy is at present wasted by the lack of organisation among social reformers. It is being more and more appreciated every day that what is needed is greater co-ordination of effort; central bureaux where information can be collected, facts classified and brought into relation with one another, and multiplication of individual inquiries avoided. Concentration of energy is needed before science can be brought into intimate relation with legislation, and even before it can be recognised freely as an essential element in politics. Out of the ashes of a Liberalism that has worked well, and has now almost performed its destined task, we look for a phoenix in the shape of a new scientific progressive party; a party inspired with the faith and energy of youth, striving after exact knowledge and utilising scientific method, following Truth fearlessly whithersoever she leads. Such a party will deal with the drink question, not as an isolated problem, but as part of the unity of all problems; will seek for its real relation to other questions; will strive to overcome the difficulties of economic hindrances, and to

discover the eternal laws by which all problems are governed. Thus only, by weary work and steadfast faith, will progress be achieved ; thus only will England entirely escape from the peculiar curse of the Northern races, and take and retain a high place among the nations as the home of real freedom and cleanliness and purity.

W. H. CHAMPNESS.

## THE PROPHET AND THE PRIEST IN HEBREW ETHICS.

THE antagonism between the prophet and the priest in the classic period of Hebrew prophetism is one of the most significant phases in the evolution of ethics. Under the early Kings of Israel and Judah, the functions of prophet and priest were scarcely differentiated. Samuel was at once a seer, a diviner, and a priest. He told Saul where to find his asses; he communicated the oracles of Yahweh; he offered sacrifices for the people. He was less a prophet than a priestly vindicator of the glory of his deity. In the career of the meteoric Elijah, the preservation of the national cult in the teeth of invading Phœnician gods is the dominant motive; the only ethical utterance of the prophet being his denunciation of Ahab's wickedness to Naboth. The deeds of Elisha are still more deficient in the moral element. Witness his vengeance upon the children of Bethel, his sanction of Naaman's hypocrisy, his deceit to the Syrian messengers, his untruth to Hazael concerning Benhadad, and his anointing of the royal assassins, Jehu and Hazael.

Between Elisha and the prophets of righteousness the ethical gap is wide indeed. Amos began to preach about 760 B.C., and was quickly followed by Hosea, Isaiah and Micah. The teaching of these prophets throbs with moral energy. They stand for social rightness as distinguished from rightness of the cult. Yet they are separated from the age of Elisha by less than a century. Perhaps, however, it would be safer to carry back the comparison to the time of David, the history of whose time, so far as it is recorded in the Judaic document, is more reliable than the somewhat legendary narratives of Elijah and Elisha. The episodes of Gad and Nathan in the reign of David appear also to be of doubtful authenticity.

That a great moral change had affected, not only the prophets, but the people, clearly appears in the writings of Amos and his immediate successors. The very denunciations of the prophets assume the existence of a developed conscience in those they addressed. Amos condemns luxury and drunkenness in private life, cheating and extortion in business, bribery and corruption in the administration of the law. It is, therefore, evident that



sobriety, honesty and justice, were recognised as ordinary virtues. Hosea declaims against the absence of truth and mercy; he censures the prevalence of false swearing and breaking faith, of stealing and adultery, of feasting and self-indulgence in holy places. Micah is indignant against covetousness and oppression, against judges who take rewards, priests who teach for hire, and prophets who divine for money. The denunciations of Isaiah are directed against taking bribes, neglecting the poor, land-grabbing, drunkenness, and wantonness. The people against whom the preceding censures could appropriately be directed must have been in a comparatively advanced stage of moral evolution.

Whence the ethical revolution of which the teaching of Amos and his compeers was the expression? Was it a sudden outbreak of divine inspiration, or did it slowly grow out of the settled conditions following the construction of the Davidic Kingdom? The Biblical narrative gives no explanation of the momentous change. It is chiefly occupied with religious episodes, associated with the usual annals of Eastern despotisms, with royal accessions and demises, conspiracies and wars, losses and gains of territory, diplomatic relations with foreign powers. The true inward history of the Hebrew people is left to be inferred from stray hints and general principles. Moral revolutions, if sometimes sudden in their culmination, are gradual in their development. Israel could make little progress in ethics while in the nomadic stage; but, when the people settled down as an agricultural community, organised themselves into a united state, absorbed the social and ethical traditions which Babylonia had long since planted in Canaan, and entered into commercial and political intercourse with nations enjoying a higher civilisation, the more complex environment enforced a higher ethic. This, at least, is the process through which nations pass in their normal evolution from barbarism to civilisation, and there is no good reason to believe that Israel was an exception. While the courts of the northern and southern kingdoms were engaged in their petty wars and intrigues, the people were tilling the soil, building towns, and learning from their northern neighbours the commercial dexterity for which they are still distinguished. The cultivation of the arts of peace was facilitated by the existence of a standing army, established by David, and continued by his successors.

It has been common to describe the moral state of the Israelitish people in the epoch of the prophets of righteousness as a declension from a higher level. This period has been contrasted with the time of David, which is pictured as the golden age of Hebrew piety and morals. David, supposed to be a writer of psalms, is imagined as a model of saintliness and virtue. This ideal figure, in the light of modern criticism, shrinks into a mere warrior chief, whose successes

in consolidating the Hebrew monarchy, and annexing some of the small States on his borders, marked him out as the favourite of the deity. We need not believe, with Renan, that he was nothing more than a lucky freebooter, whose unscrupulous valour and craft raised him to a throne. He was more than that; but he was neither moralist nor saint. A careful study of the older documents in the Books of Samuel and Kings reveals him as a man of very defective character, untruthful, sensual, and cruel, though endowed with some very shining virtues. He was probably in advance of the mass of his subjects; but that he came to be revered as eminently holy is part of the proof that, in his age, the Hebrew people were in a low stage of ethical attainment. The barbarous custom of blood-revenge—"almost wholly eradicated"<sup>1</sup> in Babylonia by Hammurabi twelve centuries before—was in full force amongst them, the king himself winking at its exercise in Joab's murder of Abner, and, if the account is historical, actually enforcing it in his surrender of Saul's descendants to the vengeance of the Gibeonites. The insecurity of property is clearly seen in the Nabal incident, in which David figures as a sort of Rob Roy, defending rich people from freebooters more lawless than himself, and in Absalom's outrage upon Joab's barley. The unbridled licentiousness of the times appears in Amnon's seduction of his sister Tamar, and in Absalom's behaviour to his father's concubines. These scattered hints combine with general theory to establish the conclusion that the age of Amos was far in advance of the half-barbarous culture of the early monarchy. The fervid denunciations of Amos and Isaiah are the outcome of the higher moral state of the nation. The prophets of righteousness merely gave voice to the convictions and aspirations of the nobler spirits of the time. They were to Israel and Judah what Luther was to Germany and Knox to Scotland. The age produced them, and they reacted upon the age.

\ We may then conclude that the prophets of righteousness were the natural outcome of ethical evolution. But with the growth of righteousness arose a strong antagonism between the prophet and the priest. Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, charges Amos with treason; and the prophet retorts with a bitter curse in the name of Yahweh. Amos denounces the cult itself: "I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies." Hosea condemns Jehu's murderous zeal for Yahweh-worship, though the Book of Kings represents it as meeting the divine approval. This prophet is most scathing in his attacks upon the priests. "They feed upon the sin of my people, and set their heart upon their iniquity." "Hear this, O ye priests . . . for ye have been a snare at Mizpah, and a net spread upon Tabor." Then Hosea breaks out into the revolutionary declaration: "For I desire mercy (kindness),

<sup>1</sup> F. Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, p. 188. 1903.

and not sacrifice : and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings." Isaiah's language is equally emphatic : "Bring no more vain oblations ; incense is an abomination unto me ; new moon and sabbath, the calling of assemblies—I cannot away with ; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting." This antagonism to the cult, it is to be remarked, is most pronounced in those of the prophets who are most zealous for practical ethics. But whence did it arise ?

It is admitted by the ripest Semitic scholarship that Hebrew religion is deeply impregnated with Babylonian culture, and this theory will be here assumed. A comparison of the religious evolution of the Hebrews with similar phases of thought amidst a related people in earlier times cannot but throw light upon our inquiry. A study of ancient Babylonian inscriptions reveals a very close connection between magic and the ethical side of religion. Magical incantations are often based upon moral principles. Thus, in the Serpu series of exorcism-tablets,<sup>1</sup> the magician inquires if the bewitched person has (1) sinned against his god ; (2) dishonoured his father and mother ; (3) used false weights or money ; (4) approached his neighbour's wife, shed his blood, or stolen his garment. The same tablet, however, contains also the inquiry whether the sufferer has slept upon the bed of a bewitched person, sat upon his seat, eaten from his dish, or drunk from his cup. This association of physical influences with moral causation is very distinctive of magical religion, and it points to a fundamental distinction between the magician and the priest, properly so called. The former, with all his crudities and absurdities, is closer to the facts of nature than the other. "Magic," says Adolph Bastian, "is the physics of mankind in a state of nature." Dr. Frazer, in the *Golden Bough*,<sup>2</sup> considers magic to be "a kind of savage logic, a crude species of reasoning based upon similarity and contiguity." These definitions are confirmed by the inscriptions. In one<sup>3</sup> of these, the god Ea tells Merodach, his son, to cure a man by imitative magic. An onion is to be peeled, and, as the bulb decreases, so will the disease. In another, the incantation declares, "As the plant withers, so shall also be the spell." Sometimes remedies extracted from plants or minerals were applied, and thus the science of medicine came into being. Even in those early times the conflict between knowledge and priestism had begun. "The higher practitioners," writes Maspero,<sup>4</sup> "were not ignorant of the natural virtues of herbs ; but they pandered to popular superstition."

The method of the priest, strictly so called, differed widely from that of the magician. He appealed to his god to act directly upon human affairs. His ritual and his prayers were designed to influence the supernatural powers, as the spells of the magician were adapted

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia Biblica*, "Magic."

<sup>2</sup> Second edition, vol. i., p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Maspero's *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 781.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 782.

to act directly upon nature. It is true that in many ages magic and religion are fused together, as seen in some of the inscriptions already quoted; but great probability attaches to Frazer's opinion that "this fusion is not primitive." The following evidence supports this view. In New Zealand, the medicine-men take precedence of the priest in point of time. Certain tribes in a very low stage of culture appear to be without priests. Thus, the Fuegians have only wizards, the Mapuchés have diviners and magicians, amongst the Australians and the Tasmanians "the only men concerned with the supernatural are the doctors." In many other instances, those called priests are often mere conjurers. The above examples are given by Mr. Herbert Spencer.<sup>1</sup> Professor Sayce informs us that in Babylonia the class of priests known as Chanters or Enchanters were preceded by the sorcerers and medicine-men of the pre-Semitic past.<sup>2</sup> The god Ea himself would seem to have originally been a medicine-man.

In those phases of Babylonian religion in which the priest was dominant, ethics occupied a secondary place. This is well illustrated by the Babylonian Saints' Calendar, as translated by Sayce.<sup>3</sup> The daily life of a typical holy person is minutely prescribed. All is ritual, sacrifice, worship, propitiation and abstinence. Duty to one's neighbour is conspicuously absent. An Accadian penitential psalm<sup>4</sup> (anterior to the seventeenth century B.C.) reflects the same phase of thought. The offences deplored by the penitent are (1) profaning the holy name of his god; (2) eating the forbidden thing; and (3) trampling upon what was forbidden by the goddess. An Accadian liturgy<sup>5</sup> (older than 2000 B.C.) alludes to most of the primary articles of the Accadian faith. They are supposed to be recited by the great god Ea, and are little more than a description of his own glories. He fails to give utterance to a single ethical idea.

The magician of Babylonia has close affinities with the seer and diviner of Israel. "In early times," writes T. W. Davies,<sup>6</sup> "magic and divination came under one category." Moses and Aaron are represented as practising magic in competition with the Egyptian enchanters. Balaam is magician, diviner, and prophet. Divination by urim and thummim, as well as with the ephod, was common under the Hebrew monarchy. Diviners are coupled with prophets by Jeremiah (xxvii. 9), and with seers by Micah (iii. 7). The diviner is closely allied to the seer, and the Hebrew seer was evolved into the prophet (1 Samuel ix. 9). Even as late as Micah (iii. 11), the prophet may also be a diviner.

But what is the origin of the Hebrew priest? Bertholet and

<sup>1</sup> *The Principles of Sociology*, vol. iii., p. 37, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians and Babylonians*, p. 415. 1902.

<sup>3</sup> *Records of the Past*, V., vii. p. 157.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, V., iii. p. 127.

<sup>6</sup> *Encyclopædia Biblica*. "Magic."

Robertson Smith<sup>1</sup> consider that the religious ordinances of the Hebrews in the time of the conquest of Canaan were scarcely distinguishable from those of the ancient Arabs. In these early communities, "each man slew his own victim, and divided the sacrifice in his own circle." Also the other acts of his simple ritual "required no priestly aid." He was, in fact, priest in his own family. This view agrees fairly well with the theory of Mr. Herbert Spencer, who evolves the priest from the ruler. As centralisation proceeded, the heads of the smaller became subordinated to the chiefs of larger communities, and these to the rulers of states, until royal priesthood was evolved, as we find it among the Hebrews in the age of David and Solomon. But differentiation went on side by side with integration. The unprofessional priest passed into a member of a sacerdotal order. When the duties of the king became highly complex, he delegated the functions of the high-priestly office to another, often to a member of the royal house. This practice was frequently imitated in our own history, the last example occurring as late as the reign of Mary Tudor, who appointed Cardinal Pole to the primacy. The close alliance between Church and Crown continues to be a marked feature in societies which retain the monarchical principle. The King of England is still Head of the Church, he is robed in priestly vestments at his coronation, and all the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries receive their appointment at his hands.

The contest between Amos and Amaziah is typical of one of the most ancient antagonisms of human society. The priest is the representative of deity, and the ally of the Crown. He demands fear for the god, and honour for the king. He stands for authority, human and divine. Amos was a man of the people, "a herdman and a dresser of sycamore trees." The prophet is in touch with nature, and the needs of human society. He cares little for the cult; and, if it is unfavourable to morals, he indignantly condemns it.

After the time of Amos and Isaiah, ritual and worship began to assert a dominant position. Jeremiah attaches a supreme importance to the observance of the Sabbath. To the priestly Ezekiel, the great need of the age is a larger system of ceremonies. The sublime flights of the Deutero-Isaiah have for their chief burden the glory of the deity. On the return from the exile, the priesthood has grown so great that the high-priest becomes the ruler of the Jewish people, and the Kingdom of David is transformed into a Church, whose glories, in the imagination of enthusiastic priests, are reflected back into the early history of the Israelitish people. In the heroic struggle under the Maccabees, the dominant articles of the Jewish creed are abstinence from swine's flesh, the necessity for circumcision,

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia Biblica*. "Priest."

the observance of the Sabbath, and the sole worship of Yahweh. The supremacy of ritualism in the Jewish Church at the commencement of our era is too notorious to need proof. The Prophet of Nazareth revived and enlarged the ethics of Amos and Isaiah, and was martyred by the priestly faction. During a thousand years the priesthood held Christendom in the hollow of its hand. Faith and ritual became the essentials of salvation, and morals languished. Borgia on the papal throne, and Savonarola on a gallows—this was the world-old contrast in its acutest form!

Amos and the prophets of righteousness came to life again with the rebirth of knowledge, and the return to nature. "Knowledge," said Leonardo da Vinci, the forerunner of the modern age, "rejuvenates the soul." And he struck out that noble spark of truth—"love is the daughter of knowledge." He and his compeers recalled the world to veracity, and a purer ethic began to shine. The papacy saved itself only by moral reform. Knowledge and morality have grown side by side, twin-sisters of progress. The prophet, the teacher of righteousness, whether clerical or lay, whether a Kingsley, a Carlyle, or a Tolstoy—is rapidly supplanting the priest, and the priest is influential only in so far as he takes up the prophet's mission. The exaggerated pretensions of the priesthood in the English Church are a mere policy of despair. The thoughtful laity are going their own way without priestly guidance: high thinking is almost inextricably associated with pure living.

In the ultimate analysis, the distinction between the prophet and the priest would seem to be the difference between the natural and the supernatural. Belief in the miraculous has been declining for the last three centuries, and is almost extinct amongst the educated classes; yet never in the history of the world has the prophet's demand for truth and mercy received a more willing hearing. And surely this result is no strange thing. The man who sees clearly into the unchanging laws of nature, and the complexities of the human mind and heart, is better fitted to be a teacher of righteousness than the exponent of fitful supernatural methods which have little causal relation with our real needs and aspirations. Gautama, the Buddha, who rejected the supernatural, and believed in neither god nor future life, placed his ideal in the man who lived for "the comfort and help of all who sorrow and sin, without distinction of caste or of race, of age or sex, of good or evil life."

CHARLES CALLAWAY.

## COMPENSATION FOR LICENCES: A PRACTICAL SOLUTION.

THE late Lord Watson, during the argument in the House of Lords in the well-known case of *Boulter v. The Justices of Kent*, declared in 1897, in words that have never since been challenged or denied, that "the licensing justices are a body interposed between the licensee and the public *for the protection of the public.*" Acting on this statement the licensing justices for the Farnham division of Surrey, at the Brewster Sessions for 1902, refused to renew the licences of certain public-houses solely on the ground of their non-requirement. This action, and the particular procedure adopted, was upheld on appeal by the Surrey Quarter Sessions, by a Divisional Court, and finally by the Court of Appeal, in the two latter instances unanimously.<sup>1</sup> By the Licensing Act of the same year Parliament gave the licensing justices further increased powers of supervision and inspection, and, as a result of this law, and also in consequence of the measures taken by the Farnham bench being upheld in the law-courts, at the Brewster Sessions in 1903 many licensing benches refused to renew licences that they considered unnecessary, while some four hundred others announced that they would consider the advisability of taking similar action in the near future.

The consternation thereby caused in "the trade," who saw that it was no longer possible to argue that every well-conducted house had a legal, as well as a moral, claim to exist, led two private members during the last session of Parliament to introduce Bills, in one instance to suspend the magisterial veto, and in the other to compensate those whose licences were refused through no fault of their own. The latter Bill passed the second reading by a considerable majority. The Premier and the other members of the Government have since pledged themselves to carry through a measure dealing with the matter during the present year, and it was one of the items mentioned in the King's Speech on opening Parliament.

It is true that this aspect of the temperance question is one that does not cover the whole of the subject, or like the somewhat crude and unpractical proposals of the last Liberal Government, cover even

<sup>1</sup> See for a detailed account *The Licensing Problem and Magisterial Discretion*. By Alfred T. Davies. Fourth Edition. 1903. Nottingham: The Licensing Laws Information Bureau, 46 Bridlesmith Gate.

a large part of it. Here the crux of the question is the payment of compensation, and no measure supported by either party, whether in the interests of temperance, or in those of the licence-holders and brewers, will help towards a solution if it does not provide some means of procedure at once just and practical. Just, in that it must safeguard the interests of the public; practical, in that it will enable those licences that exist in excess of that public's requirements to be got rid of, by disarming, instead of by arousing that maximum of opposition from those interested in the sale of liquor, which, if stirred up, will greatly impede, if it does not prevent, the successful working of the measure, assuming it has the good fortune to pass into law.

If it is desirable to reduce the number of liquor licences in any borough or division of a county, and in a very large number of instances it is undoubtedly desirable, two questions must be considered, and also answered. First, on what basis is compensation to be paid and assessed; secondly, from what source and by what machinery is such compensation to be raised. Now those on either side, with few exceptions, seem too often to have but the haziest idea of how to answer the first question satisfactorily. The temperance reformer usually contents himself with boldly looking the difficulty in the face, and then passing it by with the comforting assertion that those who hold licensed property can arrange amongst themselves as to compensation. Yes, they theoretically can do so, but will they? And if the majority are willing, how will they overcome that obstinate minority who are certain to be unwilling? Well, says the reformer, in certain cities, in Liverpool for instance, and in Birmingham, the owners have given up voluntarily a certain number of licences. But, where this is the case, it has only been done because every one was fully aware that if these licences were not surrendered the magistrates would in all probability refuse to renew a greater number. The lapsed licences are, in very many instances, unprofitable to their owners, and in any case it is an illusion to imagine that the same procedure can be carried out generally (in Birmingham the brewers have already refused to continue it), for it places on those whose personal interest and bias runs counter to any diminution the responsibility, not only in the case of the great brewing firms, of deciding what proportion of their less profitable houses shall be relinquished, but also in the case of those licensees who are their own landlords, who usually possess only one licence, of agreeing what actual monetary compensation in hard cash shall be paid by the survivors, and to those whose licences are given up. The chances of the latter being able to obtain anything like reasonable treatment from the great corporations, who own the tied houses, is at least problematic. If they do not come into the arrangement it may fall through, and, if they do so, how will they be in the economic position to bargain, except the



conditions of the bargain are fixed by outside authority—that is mediately or immediately by the State. If an owner of a single licence in the district refuses to bear his share, any scheme must press unfairly on the other owners.

The position taken up by those who believe in the payment of compensation is usually still less practical, and even more unjust. Whatever measure is proposed in Parliament, or in print, no one who has attended a meeting in defence of "the trade" can doubt, from the enthusiasm with which such a declaration is received, that the rank and file of those who gain a livelihood by the sale of liquor in reality object to a diminution of licences on any ground whatever, except misconduct. And the economic reason is, that compensation will hardly go further than the landlord and the licensee. When Parliament compensated the slave owners, it paid nothing to their overseers for loss of employment, and now compensation is as unlikely to be paid to the barman or the potboy.

The owners and licensees moreover strenuously advocate a similar measure to that which Lord Salisbury's second Ministry failed to carry. The fact that Lord Goschen, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to allocate the revenue derived from an increased tax on spirits (that is on the consuming public), to compensation has burnt itself into the historic memory of the brewer and the publican. Not the least of their grievances is, that when the measure failed somewhat ignominiously to pass into law, a Conservative Government, instead of removing the tax, paid it over to the newly established County Councils, who now in their secondary schools educate the pick of their scholars out of the increased revenue derived from the sale of innumerable "small Scotches." Here, say the brewer and his dependants, is the right precedent, forgetting that if the first Unionist Cabinet could not pass it into law, the third is unlikely to be more successful.

These two views, here stated broadly and only in outline, comprehend (with small modification) the bulk of both parties. Both views are nebulous, but either side can see the view of the other to be unpractical, and either denounces it as unjust. They are over-biased, in one instance by the devotion of enthusiastic social reformers to Burke's bugbear, which ever haunts the path of social reform, namely, a belief in the power of an abstract idea, which, as society is composed of living, fallible people, and not of abstractions, must in this world of reality and compromise, like all formulæ, prove unsatisfactory, nay impossible, for the solution of its problems. And on the other hand, in a business whose members are still more numerous, and whose motto indicates the open negation of idealism erected into a system, "our trade, our politics," the gross materialism of a vested interest is hardly likely to suggest an answer, either practical or just. Especially is this the case when that vested

interest is the greatest in the United Kingdom, extends over the whole area of it, and has its ramifications in all classes of its population.

In the search for an answer to our two questions, we shall find that the grant of a licence immediately increases the value of property, and in the famous examples given by Messrs. Sherwell and Rowntree it is shown conclusively that, notwithstanding the chances of forfeiture, the licence is often more valuable than the land and buildings for which it is granted. But in every case where any appreciable trade is done the licence has of course a market value. Any reasonable scheme of compensation will, therefore, start by fixing what the licence is worth, apart from the premises licensed. To ascertain this by the same machinery that is now used to fix the rateable value of the premises (which in theory includes the value of the licence) would be costly, inconvenient, and probably unsuccessful. The prices that public-houses constantly fetch, and the figure at which the same houses are assessed by the overseers, too often bear no sort of proportion to each other. In a case coming under the writer's notice, the Corporation of Liverpool had recently to pay upwards of £7000 for licensed property rated at considerably less than £100, and the glaring anomalies that frequently come to light, especially in densely populated districts, show that a new method must be devised to meet the case.

Why should not the following scheme be adopted? Each licence-holder annually to declare to the rating authorities: (1) The rateable value of his premises without the licence; (2) The increased value attaching thereto by reason of the licence. If the rating authority was dissatisfied, it could of course proceed, as at present, to raise his assessment. As, however, any claim he might make for compensation would be based on the value as fixed by himself, and the licensing justices would be unable to admit any evidence brought forward to show that that value was too low, the licensee in his own interest would be very unlikely to fix on too small a figure. Now let us suppose that the licensing justices in a certain district come to the conclusion that the drinking facilities there are over-abundant. We will further suppose that the district contains a thousand liquor licences of various kinds, and that the magistrates consider that an immediate reduction of fifty is necessary, having regard, as the law requires, to the needs and necessities of the neighbourhood. They would, as they have already done at Liverpool, Farnham, and other places, presumably appoint a committee of inspection to decide which houses are *prima facie* superfluous, having regard to their situation, structure, management, sanitary conveniences, and amount of trade, &c. At Brewster Sessions the licensing justices, or the police at their direction, would formally object to the renewal of the licences of these houses, in consequence of which their consideration

would stand over, with others whose renewals were objected to on ordinary grounds, till the adjourned licensing meeting. Here the individual standing and necessity of each house would be fully gone into, together with any evidence brought forward by the owner, or the licensee, in favour of a renewal. In respect of those licences that they finally decide to suppress, the justices would at the same time award in their absolute discretion—the same absolute discretion which the law gives them to grant or to refuse a licence—such compensation, having regard to the declared value of the licence, and to all the circumstances of the case, as they might think just and proper. The owner and the licensee would naturally have the right to appeal to Quarter Sessions on this question, as well as (or preferably as an alternative to) their present right of appeal in the case of non-renewal. In the case of the licences of the ante-1869 beer-houses, which cannot as the law stands be refused on the ground of nonrequirement, the magistrates would take that additional fact into consideration in assessing compensation. The aggregate amount to be paid on account of all the fifty suppressed licences would be raised by a levy on the nine hundred and fifty that would still remain, the levy on each individual licensed house being in the proportion that the total amount required bore to the declared value of the licence of such house. It would be recovered, if necessary, in the same way as arrears of poor rate.

In support of these proposals, it will be remembered that Mr. Butcher's abortive Bill of last session, and more recently Sir Michael Hicks-Beach in his speech to licensed victuallers at Bristol, both agreed in raising a proportion at least of the compensation money from "the trade" itself. It is also noticeable that almost every "trade" journal or apologist proclaims that a reduction in the number of public-houses does not lead to a reduction in the consumption of alcohol. And to some extent they can quote statistics in support of their contention. But, if this be the case, those licences that remain must divide amongst themselves the trade of those that are suppressed. In any case it is unlikely that all the trade of a suppressed house will disappear. In a locality where the number of licences is very large, and one or two only are taken, there is practically no diminution in drinking, because there is practically no diminution in the facilities for obtaining drink. This belief was emphatically expressed by Captain Nott-Bower, the present Commissioner of Police for the City of London, in his evidence before the Royal Commission presided over by Lord Peel. He then stated that to suppress ten licences only in a street that he named as having about sixty, would probably make no appreciable difference, but that there would in all probability be much less drinking in that neighbourhood if fifty out of the sixty were taken away. It is clear, however, that these remaining ten houses would do an enormous trade, far greater than any ten houses that at present

exist there. And of course it is not contemplated that such a reduction would, or could, be effected otherwise than gradually. Here, then, is the moral justification for placing a levy on "the trade" itself.

Modifications might be introduced locally with great benefit. To insure that the levy should not in any one year be excessive, the magistrates might be empowered, where they consider a reduction premature, to raise a fund by means of a small yearly percentage levied on the declared value, as before described, in order to guard against any contingency, and to distribute the burden fairly. They might also, perhaps, be allowed to allocate a portion of the compensation, if they thought fit, to employees, such as barmen, in cases where the latter were thrown out of employment.

In many neighbourhoods, however, the question of the grant of new licences will also arise. They are at the present time exceedingly difficult to obtain, and for that very reason command a proportionately high price in the market. Amongst magistrates the growing disinclination to grant them is probably in part (though by no means entirely) due to a feeling that by setting up a public-house in a district hitherto without one, they are making an exceedingly valuable gift to a brewery firm or private individual, for which the public gets no adequate benefit in return. In newly built suburbs a successful applicant has no likelihood of competition for many years, and the few suburban licences lately granted are therefore amongst the most valuable. In a case coming under the writer's notice, a brewer, who had not succeeded in his application for a licence in respect of premises in the outskirts of a large town (the land and buildings being worth perhaps £2,500), subsequently told a friend that he would not mind paying £20,000 for it, a price that no one doubted it would have paid him to give. Had he obtained his licence, he would in reality have had a free gift from the public of at least that amount. But if the magistrates had the power, after deciding that a new license was required, to publicly advertise their decision, together with a notice that on a certain day they would proceed to consider any tenders for such licence, such tenders to contain, subject to any conditions they might also think necessary, the amount of the annual levy that the applicant would be prepared to pay, a fund would at once be available for compensation purposes. The new licence would of course be liable to forfeiture on any ground on which it might now be legitimately objected to, *except non-requirement*, and it would only be granted either on the distinct understanding that at the end of a limited number of years it would be offered again for public tender, if still required, or else subject to a general time-limit for all licences, as recommended by both the majority and minority reports presented by the Royal Commission on Licensing. No claim for compensation would under any circumstances arise in respect of

these new licences. Whenever the licensing authority considered that facilities for the sale of drink were in a sufficient proportion to the population, the annual levy from new licences would be paid either to the borough or county treasurer to the relief of the rates, or, after being accumulated against contingencies for a certain number of years, to the consolidated fund; the latter by preference, as the temptation in localities where rates are heavy to grant new licences too lavishly would be considerable, especially where a number of the magistrates are members of the borough or county council. The gravest objection to this procedure is that it would be almost impossible for a private individual to compete with the great brewery firms. This objection may be met by the consideration that it is almost impossible for him to do so under the present system, that in many, probably in most, places, a house that does much trade is seldom now owned by its licensee, that further, those that are in private hands are by no means the best managed. Moreover, it is easier for the licensing authority to obtain the uniform carrying out of a new requirement when there are only a few large concerns to deal with than when there are a multitude of private owners. The proposals often made that a new licence should be granted in return for the abandonment of two or more old ones, proposals lately endorsed by Sir Edward Clarke, would simply enable the brewers to exchange houses that do not pay for those that will, and would leave the case of the single licensee-owner untouched. A more serious objection is that they would involve an indirect recognition of the brewer's and licence-holder's claims, claims groundless alike in history and in law, for compensation at the expense of the public. In the growing suburbs of many a town one new licence is worth a dozen in those districts in its centre, whence the human tide has flowed outwards, while shops and warehouses cover the sight of its former habitations. If practical, such proposals are therefore unjust, for where new licences are called for they should, as suggested, afford a tangible return to the public. The actual amount annually required in such a licensing district to be raised by a levy on those now in existence, would be very moderate. In other cases the change would only proceed slowly, but it must always be remembered that practically no licence is refused solely on the ground of non-requirement when it has a substantial market value on account of trade done, or where the amount of compensation necessary to be raised would be more than a small, usually a very small, percentage on the value of the remaining licences.

An incidental benefit would be that on a public-house being compulsorily acquired for a public improvement scheme, such as that now being carried out by the London County Council in the construction of Kingsway and Aldwych, the declared values of the

premises and the licence should be taken as the basis of compensation for such acquirement.

This scheme possesses the great advantages of causing the minimum of alteration in the machinery of local government, and of leaving absolutely unimpaired the magisterial discretion. Many licences are at present annually renewed in the sole interest of the publican, and against that of the public. Here both interests are safeguarded; no scheme is otherwise at the same time just and practical.

The proposals here sketched do not go as far as the recommendations of Lord Peel's report, they do not even include many contained in both reports, some of which might be added with advantage. Bearing in mind that both reports agreed on the principle of a time limit after which *no* compensation could be claimed, a measure on the lines here laid down, with or without that addition, but in view that it is probably inevitable sooner or later, should not meet with the hostility of, but rather be welcomed by, all far-seeing members of "the trade." The recently published manifesto signed by Lord Peel, by Mr. Whittaker, M.P., by several bishops, and by many other representative men and women, leaders alike in political, intellectual, religious, and temperance circles, is a proof that it would unite in support the bulk of social reformers of all classes. Is it too much to hope that some such proposals may be embodied in the Government's new Bill before it passes into law?

Since the above was written the promised Bill has been brought forward. To judge from the speech in which it was introduced no measure could be less satisfactory. Apart from the fact that the compensation it proposes to raise comes from an increase in licence duties which should really go to the relief of general taxation, it is clear that the amount will be often so small that reduction will practically cease (except for misconduct). A still graver defect is that Quarter Sessions in all non-county boroughs are not only to raise and allocate the compensation, but are to be encouraged to grant new licences in return for "redundant"—that is, worthless—old ones. The county justices, who can have no personal knowledge of the wants of the towns they never reside in, are to decide what are their requirements. If by chance one of them has any knowledge of the circumstances of the neighbourhood he cannot use it as Quarter Sessions, like all courts, can only act on the evidence brought before it. If passed this measure will deal an irreparable blow to the hitherto slow but steady progress of licensing reform. The beer trade is already an established fact, now it is to be "established" by law as well as in fact. The nation has taken many proposals of the present Government "lying down." Will it take this?

DAVID FREEMAN.

## WILHELMINA, MARGRAVINE OF BAIREUTH.

### PART I.

ABOUT six P.M. on a Friday, towards the end of November 1731, there was dancing under the silver chandeliers in the magnificent suite of "Grands Apartments" of the Royal Palace at Berlin, to music from the silver-balustraded Minstrels' Gallery. For four successive nights Frederick William the parsimonious had been thus launching out in unprecedented festivities. For was he not marrying off at last his eldest daughter, Wilhelmina, and were not these festivities not so much in honour of the match, which was a poor one, but as a snub for England, which, for years, had been playing fast and loose with an offer of the princess's hand?

Seven hundred of the social cream of Berlin, with foreign ambassadors, and more or less closely connected Grand Dukes and Duchesses, Margraves and Serenities galore, were busily engaged in twirling and prancing in the stately dances of the period under the massive silver candelabra and the painted ceilings. The bride herself, presiding over the quadrille in the Picture Gallery, her fate at last happily decided, was enjoying to her heart's content her passion for dancing. There was, however, a skeleton at the feast. The Crown Prince, Wilhelmina's favourite brother, had languished for a year past in a remote fortress, victim of a brutal parental tyranny, the like of which in modern times, and among the lower classes, would have called for the intervention of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. All the world knows why Frederick, goaded by years of systematically hard treatment, had attempted to run away to his aunt, the Queen of England, how he had been arrested, well-nigh lynched by his inhuman father, and how his friend and confidant had been beheaded before his eyes. Her brother's release and restoration to favour was the condition for which Wilhelmina had stipulated with her father when she accepted the hand of the Prince of Baireuth, whom she had never seen. Up till now, however, the King had not performed his promise, and the Crown Prince was the only member of the Royal Family absent from his sister's wedding.

But, in the middle of a minuet, Grümkow, the shifty, intriguing Chamberlain, to whom both Frederick and Wilhelmina owed so much of their misfortune, advanced to the bride :

“*Eh, mon Dieu*, Madame, you seem to have been bitten by the tarantula! Don't you see those strangers who have just come in?’ I stopped short, and looking all around noticed, at last, a young man dressed in grey whom I did not know. ‘Go then, embrace the Crown Prince, he is there before you!’ All the blood in my body went topsy turvey for joy. Coming near, I recognised him, though with difficulty, he had *prodigieusement engraisé* (no longer a skeleton at the feast), his face, too, was not so beautiful as it had been. I sprang upon his neck, I was in such a state I could speak nothing but broken exclamations. I wept, I laughed, like one gone delirious. In my life I have never felt as lively a joy.”

After the fashion of an age which loved to diagnose and lay bare its personal history, the story of the “shrill Princess Beauty of Baireuth and the world,” as Carlyle calls her, “who has a melodious strength like that of many war-fifes, who knows how to be patient, and veils many things, though of a brightly unhypocritical nature,” has come down to us through her own Memoirs of the first thirty-four years of her life. Almost uniformly tinged with melancholy, often sharp, not to say spiteful, but bristling with wit, they show an insight into character, and of a power of observation which has rendered them of great service to the historian of the period. Further, we have the correspondence of this Madame de Sevigné of Germany with her brother, a delightful picture of one of the tenderest brotherly and sisterly friendships the world has ever seen. Here, unwittingly, Wilhelmina has painted her true self in its best lights, exhibiting the depth of real feeling which underlay the sparkling, steely surface, and which, while it stimulated Frederick's mental powers, evoked a similar warmth of affection from his cold, calculating heart, early chilled by ill-treatment. Then, in addition, we have the Margravine's recently discovered correspondence with Voltaire. If her letters to Frederick show how much he owed to her, her letters to Voltaire show how much influence the savant had upon Wilhelmina's mental gifts. At her death the correspondence passed into the hands of her daughter, and subsequently to the latter's death could not be traced. Only after the lapse of nearly a century were the faded yellow sheets accidentally discovered at a sale of private property in Bavaria. In them at first we behold the witty *grande dame* in her most fascinating moods, brilliant, indeed sometimes profane, skimming with an ease which was the outcome of deep reading, in a light yet trenchant fashion, over the great questions of philosophy which were agitating men's minds at that day, yet dallying in the airiest manner with the make-believes and fancies of the most artificial of ages. But when the correspondence, abruptly closed for some years, suddenly recommences, it changes completely in character. The storm clouds, the vicissitudes of war,



were hanging over her beloved brother's head, and the correspondents appear in the new guise of politicians and diplomats, though still as friends, linked by the mutual worship of the same hero.

Wilhelmina, Margravine of Baireuth, the eldest child of Frederick William of Prussia and his wife, Sophia Charlotte of Hanover, daughter of George I. of England, was born July 3, 1709. Three Kings, all Fredericks, Poland, Denmark, and Prussia, were present at her christening. Gossip likened them to the three Magi, and prophesied three crowns, dangled indeed before her but never actually within her grasp, to the child who was only to reign over a minute Margravate, but whose indirect influence on politics and art was to be unequalled by any woman of her period in the Empire.

As is generally the case with the eldest girl of a large family, Wilhelmina early became her mother's companion and confidant; and at the age of ten, at her own request, backed up by her father, was promoted into long frocks and "treated as a grown-up girl." Her parents were usually at loggerheads between themselves, and poor Wilhelmina was the shuttlecock of their jealousies and disagreements. When her father succeeded to the throne he developed those tastes for hoarding money, and for soldiering and drill, which rapidly grew into monomanias.

Sophia Charlotte was a strong-willed obstinate woman, always attempting to force her will upon her narrow and furious-tempered husband. While he was slowly and surely, by rigid economy and a careful nurture of his army, laying the foundations of Prussia's aggrandisement, she struggled to promote the same by a diplomatic double marriage of her eldest son and daughter with their cousins in England. The pair, ever at variance, though *au fond* faithful and attached, were surrounded by spies and tale-bearers, whose interest it was to aggravate their differences. It was an unwholesome atmosphere, and early in Wilhelmina's mind were sown seeds of distrust and suspicion, of satire and disbelief, in everybody and everything, which left their mark on an otherwise fine character, and which wretched governesses and waiting ladies harsh and unkind, did nothing to uproot. Their life at Potsdam, she says herself, was "sadly dull;" at table, where the fare was meagre and nasty beyond belief, the dishes hardly going round, nothing was talked of but "economy and soldiers." There were countless manoeuvres to circumvent the father's petty tyrannies. Wilhelmina, ever lively and active, gives an appalling picture of the weary afternoons passed by the Royal Family, who were afraid of speaking above a whisper for fear of disturbing the King's post-prandial slumbers and waking "sleeping-dogs."

All Wilhelmina's girlhood was haunted by the English marriage scheme. When she was fourteen King George himself came on a visit and was agreeably surprised with her, for her appearance had

been calumniated to him. He did not sign the treaty, however; and her father, jubilant over the failure of the Queen's plans, now took Wilhelmina into favour, and she became "his friend as if she was forty," and between her parents was worried into constant ill-health.

Next, Count Seckendorf, emissary of Austria, appeared on the scene to countermine against English influence. To curry favour with the King he brought the latter a present of recruits for his pet hobby the regiment of Giant Grenadiers, all over six feet high. Grümkow, and the Prince of Anhalt Dessau, "old Dessauer," the commander-in-chief, backed up Seckendorf, and party feeling ran high at Court and between the royal pair. By way of making life pleasanter the King became melancholy and serious, addicted to "long preachings." The Calvinistic chaplains got hold of him and tabooed such amusements as had hitherto enlivened the dreary Court routine. He himself had a *divertissement* in the shape of a visit to the court of Saxony with his son. They were entertained magnificently by the superb Augustus, the gypsy fête at Mühlberg alone costing three million dollars.

Meanwhile, poor Wilhelmina was being persecuted at home by her disappointed mother, for new suitors appeared on the *tapis*; the King of Poland came on behalf of his son, and, later, the Duke of Weisenfels and the Margrave of Schwedt. To add to her troubles her darling brother, his wit improved by the visit to the voluptuous Saxon court, began to show signs of kicking over the paternal traces. A grain of comfort was the appearance of her new lady-in-waiting, Mlle. von Sonnfeld, who, from this time, through evil report and good report, in sickness and in health, remained her young mistress's devoted and faithful friend.

When Wilhelmina was twenty the Prince of Wales was again in the ascendant. The Queen wrote secret letters, the Prince replied warmly, and the King was mollified. As for Wilhelmina herself, her ideas on marriage, she tells us, were unworldly. Like all clever girls she wanted a husband she could admire and respect. This she would certainly not have found in the weak dissolute prince whose dog-grel epitaph is his main monument with posterity:

"Here lies Prince Fred,  
Who was alive and is dead.  
Had it been his father,  
I had much rather.  
Had it been his brother,  
Better than another.  
Had it been his sister,  
No one would have missed her.  
Had it been the whole generation,  
Best of all for the nation.  
But since it's only Fred,  
There's no more to be said."

Wilhelmina was torn between her love for her mother, whose displeasure was ever painful to her, and a distasteful marriage. "If you only put up with his debaucheries you will be able to govern him entirely," was the advice of Sophie Charlotte, ever herself trying, unsuccessfully, to rule her husband. Sonnsfeld backed up the Queen, and Wilhelmina might have yielded. But England shilly-shallied once again; the deliberate snub incensed the King, and brought on an attack of gout; the family life became purgatorial. The arrival of a suitor for her younger sister, in the shape of the Margrave of Ansbach, did not improve matters for poor Wilhelmina. Blamed all round for a failure for which she was not answerable, she became ill of a bad fever which merged into small-pox.

During her convalescence one is indeed thankful to read that she enjoyed a period of comparative peace, made delightful by constant visits from her brother; happy days, during which they read much and deeply together, and made music, she on her harpsichord, he on his flute. It was a lull before the storm, and 1730 dawned, the saddest year of Wilhelmina's girlhood.

The King put down his foot. A fourth suitor arose, the Prince of Baireuth. While the Queen stood firm and intrigued with England, her husband tried coercion. Wilhelmina was to have her choice, Baireuth, or the Protestant Prussian equivalent for a nunnery. There were fearful scenes in the Queen's apartments, the enraged and gouty monarch in his wheeled chair hunting his daughter about and striking at her with his crutches.

Meanwhile, the Crown Prince, whose existence had been daily becoming more unbearable, was secretly planning flight with Katte and his other *fides achates*. The King and his son were on a tour in the Rhenish Provinces, and the Queen giving a dance in her apartments, when the bomb burst, but not without warning. There had been omens of evil in the air, Wilhelmina tells us, strange and unexplained noises in the absent Prince's rooms. But she was enjoying herself dancing, however, when suddenly her attention was called to her mother, sitting in tears, crushed by some awful blow. The news had come of the Crown Prince's attempted flight, and that he was arrested, imprisoned, if not shot, and that the King was hieing him home post haste in a terrible wrath. Wilhelmina was in a fearful predicament. Her father, in his fury, insisted on regarding her, and not wholly without reason, as her brother's accessory. Katte, his confidant, a friend, too, of Wilhelmina's, had been arrested, and Keith, another of the Prince's companions, had only saved himself by precipitate flight. What might not happen should Frederick's desk, with its inculcating correspondence with his sister, fall into the paternal hands? In their agony mother and daughter hit upon a dodge. They smuggled the desk into their rooms and sat up all night inditing bogus letters about

anything, everything, with which to replace the compromising epistles and throw dust in the King's eyes. They partially succeeded. But when the King, by the coerced court-martial, the death of Katte, and the imprisonment of the Crown Prince, had somewhat vented his rage, he turned his paternal attentions to Wilhelmina. He was in a fearful condition, "a thunderous tornado," "by night sleepless" (writes the English Ambassador), "raving of ghosts and seldom going to bed sober."

Wilhelmina, adjured by her mother with tears to marry no one but the Prince of Wales, was imprisoned with her faithful Sonnsfeld in the remote upper storey of the Berlin Palace for six long months, with no companionship but her books and music. Throughout that dreary winter, half-starved with horrible food, "reduced to a skeleton," things looked black indeed. All Berlin felt for her. The French Protestant colony brought baskets of delicacies, the sentries winking, and placed them where her maid could pick them up unperceived, thus laying the foundation for the affection and admiration which Wilhelmina afterwards felt for the French. Even theravens fed her like Elijah of old, similarly cowering under a king's wrath. A tame raven, which had lost its way among the intricate roofs, came one day, and tapping at the window deposited a crust of bread.

Wilhelmina had been reading in her Roman histories that these were birds of good omen, and indeed the clouds began to lift. The Crown Prince obtained a certain circumscribed liberty, and got back his "most innocent princess," his flute. In May, to Wilhelmina came Grümkow, with an ultimatum. England was to be snubbed, once and for all. Wilhelmina was to marry the Prince of Baireuth, and receive as a reward her brother's liberation.

For such a price Wilhelmina was ready to brave her mother's wrath. She accepted the terms, had an affecting meeting with her old bear of a father, and an unpleasant one with her mother, culminating in one of her usual fainting fits, and the Queen fell ill of chagrin and accused Wilhelmina of killing her. But the die was cast, though the Queen never thoroughly forgave or forgot.

Frederick, however, wrote gratefully and affectionately

"That never brother in the whole world loved with such tenderness a sister so charming as mine; in short, believe, dear sister, that, without compliments, and in literal truth, I am yours wholly, *tout à vous*, FREDERICK."

And again :

"The liberty of writing to you which is the one solacement which I have in your absence. . . . Here, I repeat how much I love you, and with what respect and sincere veneration I am and shall be till death, my dearest sister, your most humble and faithful brother and valet, FREDERICK."

To Grümkow, the Chamberlain, he writes :

"I love her more than my life. If I go travelling I hope to have the consolation of seeing her for two or three weeks, and for all my obedience to the King surely I shall deserve that recompense."

A fortnight later, one night, Prince Henry suddenly arrived for the betrothal. The next morning, at one of the King's constantly-recurring and matutinal reviews, a well-looking young man of good manners is brought up to the carriage, and Wilhelmina, worn from a sleepless night due to her mother's scoldings and want of food, faints right away at sight of him.

Though Wilhelmina soon found out that she might have done much worse, and realised the intrinsic worth of her kindly, honest, if not brilliant, betrothed, the six months of the engagement were not wholly happy. But though the Prince generously gave her the option of breaking off a contract with a man she had never seen, Wilhelmina had no wish to go back from her word. Yet there were ceaseless unpleasantnesses with her mother, when the King of England, too late, gave way. There were the jealousies of her coquettish sister Charlotte, and bullyings by the King, who tried to make a fool of the Prince at his *Tabagie*, or Tobacco Parliament, when he and his councillors were wont to sit on three-legged stools, smoking long pipes and discussing affairs of state. But Prince Henry declined to be made either drunk or a fool of; and when the King questioned him as to his education, if he knew the sciences, history, mathematics, &c., &c., replied respectfully, "Yes, and I know my catechism, too!" Further, he distinguished himself in shooting, which pleased the King, who, as a mark of great favour, gave him command of a regiment. When he left to join it the young couple exchanged love tokens, breaking a cake in the shape of a heart, each "sweetheart" keeping a piece. Wilhelmina, separated from her love, passed a melancholy wet autumn at the shooting castle of Wüsterhausen, a gloomy "house in the desert," where bears with their fore paws cut off, waddling about on their hind legs, served as watch-dogs. People tried to make mischief between the lovers; there was an intentional juggling with their rings; the King was very mean over the marriage treaty, and Wilhelmina was to give up many claims and receive only promises of cash in return. So hard were the conditions that the match was likely to be broken off, had not Wilhelmina stood firm, for she was really in love with her Prince now.

At last came the marriage day, November 20, 1731. The "sister of Ansbach" and other distinguished relations had arrived, and the magnificent festivities we have already alluded to began.

Wilhelmina's personal appearance she herself describes for us: "a train twelve yards long of cloth of silver with Spanish gold lace,

and hair, by the Queen's especial order, in twenty-four curls the size of your arm, but it went all wrong by dint of overdressing, and hung over one's ears like a boy's." Then there followed the Benediction in the grandest of the Grand Saloons, the Fackeltanz, or torch-light procession in due order of precedence, such as still takes place at Royal weddings at Berlin, and the great event of Wilhelmina's life was over.

The King, as we have seen, was as good as his word. The Crown Prince, at liberty once more, burst upon his sister's delighted eyes at her wedding festivities, but changed and chilled by the fire he had passed through. For the rest of his life it is Wilhelmina, and Wilhelmina alone, who can kindle any spark of love and unselfishness in him.

The young couple remained two months in Berlin after their marriage. They were two months of much unpleasantness over the marriage treaty, gossip and slander abounded, as did also financial difficulties. Wilhelmina and Henry's only happiness was in themselves; but that was great. On Twelfth Night 1732 she left her old home. Her suite consisted of the faithful Sonnfeld and the latter's niece, an interesting girl of fourteen, niece also of General von Marwitz, who, in an evil hour for herself, as after years proved, Wilhelmina begged might be spared to go with her. She was thankful to leave Berlin. Hope springs eternal in the heart at twenty-two, and poor Wilhelmina flattered herself that, "renouncing grandeurs, she might lead a soft and tranquil life in her new home, and begin a happier year than the one which had just ended." She parted with the author of all the unhappiness of her past life in floods of mutual tears, and a shower of fair words as regarded income and allowances, but the Queen remained obdurate.

The journey from Berlin to Baireuth occupied nearly a fortnight, and the route lay first across the dreary plains of Prussia, then deep in midwinter snow. The two travelling carriages soon met with an accident over the bad roads prevalent in the eighteenth century. Wilhelmina, however, was none the worse for her upset, and became interested in this her first sight of the world beyond her father's frontiers. She had wished to spend the delay necessitated by the accident at the famous fair of Leipzig, but was disappointed to find they had arrived a day too late for the fair.

Beyond Leipzig the scenery changed, and for the first time the young Hereditary Princess set eyes on mountains, the modest heights of the Thuringian Forest and the Fichtel Gebirge, indeed, but now capped with winter snow. The sight depressed her. Wilhelmina belonged to a century which was as yet blind to the beauty of the grandeurs of nature. At Hof the pair entered their own Margravate, and were received by Von Reitzenstein and a deputation of native magnates. But Bavaria was then, as now, the Boecia of Southern

Germany, and Wilhelmina waxes satirical over her first introduction to her new subjects—their costumes, their dialect, the ruff of the clergy, the head-dresses of the ladies, “like a Noah’s Ark.” At Hof they rested a Sunday, entertained by a long banquet and edified by an equally long sermon, both in their honour, then on to Gefres, where the Margrave George William met them. The old gentleman, pomposity itself, was so anxious to do due honour to his august daughter-in-law that he nearly made her ill by keeping her standing for over an hour listening to his conversation.

The principalities of Baireuth, Ansbach, and Culenbach, part of the cradle of the Hohenzollern race, whence Albert, Burggrave of Nürnberg in the fifteenth century emerged to acquire Brandenburg and East Prussia, were sometimes merged under one head, and sometimes, as at that present time, under separate, but closely related rulers. The capital of the Baireuth Margravate lies on the upper waters of the Red Main, below the fir-clad heights of the Hohenwarte. All around lie dark wooded hills, the Volsbach and Luidenhardt forests to the west, the Sophienberg and the Kulenberg to the east, and, beyond, the Fichtelgebirge with the Oschenskopf and the Schneekopf. The town that Wilhelmina entered was comparatively modern, for fire and siege and sack, the Hussite, and Wallenstein, had dealt hardly with Baireuth, which had been almost entirely burnt down a hundred years before. The Margrave Christian Ernst, Field-Marshal of the Empire, who had helped to beat back the Turks from Vienna, and whom the modern tourist beholds caricoling in stone on a prostrate infidel, in front of the *Neues Schloss*, his black dwarf at his side, moved his capital from Culenbach to Baireuth in the seventeenth century, built the Government offices, founded the college, and completed the Stadt Church, with its family vault. Of the old Castle, which was to be Wilhelmina’s home, it is difficult now to form an idea, for it suffered considerably in the fire of 1753, and its octagonal lantern tower is no longer accessible. It stands in the middle of the town, the Margraval residence since 1454, overlooking the Maximilian Platz and surrounded by high-pitched roofs and overhauling gables. Internally, Wilhelmina found it in a most deplorable condition. No preparations had been made for her; the furniture of her apartments was shabby, the hangings in rags. It was a melancholy home-coming for the young bride; there was all the difference in the world between the voluntary parsimony of a wealthy court like that of Berlin, and the poverty and provincialism of that of Baireuth. Nor was her new domestic circle more prepossessing. The Margrave was gouty, intemperate, and overbearing, while eaten up with debts and difficulties. One of his daughters was lovely, but imbecile; the other, domineering and jealous of her new sister-in-law. To the home-coming festivities speedily succeeded family fights. Things

got to such a pitch that Sonnsfeld's dismissal was threatened, so we may conjecture that the faithful one backed up her mistress, who gradually gained the ascendant, and the sister-in-law took herself off to relations in the north to get married. Wilhelmina's health, now specially precarious, suffered much in the struggle, and her first few months at Baireuth were anything but pleasant. Between the niggardliness of one parent and the poverty of the other, the young couple hardly had a florin to call their own, and life was one long financial struggle. Intrigue and scandal permeated the Court. These princelets of the eighteenth century suffered from too little to do, and crippled themselves by attempts to imitate the *grand monarque* and his magnificent life at Versailles. Such an attempt were the St. George's Day *fêtes* at the Brandenburg Palace in honour of the Margrave's newly-founded Order of the Knights of Sincerity, a virtue, indeed, in much need of cultivation at the Court of Baireuth. The Brandenburg Palace still exists, the long linden-shaded avenue to it is still called the *Margraf's allée*, and the church of St. George, the chapter house of the knights, whose rusty armour adorns the balustrade of the choir. But the lake and the gardens where the *fêtes* and the illuminations which Wilhelmina describes are drained and deserted.

Her health did not improve, and rumours of it reached her father. The old bear actually wrote kindly and anxiously about her; and Wilhelmina, goaded by the bickerings with her father-in-law, jealous of her strong character and of her interference in State affairs, made up her mind to return to Berlin. But there was no money for travelling expenses; moreover, in view of her approaching confinement, the doctors forbade the journey. Wilhelmina had to content herself with a change to Himmelscron, an old abbey among the hills, ten miles to the north-east, which the Margrave was ever improving and beautifying. The Abbey of Himmelscron was the place to which the notorious Countess Orlamünde retired, and where she is buried. The "White Lady of Hohenzollern," who is supposed to "walk" in all the Hohenzollern palaces and presage death in the family, murdered all her children in her attempt to gain the affections of Albert the Handsome of Brandenburg. Her portrait, which still hangs in the New Castle at Baireuth, is quite repellent enough to account for her want of success with the good-looking Margrave. At Himmelscron, Wilhelmina passed a peaceful time, reading, and trying to educate Mdlla. von Marwitz, who was clever, but ill-informed, and then the Court moved on in the heat of summer to the country house of the Hermitage, two miles from Baireuth, among the rolling wooded country to the east. In this charming spot, for ever associated with Wilhelmina's memory, and with which even at this early stage she seems to have done as she liked, the Hereditary Princess



set to work with delight, preparing for her father's promised visit.

After all, there appears to have been some natural affection at the bottom of Frederick William's eccentric nature. Perhaps the accounts he had received of the health of the daughter he had so bullied, raised some remorse, for he proffered Wilhelmina three days' call on his way back from his visit to the Emperor at Prague. The Margrave and his son were away shooting bears on the Bohemian frontier, and Wilhelmina had much ado to get the Hermitage ready for such a party of guests. For the Margravine of Ansbach and her husband had received the paternal orders to meet him at Baireuth, and there was, as usual, much unpleasantness between the sisters. The King arrived, happily in the best of tempers with Wilhelmina, snubbed the Ansbachs, and even the old Margrave himself, but was delighted "to find all things as if I were at Potsdam; my wooden stools, my tub to wash in—a good girl, thou must take care of thyself, my child." All the same he knocked her up dreadfully by insisting on her showing him all over the grounds with their fountains and fancies, and especially the Tabagie, with the wooden stools such as he loved which she had arranged for him in a grotto. Before he left, the King lectured the Margrave on his extravagance, suggested that the Prince should assist him more in his affairs, and offered the loan of a financier from Berlin, for all of which well meant, but unpalatable advice, poor Wilhelmina had to pay dearly when his back was turned.

On August 31, 1732, Wilhelmina's only child, a daughter, was born at Baireuth.

"It would be difficult for me, my very dear sister," writes Frederick, "to describe to you the lively joy I felt when I received the news of your safe delivery. Without expressing myself I have dreaded this crisis, which was to decide the happiness or the misfortune of my life. The good God be praised that He has delivered you out of such a danger and that He gives my life back to me, in that He has given it back to you! I am more than satisfied, and cannot testify you sufficient gratitude for the favour you show me in choosing me as sponsor to my dear little niece. You could have chosen no one who has more respect and devotion for the mother, or more friendship for the daughter, who is all precious to me because she comes from you and belongs to you. You may be assured, my very faithful sister, that I have suffered, as one can only suffer in this world, for fourteen days, during which I hovered between fear and hope, of losing or retaining the sweetest and most tender love, for which I would give my blood and life. . . . The King . . . wishes to compel me to love my betrothed, and I much fear that he will not succeed: my heart will not be forced; if it loves, it loves straightforwardly, and if it does not love, it disdains to deceive. Therefore, my sister, most worthy of worship, will I not attempt to give you sign of its faithful inclination, for I live only for you and await with the greatest impatience possible the moment when, after an absence of nearly three years, I shall have the happiness and the joy of seeing you again, of laying myself at your feet, and of

repeating to you that no one can have for you more respect, and tender inclination than your most devoted, obedient and faithful brother and servant, FREDERICK."

It might be hoped that the Princess would now enjoy a little time of such peace and happiness as usually falls to young mothers with their first baby. But no sooner was the christening, with its accompanying squabbles about precedence, over, than Prince Henry, by the King's command, had to rejoin his regiment in Prussia, leaving his wife to follow when her health permitted. But first she paid a return visit to her sister's home at Ansbach, just a hundred years later the scene of the strange Caspar Hausen's mysterious death. The castle of the Margraves on the Rizat remains much the same as when Wilhelmina was its guest, the fine park with the old trees, the orangery, the suite of Prince's chambers, the Order chapel of the Swan Knights, with their banners in the church of St. Gumbert. Wilhelmina went home *via* Erlanger, a pretty shooting castle of the Baireuth Margraves in Franconian Switzerland. The town had been burnt down shortly before, and was now being practically rebuilt by a colony of French Protestant refugees the Margrave had sheltered there. Wilhelmina took a fancy to the place, and, perhaps in memory of the kindness of their countrymen at Berlin to her during her imprisonment, in years to come founded a university at Erlanger.

Leaving her baby at Baireuth with Sonnsfeld, and paying a passing visit to Coburg, Wilhelmina rejoined her husband at Berlin in November. Back from the forest-clad hills, the rushing rivers, and green valleys of Bavaria to the plains of Prussia, only to find herself out of the frying-pan into the fire! The "happy family" at Berlin were for ever quarrelling as before, uniting only to taunt their unhappy daughter with her poverty and altered looks, and to snub Prince Henry, whose rare intervals of leave from his regiment were his wife's only comfort. Court life was dull and dreary in the extreme, and Wilhelmina complains bitterly of the noise just outside the palace, caused by the King's incessant drilling his troops at all hours of the morning. The Prince became ill, and Wilhelmina, exasperated by her mother's harshness, actually planned a flight to England. But, as usual, the sinews of war were wanting. There was no financial help to be got either at Berlin or Baireuth. The only hope was that the old Margrave would speedily drink himself to death.

The one bright side of this Berlin visit was the intercourse with her brother, and his renewed affection for, and confidence in her. Frederick had just accepted the inevitable in the shape of marriage with Elizabeth of Brunswick Bevern, whom he professed to detest. To his sister alone did he speak his heart. It was to her, not present at the wedding, he writes in hot haste :

"Satzdahlum, noon, 12th June 33. My dear sister. A minute since the whole ceremony was got finished, and God be praised that it is over. I hope you will take it as a mark of my friendship that I give you the first news of it. I hope I shall have the honour of seeing you again soon, and to assure you, my dear sister, that I am *tout a vous*. I write in great haste, and add nothing that is formal. Adieu, FREDERICK."

To this sister, Frederick, at Potsdam, on introducing his *gauche* young hoydenish wife, confided her to learn tact and *savoir vivre*. Great festivities followed the marriage, "all Berlin ruining itself in equipages," but Wilhelmina found the reviews under the flaming June skies wearisome and the theatres dull.

In September she was back again at Baireuth, after an absence of nine months, to find, of course, little Frederica, now a year old, much grown. There is a strange absence in Wilhelmina's memoirs of any reference to her child, except as regards plans for her marriage. We are grateful for the above remark, the only touch of natural feeling. But it was a stiff and stilted age; her own training had not been of the nature to encourage devoted maternal affection, or expansiveness of feeling. As Carlyle puts it, "She knew how to be patient and to veil many things." We must also remember, too, that it was to avoid a separation from her husband, ordered away on military duty, that Wilhelmina had left for so long a child too young to bear the long carriage journey in midwinter.

While the war of the Polish succession raged without there now followed for Wilhelmina a period of tranquility, which she devoted to study, but which was broken by the ill-health which ever dogged her footsteps. Was it the result of the unhealthy training of her youth, the poor food, the want of exercise, the imprisonment? Or was it the fashion of an age of fainting-fits, when delicacy was thought to be the proper thing for a woman? Years later Voltaire wrote to her: "Madame, songez surtout à votre santé. C'est là ce qu'il vous faut souhaiter. La beauté, la grandeur, l'esprit, le desir de plaire, tout est perdu quand on digère mal. C'est l'estomac qui fait les heureux." And again: "Votre Altesse Royale et le Roi votre frère sont, je crois, les princes de la terre les mieux partagé en esprit et le plus mal en estomacs. Il faut que tout soit compensé."

Into this quiet life burst two thunderbolts. The first was the death in Holland of Prince Henry's youngest brother; he was no great loss, but it was accompanied by sinister omens. When the Prince's vault in the town church was opened to receive his body it was discovered to be full of blood! The superstitious were filled with alarm, but the blood turned out to be only the red balsam used to embalm some deceased Margravine, and which had oozed out of her coffin.

The second thunderbolt was of a livelier nature. The besotted old Margrave had fallen in love with Madame von Sonnsfeld's sister Flora, a lady of a certain, or rather uncertain, age, and was bent

upon marrying her! All persuasion and remonstrance with him proving in vain, Prince Henry and Wilhelmina tried their utmost with the lady, but at first without result. Meanwhile Wilhelmina, better in health, and stirred up by the Berlin festivities, launched out into a masque ball. But she had reckoned without the clergy and Franconian hearts, of which she writes that they "much resemble the rocks among which they beat." Her dissipations were preached at from the pulpit, and disapproved of by the Margrave, who to his other vices added that of cant.

To Wilhelmina, whose keenness and energy were inexhaustible, though the sword was too sharp for the scabbard, turned to riding and shooting for amusement, to the horror of the good people of Baireuth, whose terror evoked stories of supernatural apparitions to scare their Princess from such alarming pursuits. Underneath all this frivolity, however, a real anxiety was preying upon Wilhelmina's mind. Her father and her brother were just off to join the army on the Rhine, and Prince Henry, much against his father's and wife's wishes, but egged on at Berlin, was pining to be with them. Added to this, a recruiting difficulty upset the harmony between the two Courts. An agent of the King's had actually kidnapped some giant subjects of Baireuth for the famous Grenadier Regiment, and was clapped awhile into prison by the enraged Margrave.

A little interlude of matchmaking afforded Wilhelmina some distraction. A brother of the neighbouring Duke of Coburg came on one of those sort of dine-and-sleep little visits with which these petty potentates beguiled the tedium of their monotonous existences. Not too wise himself, a spirit of mischief prompted Wilhelmina to betroth him *volens volens* to her pretty imbecile sister-in-law. She gives a most amusing description of the scenes in which she entrapped the Duke into proposing, of the betrothal, of his endeavours to get out of it, and finally of the marriage, when she had nearly as much trouble with the bride as with the bridegroom, for the former went into such paroxysms that they could hardly dress her.

On June 29, straight from a ball at Montbijou, the Crown Prince and his generals started to join the army on the Rhine, with distinct paternal orders not to dawdle with his sisters at Baireuth or Ansbach, though both places lay on the direct route. But the temptation to meet was tremendous, and Frederick and Wilhelmina concocted a plan for a *rendezvous* at Berneck, twelve miles from Baireuth, in the Fichtelgebirge. She herself gives a graphic description of how she started one sultry Friday morning and waited vainly at Berneck for him till the afternoon. Instead of Frederick came a "fearful thunderstorm, which reverberated among the rocky gorge" in which Berneck lies, followed by a deluge of rain. Wilhelmina, who did, as we know, not appreciate mountain scenery, grew much alarmed.

Messengers bringing no news of the missing Prince, her husband started in search of him. By evening neither had returned, and the excitable Wilhelmina imagined all sorts of disasters in this dangerous country! Late at night came a message that the Crown Prince, delayed by the loss of a wheel, had changed his route, and was to be found at Calenbach, in a palace of the Margrave's, twenty miles off, by fearful roads through gorges of the angry and swollen White Main. Wilhelmina, nothing daunted, was for making for him there. But she was persuaded to turn off to Himmelscron, where her husband joined her at dawn. Finally, the fatiguing wild-goose chase came to an end, and the longed-for meeting actually took place at the Brandenburger, which, being outside Baireuth, enabled Frederick to obey the paternal command in the letter, if not in the spirit. At the house by the lake the brother and sister met. "He overwhelmed me with caresses, but found me in so pitiable a state that he could not restrain his tears. I was not able to stand upon my limbs, and felt like to faint every moment, so weak was I." Poor Wilhelmina! worn out with her journey and many anxieties! The Crown Prince brought word that the King was annoyed with Prince Henry for not joining the army on the Rhine, but offered himself to write to induce the Margrave to consent to his doing so, and Prince Henry joining in, "entreated my brother to get him away from Baireuth." Frederick then hurried off again. "It was the last time I saw him on the old footing," writes Wilhelmina. "He has much changed since then." But he wrote kindly next day from Nüremberg, recommending goat's milk to his "*incomparable et très chère sœur.*"

In August Prince Henry got his way and went off to the war, where he had a narrow escape of being shot, which is doubtless somewhat magnified in his wife's Memoirs, and also met with sundry unpleasantnesses with the other royalties in camp. Meanwhile his wife had a dull and anxious time at Himmelscron, which the infatuated old Margrave was busy preparing for his marriage. Thanks, however, to her sister's influence, Flora von Sonnsfeld did not give way to him. She dallied and demurred successfully, and put off the happy day till death claimed the bridegroom first.

When the war was over, Frederick came to see his sister again on his way back. But she found him seriously altered, preoccupied, and patronising. The King had fallen ill, his malady evidently mortal, and Frederick was full of future plans of how he should govern, and was especially frank in telling his sister how he should treat his mother with all honour but would brook no interference from her. Then he turned to Wilhelmina with advice about her future when her "*old benoit* of a father-in-law was dead." He suggested that they should break up their expensive little Court, and live as private

folk, with fewer people and a meagre table, like that of her childhood, and promised her an occasional visit to Berlin and a present of 100,000 thalers. This was too much for Wilhelmina, whose ideas were on a far different scale. She melted into tears of sorrow and chagrin, and Frederick had to dry them by suggesting some of those flute and harpsichord duets which had been the delight of their earlier days.

EDITH E. CUTHELL.

## GAME PRESERVATION

## AND ITS RELATION TO THE PROTECTION OF BIRDS.

THE ordinary sportsman cares little about the ethical question connected with the preservation of game: he wants his pleasure, and it never enters his head that the means by which he obtains his pleasure may be other than right. The humanitarian, however, roundly condemns the preservation of game, and indeed all sport, so far as the word is applied to those pastimes which involve the slaying of any animal, as immoral. Neither view is quite fair, though both parties have good arguments. We must go to the humane sportsman or the scientific humanitarian if we wish to get a broad-minded view of the rights and wrongs of sport, or, to be more particular, of the wisdom of preserving a particular species for sporting purposes.

We are all hereditary sportsmen. From those far distant ancestors who had to hunt or starve we have inherited this love of the chase. In spite of advanced civilisation we are still children of the savage, or rather, following the teaching of the recapitulation theory, each of us is born into this world a primeval savage. Cruelty is natural to the child until it is taught better: therefore, being unconscious, it can hardly be called cruelty. Innocent thoughtlessness, and maybe a striving after knowledge and sensation, prompts the infant to "pull the pussy's tail to make it yowl for fun," or to rip the legs and wings from the fly upon the window pane. After the child has been reprov'd and has learnt what pain is, it may become cruel, repeating the experiments in private and delighting in the struggles of its victim: but once this larger knowledge has been obtained the whole question becomes different; it is then more a subject of thought for the theologian and psychologist. The habits of the domestic dog and cat provide a parallel, but we must consider these habits under domestication in relation to the habits of their allies in a wild state. The main object of killing in wild animals of the dog tribe and in the larger cats is to obtain food; but the lust for blood has grown, and most wild creatures of predatory habits will slay far more than they require to satisfy their appetites: it becomes part of their life to kill any creature that they usually feed upon, and no doubt the habit is of use in keeping them in practice. Domestication has not entirely destroyed this hunting

spirit, though certain debased varieties of dogs and cats have, through ages of pandering, become lethargic and effete. The sporting dog, however, though retaining the hunting spirit, has lost all desire to feed upon his prey, and in certain classes man has even eliminated the desire to kill the prey; well-trained setters and pointers hunt for the game, but leave the killing to their master. The cat, on the other hand, is only on rare occasions trained to hunt for man: its natural inclination is to destroy, and it hunts for its own pleasure. It has not lost the desire for warm blood, and however well fed it may be, will generally eat a portion of its kill. Most of the play of puppies and kittens is a "make-belief" of sport: in these youngsters the mock hunt is far more marked than the mock sexual fight or amour.

We men are but domesticated wild animals: we do not kill for our daily needs, but we have not lost the hunting spirit; the little boy who stones a cat or bird or hammers a toad to death is only giving freedom to his savage inclinations. Let us not judge him harshly, but deliver to him a salutary moral lesson with a stick. "Much teaching," said Canon Lyttelton, "is needed to make children learn what cruelty means, and sometimes a practical application of the *lex talionis* is necessary."

The humane sportsman, if asked for arguments in favour of his pastime, will tell us that exercise in the open air, the necessary sharpening of the wits, and the pitting of knowledge and power against the inborn wariness of wild creatures, is health giving and exhilarating. He is quite right. Much as many of us deplore the massacre of wild animals, we feel that were the sports of the chase to lose all hold upon our countrymen, Britons would also lose much of that grit and energy which in the past built up the Empire. The real sportsman must be a man of untiring zeal and energy, a man of muscle and yet of brain. Out-door sports, unless indulged in to excess, are healthy; those savage ancestors of ours built up a race of men with iron muscles, inured to hardships, and, so far as venery was concerned, with brains superior to the creatures they hunted. They were bound to be strong and active, keen-witted and cunning; if they were not, they either starved or were slain by the more powerful members of the brute creation.

The true sportsman is a good shot, if shooting be his hobby; he hates to wound and not kill clean. He is not usually keen about a drive, but likes to tramp the turnips or the covert; he loves to watch dogs working well, and insists that birds shall be found and picked up as soon as shot. He will fire his second barrel to stop a cripple, rather than leave a wounded runner while he lets fly at another bird. Often he is something of a naturalist, and even watches the habits of birds and animals which he meets with, and which are not included in the game-list. Not infrequently he



evolves into the naturalist proper, putting his gun away and taking to the field-glass. Some of our best ornithologists have once been keen sportsmen, and even now thoroughly enjoy a day's shooting.

Unfortunately there is an entirely different class of sportsmen. Many of them are town-bred men who have no real love of the country; they rent an estate and shoot over it at the proper time because it is the proper thing to do; they care nothing about the birds and animals they slay; their only desire is to make a big bag. At the recent meeting of the Society for the Protection of Birds, Mr. Bosworth Smith compared the two kinds of sportsmen when considering the destruction of birds of prey. I quote from the report. "He would plead for the preservation, within reasonable limits, of every bird of prey, and especially of the crow tribe. As a rule it was not the great landowner who was so much to blame, except in the matter of that culpable *laissez faire* which led him to put a gun into the hand of his keeper without instructing him as to what he might and what he might not kill with it. The British landowner was, as a rule, pleased to see a rare bird in his grounds, if he possessed a heronry it was the crowning glory of his park, and he tolerated the otter in his osier beds, and the badger in his sand hills. The arch enemy of wild birds was the non-resident shooting tenant, and worse still, the syndicate—hateful word and hateful thing—of shooting tenants. The shooting tenant had hardly any bowels of compassion: the syndicate had none at all. They valued the land chiefly or wholly according to the number of head of game; and dividing the entire animal world into game and vermin, bade the gamekeeper, in the words of King Lear, 'kill, kill, kill.'"

The shooting tenant invites large parties down for his "big day"; many of his guests are unskilled men who blaze away and maim but seldom kill; they snatch the gun from their loader, fire off both barrels, and take another, while round them lie, not the slain, but the wounded struggling victims of their slipshod shots, if we can use such a term. Then when the drive is over, the puffed-up host strides amongst the rows of slain like a Mohammedan conqueror after a victory. Sport has become massacre; the man is but a butcher, and deserves the chastisement that we mete to the lad that slays the harmless toad. How different this man from one of the greatest sportsmen of the day, President Roosevelt, who declares: "I love hunting still, but slaughter is abhorrent to me."

The whole question of the right and wrong of game preservation turns on the attitude of the game preserver towards the animal world, as Mr. Smith said: if he regards everything but his pet game birds as vermin, the man is in the wrong and is not fit to be classed alongside those true sportsmen who, like the President, "love the wilderness."

Game preservation, the artificial protection afforded to certain

species of wild animals, is looked upon askance by many naturalists: but they only consider one side of the question—the destruction of vermin. In order to provide a plentiful head of game it is necessary to hedge the favoured bird or mammal round with safeguards, to give it seclusion and security from its natural enemies, to protect it from those circumstances which under ordinary conditions would reduce its numbers to the limits allowed by the balance of nature. Perhaps we can take no better example than the pheasant, though almost any game bird or animal would do as well. The pheasant can only be considered as an introduced species, though the true *P. colchicus* is supposed to have come to England prior to the Conquest. When a species is introduced into a new locality and left to itself, it seldom if ever finds a groove ready for it; therefore, if food is plentiful and enemies scarce, it increases abnormally in numbers; if circumstances are against it, it rapidly falls out of the race and becomes extinct. The rabbit in Australia is the best known example of a too successful colonisation, the attempted introduction of certain American game birds an illustration of species in unfavourable environments. If, to-day, all restrictions which fence the pheasant round were removed, would the bird manage to exist? We cannot say, for the old English pheasant had few game laws to protect it, and many enemies, and still it held its own; the ring-necked *P. torquatus* has come into a land ready for it, with carnivorous animals and birds almost scourged off the face of the country, with coverts and thick woods provided for its shelter, and with an army of men ready to fight, and even lose their lives in its service. It is almost a certainty that hand-reared birds could not exist in a wholly unpreserved district, even if the coverts were allowed to remain.

Now these woods and pheasant coverts, provided for the accommodation of the sainted bird, are important factors in the domestic economy of many other species of birds; and more even than that, they give a certain amount of encouragement and security to the very vermin which the gamekeeper desires to destroy. The little perching birds, especially the finches and warblers, doing no harm to game and not being worth the trouble of shooting, are tolerated rather than encouraged; but they certainly derive great benefit from the keeper-protected woods and from the destruction of the larger birds of prey. A good pheasant country is also a first-rate place for many of the rarer singing birds. This the naturalist should take into consideration. The unreasoning gamekeeper spends a great deal of his master's time and money in protecting these small birds, and in nursing in his bosom his own greatest enemy—the brown rat. A very large proportion of the massacred "vermin" feed almost entirely upon small birds and mammals; kites, kestrels, owls, hobbies, buzzards, and many others, are but

exceptional robbers of game, if, indeed, they ever take any; while some of these—the owls in particular—devote the whole of their lives to hunting mice and rats. I have examined hundreds of cast-up pellets of the barn owl, and though I have found occasional skulls of robins, tits and finches, the only bird which seems to be destroyed in any numbers is that universally hated—I mean by the farmer—bird, the house sparrow. All these birds which I have mentioned are classed as vermin by a large number of keepers; some of them have been driven away entirely from many districts. Even the undoubted game robbers, such as the merlin, eagle, peregrine, raven, crow and sparrow-hawk, really kill far more birds in which the game preserver takes no interest than his own special pets. Thus we see that the destruction of predatory birds undoubtedly helps the increase of those birds which are preyed upon. At the same time the scientific naturalist knows well that any interference with the balance of nature is the cause of trouble; species depends upon species in such a complicated manner that the ultimate result of the destruction of even a single checking influence is beyond all calculation. The increase of one harmless species may result, through the consequent drain on food supplies, in the destruction of many other creatures or plants on which again other species were depending. The balance of nature is not to be tampered with.

The same thing applies to grouse moors, to deer forests, to trout streams; the game preserver supplies a sanctuary for many innocent creatures, and destroys their natural enemies so that they can increase abundantly. He also supplies food and security for such inveterate foes of man as the house sparrows and rat, both of which, if left to themselves in the ordinary way, would be kept in check by their natural enemies; both of which in moderation would be useful members of society. It is only when a species oversteps the bounds of its natural limits that it becomes a trouble.

Many game preservers will make exception to my mentioning the sparrow-hawk as a bird about which there can be any good. Let me quote Lord Lilford, at once a great naturalist and a keen sportsman.

The extract is from a letter to Canon Tristram: "The sparrow-hawk does good service by taking hard-billed birds, as *Passer impudicus* (Mihi), *Damnabilis* (Irby), *Papisticus* (Tristram), *Sanguineus* (agricolæ), and other grain-devourers." In the same way we can show that even the most inveterate game destroyer, so long as its numbers do not increase inordinately, is useful in some way in keeping in check other animals which would become a nuisance if allowed to multiply.

All the arts and cunning of the game preserver have failed to subdue the magpie and jay. In some places, certainly, the magpie

has become almost extinct, though it is not safe to put this down entirely to the keeper's gun and trap; but the jay defies persecution, and I know large estates, where on the keeper's gibbet hang a ghastly row of mouldering jays, through which one cannot walk half a mile without seeing or hearing a score of these garrulous birds. Only a day or two since I was on a "shoot" where poison has been used with terrible effect, jays and magpies having been slain wholesale, and yet both birds were breeding freely in the woods. It is not fair to blame the game preserver for the destruction of the true crows—ravens, hoodies, carrions, rooks, and jackdaws. The last two birds, indeed, are very far from being extinct, for a sentimental feeling in their favour gives them protection even on game preserves, and most people admit that the good they do more than outweighs the damage to game. There is little, however, to be said in favour of the raven, grand bird though it is; the shepherd has reason to hate it, and the bird suffers even more on the sheep runs than on the preserves. Every man's hand, too, is against the carrion and the hoodie, for these birds rob the farm-yard, the preserve, and everywhere else, of any eggs or young birds that they can find; but the natural cunning of the *Corvidæ* enables them to battle against adverse circumstances, and both species are common.

Strict game preservation serves one most useful purpose in the eyes of all who desire to see our rarer wild birds protected; it is a great check on that worst enemy of our disappearing avifauna, the collector. There are, I regret to say, a large number of gamekeepers who shoot rare birds in order to sell them to collectors, but there are also many estates so carefully preserved that the collector or his agent, the dealer, can find no means of getting at the keeper. There are also a large number of landowners, especially in Scotland, who take pride in the rare birds which breed upon their estates. Where would the osprey and golden eagle, the kite and the great skua be to-day if they did not receive this benignant protection? We are too prone to blame game preservation for the destruction of rare birds, and the men who blame the game preserver most are often the men who are most guilty. The collector raves about the scarcity of certain birds, and all the time, by offering big prices for British-taken birds and eggs, he is encouraging the dealer to hunt out the last refuges of the unfortunates. "One or two specimens for my collection, a clutch or two of eggs," he argues, "will make no difference;" and he has an even more reprehensible excuse—"the species is now so near extinction that it is too late to save it."

Let all ornithologists and "lovers of the wildernesses" be fair; let them not wrestle with the mote while the beam is blinding them. The sportsman will often listen to argument, and will, even when it means a diminution of his head of game, give protection to wild birds; but the collector, who is very seldom a true naturalist, though

he pretends to listen and argue in favour of the birds, is at heart a hypocrite, and only wants the birds to be saved in order that he may fill his miserly cabinets. Collections of birds and eggs, and indeed of any natural history specimens, are of great value in museums and in private hands if they are accumulated for the sake of honest scientific work; but, although almost every collector deludes himself with the idea that he is a scientist, it is a rare exception to find a private collector who puts his collections to any useful purpose. Most honest scientific workers, though they collect while they are engaged upon any particular branch of natural history, either at once hand their specimens over to some public museum, or leave them to some society or institution where they know they will be of use to other workers, and where any one is at liberty to check their work. The true scientist is never selfish; his aim is to spread knowledge, to get at the truth. The collector is always selfish; he wants to obtain and to hoard specimens which others have not got; he is nothing more nor less than a selfish miser.

I have tried to state fairly the arguments for and against game preservation. Although not myself a sportsman, and having more sympathy for the hunted than the hunter, I am not blind to the fact that many sportsmen are far more generous-minded, respectable members of society than the pretended scientific collectors. The aim of the scientist, especially where he is interested in the preservation of rare animals and plants, for almost all the arguments apply to botany as well, should be to enlist the sympathies of the land-owners and game preservers, rather than to make them his enemies by calling them hard names. Several prominent members of the Society for the Protection of Birds have recently admitted that they have been very fairly met when submitting their views to the owners of large estates, and that much benefit has thereby resulted to the rare birds. The whole system of game preservation, with all its faults and shortcomings, has provided sanctuaries for wild creatures throughout the length and breadth of the land; and the fact that many laws in favour of birds have been passed by our Houses of Parliament within the last thirty years is decidedly encouraging, for we must remember that there are many more sportsmen than naturalists amongst our legislators. What we ask from the sportsman is that he will recognise that there are a great number of people as keenly interested in "vermin" as he is in game; that he will do away with the cruel and indiscriminating poletrap; and that he will instruct his keepers as to what they shall kill and what they shall spare. We will ask him further to prosecute with the utmost rigour of the law every unscrupulous collector that he catches upon his preserves.

T. A. COWARD.

1904.

## THOUGHTS ABOUT WORDSWORTH.

### I.

THERE are people born into this world who have a message to deliver. In the days of old they were called prophets or seers. Such men, within recent times, have been Carlyle, Ruskin and W. T. Stead, and such in his day was William Wordsworth.

It is the usual fate of a prophet not to be appreciated and often to be despised during his lifetime, but after death to be considered an ornament to his country. The reputation of Wordsworth as a wise man is, theoretically, settled beyond dispute, and his fame is slowly but surely gaining ground, but he cannot yet by any means be regarded as a popular poet. It is interesting to consider for a moment the reasons which prevent him from being more widely read.

The immense increase of wealth in this country since his day has brought about an increased tendency in the upper classes to habits of luxury and self-indulgence, and thus standards of life and conduct have been set up which have more or less infected the rest of the community. The possession of money has alone seemed to carry with it any certainty of happiness, and the result has been a reckless scramble for securing the good things of life, with little consideration for the rights of others or for the well-being of all.

Thus has been created an atmosphere of worldliness and indifference to high ideals, in the midst of which a taste for Wordsworth's poetry could not be expected to flourish. Among the working classes there has been in the course of the last hundred years a wonderful levelling-up tendency and a great increase in mental culture and refinement, but it will take many generations before conditions of life among them will be sufficiently favourable to admit of the leisure and restfulness of spirit which, to a certain extent, are needed before a thorough enjoyment of Wordsworth can be obtained.

Another cause which has militated against the popularity of Wordsworth, as well as that of other English poets, has been that up to a very recent date English literature has never been systematically studied in our schools and universities, and so it has been left to the haphazard taste of the individual to choose for himself, when his early education was completed, such English

authors for his study and amusement as his personal idiosyncrasies might suggest. From Wordsworth such a person turns, as a rule, with dislike because, without ever having seriously attempted to understand him, he has a vague idea that this poet is now quite out of date, and that his chief characteristics are his longwindedness and prosiness, and a mania for preaching.

Nevertheless there always have been, during the poet's lifetime and down to the present day, a faithful band of admirers and followers who not only have found in his works inestimable comfort and spiritual guidance, but who believe that the time, however far distant it may be, will yet come when Wordsworth will be reckoned by the general verdict of the civilised world as one of the greatest teachers and benefactors of humanity.

In spite of the vast numbers of books, which now for some thousands of years have been poured forth in ever-increasing quantities, it is very remarkable that original writers who have really something of permanent value to say are extremely rare. We are constantly being told that every occupation in life is overcrowded and overdone; this may be so or it may not; but this at least is certain, that men of genius are, in every department, few and far between. When in English history we seek to find a sovereign who combined in a high degree the qualities of a great statesman and of a man of high moral character we have to go back for a period of not less than a thousand years—to Alfred the Great—before we can find a man, or woman either, who will in every respect answer to our requirements. When we look around for great English dramatists, whose works can always be played and enjoyed, whom can we think of other than Shakespeare? He is the solitary instance about whom nobody will dispute. And so, when we search among the names of English wise men, philosophers and moralists, it is difficult to find any which up to this time have such chances of immortality as that of Wordsworth. To find any individual in literature who can compare with him in intrinsic importance and who could give, in his own way, as splendid expression to vital, ennobling and energising thoughts, we must go back more than two thousand years—to Plato.

A great deal of time is spent at our universities and elsewhere in studying the great Athenian philosopher, and in spite of the great benefit and stimulus which can be obtained by an intimate acquaintance with his works, it must be confessed that, owing to changed conditions of life and thought, much of what Plato has written is now practically valueless. If we can only rid ourselves of the benumbing influence of great names and traditions and see things for ourselves as they really are, we English people will get more good by studying the message which Wordsworth gave to us only a hundred years ago, in our own familiar mother-tongue, than

by painfully struggling in our attempt to grasp the meaning of a philosopher who lived more than two thousand years ago, who uttered his thoughts in a foreign language, and who addressed himself to the needs of a time in many respects widely different from our own.

Of course, in forming any estimate of Wordsworth, we must take into consideration not only the substance of his teaching but also the medium through which he decided to deliver it to the world; and while we revere him for the grand philosophic and religious ideas which he has helped to reveal to us, we must not forget his claims as a poet.

Now, if we want to know truly anything or anybody in this world, we must approach that object or person in a spirit of sympathy. It is, therefore, much easier for us to understand Wordsworth than it was for his contemporaries. We have by this time learnt from the general evidence of the best critics that in reading him we are reading one of the great masters of English literature, and hence we can easily approach him with the respect and attention which are necessary before we can expect to enjoy him or get any benefit from him.

"And you must love him, ere to you  
He will seem worthy of your love."

It is difficult, if not impossible, to consider, in the case of any great poet or artist, the form in which his ideas are expressed apart from the ideas themselves, so closely, naturally and irrevocably have they been welded together in the mind of their creator. We find in Wordsworth that his loftiest inspirations are expressed in the noblest poetic form, and as the poet devoted himself to what he knew and felt to be his special mission in life with an industry and concentrated intensity not surpassed, if ever equalled, by any poet before or since, it is not surprising that the inspired moments came often to him and gave birth to poetry which in quality and quantity entitle him to rank with the most illustrious of his fellow-craftsmen—with Milton, Goethe and Dante. To compare him individually with these and such as these, in order to institute comparisons of poetic excellence, were an idle and unprofitable task. The lovers of Wordsworth need fear no discredit falling upon their teacher when the critic who undertakes to examine and sift the works of the poet is thoroughly competent. The only enemy against which the reputation of Wordsworth has to contend is the ignorance of his fellow countrymen about him.

To help, in however small a way, in the task of drawing attention to the importance of the poet and dispelling something of the widespread ignorance which prevents his work from obtaining due recognition, is the object of the present essay.



## II.

The dates 1770 and 1850 give the limits of the life of Wordsworth, passed for the most part in the English Lake district. There are still living inhabitants of Grasmere and Rydal who can recall the stooping figure of the poet, plainly clad, wandering along the lanes and high roads, murmuring and muttering to himself, and wholly oblivious of the curiosity and interest he aroused among the strangers who passed him. He was so familiar a sight to the dalesmen that they ceased to take much notice of him; they knew little about his poetry or its merits, but he gained among them a reputation which still lingers there of being a fine skater, and an authority on the construction of chimneys and on the planting and preservation of trees. The information which from various sources has now accumulated enables us to form a clear idea of the appearance and personality of the man, of his habits and style of talk, of his relations with his friends and members of the home circle; and nothing that we know of him disturbs the harmony of the picture which presents to us in him an embodiment of that ideal of plain living and high thinking which from the very first he had made his own, and which constitutes for us the grandest lesson of his life.

For the production of a great man the primary necessity is that the conditions of birth and early environment should be favourable. Coming from a healthy stock he was himself always healthy and robust, and though both parents died by the time he was fourteen years of age, the great happiness of his school life compensated in a large measure, during his boyhood, for the lack of parental care.

He was for some eight years, at the most critical period of a lad's life, at the school at Hawkshead, in a beautiful part of North Lancashire, between Coniston Water and Windermere. His school-fellows were healthy-minded and his teachers easy going and sympathetic; there was no pressure of work, and the boy's growing love and appreciation of the wonders of Nature were fostered and fed in his rambles among the mountains, valleys and lakes of the adjacent district. Wordsworth himself keenly realised how much he owed to the freedom allowed to his mental growth in those days, and some of us, who know from painful experience what is the rush and grind of work to-day in so many of our secondary schools, owing to the requirements of examinations, have reason to envy Wordsworth his good fortune and the peacefulness of his lot.

His experiences at Cambridge were equally happy. His clear-sighted intuition as to his own mental and spiritual needs enabled him quickly to realise that there was little in the course of scholastic studies prescribed from which he would derive any considerable

benefit, and his strong will rendered it possible for him to resist all attempts to persuade him to take up the arduous course of study which would be necessary in reading for honours. And so he read, more or less, what pleased him, enjoyed the novelty of his surroundings, took a part in the social gaieties of the place, and indulged to the full his fondness for open-air life and wanderings.

It is unnecessary to follow further in detail the events of his life. The critical time of youth was past, during which the plastic and impressionable growing intelligence is so at the mercy of circumstance, and is so liable to irreparable damage through rough treatment or through the influence of bad example. His mind, full of pleasant memories, and accustomed to find its happiness in dwelling upon noble thoughts, looked forth with buoyant faith and courage upon the world of action, in which it also must find a place for the exercise of its activities.

There could be little room for hesitation; the promptings of his heart, the advice and sympathy of the friends who knew him best soon determined him to adopt as his career that most congenial to him, and to devote the rest of his life to the expression in poetry of his conceptions of the meaning of the world of sense which he observed around him, and of that world of inner feeling and emotion which the purity and disinterestedness of his life and aims qualified him so well to interpret.

A personality such as this is soon felt as a powerful and uplifting influence by its associates, and attracts to it kindred spirits, who in their turn, by the ties of affection formed, contribute to its growth and development. For so it is that "to him that hath shall it be given." It is impossible to over-estimate the value to Wordsworth of the appreciation accorded him by his nearest and dearest relatives and most intimate friends. However cold and indifferent the reading public might be to the charms of his verse, here, in the ever-widening circle of cultured men and women who knew him, he was sure to find an attentive audience, and that circle included most of the names celebrated in literature in his day. Scott, Charles Lamb, Coleridge, Southey, Rogers, Landor, Hogg, John Wilson—all were glad to know him and to hail in him a great master and teacher. But among the personal influences to which he was especially indebted was the life-long companionship and devotion of his sister Dorothy, and the inspiring stimulus he received through his early relations with Coleridge.

To these favouring circumstances must be added an intensely happy marriage, and the relief from pecuniary troubles afforded him by the generosity of his old college friend, Raialey Calvert, and later by the Earl of Lonsdale, who paid in full debts owed by his father to the Wordsworth family, and secured for the poet the post of Distributor of Stamps for the County of Westmoreland, a position

which brought in an annual sum which sufficed for the simple needs of himself and family.

Such details of his life are given to show the material conditions which made it possible for Wordsworth to consecrate his whole thought and being to the fulfilment of his high mission. And they become invested with a great significance when we realise the importance of that mission to us and to all succeeding ages, in extending for us the range of our spiritual vision and in giving us new conceptions of the dignity and greatness of man. When we think of the thousands of hindrances that might have interposed and prevented this great teacher from carrying out his self-imposed task, and from giving such splendid realisation to his genius, we cannot but feel a thrill of awe and wonder that he should ever have appeared among us at all. Not all the wealth which the British people squander every year in the purchase of alcoholic drinks, or which is represented in the vast total of our National Debt, could make it possible for this or any other country that at a given epoch there should be born a man with capacities such as were those of Wordsworth, or that such a man, being born, could obtain an environment suited for their development.

Biographers of the poet speak often apologetically of what they consider to be the unromantic character of his life; and as compared, for instance, with the careers of Shelley and Byron, his may seem wanting in the colour and picturesqueness which are given by variety of incident and the presence of tumultuous emotions. In Wordsworth's case the interest is centred on the growth and unfolding of a mind exquisitely adapted to the perception of the beauties and divine truths which he found everywhere in nature and in human life. And when we realise that this was his mission, we can easily understand how admirably the extreme simplicity and homeliness of his life and character fitted him for his task. Any intrusion of his own personality, any desire on his part to astonish men, or to attract their applause, would infallibly have marred his effectiveness as a teacher. We feel as we study him that he lost himself in the sublimity of the message which he was inspired to deliver, and the reverence which even critical and unsympathetic persons confess to have felt in his presence was only a reflection of the attitude of one who lived habitually absorbed in the contemplation of the divine mystery which underlies all forms of life and all objects of thought.

It is easy for us to criticise; it is better for us, when possible, to admire. Few of us, with the knowledge of the after-effects, would venture to agree with the poet's political opinions; and we may find defects in his poetry and some flaws even in his character. It is enough for his admirers to admit, in reply, that he was a human man liable, like the rest of us, to human limitations and weak-

and our sense of these weaknesses and limitations in him will be found to vanish in a feeling of gratitude towards him, when we have learnt to know and appreciate him, and to realise what new capacities for joy and contentment he has given us.

### III.

Before we begin to form any conclusions of our own as to the character and mission of Wordsworth's poetry, let us hear what he himself has to say on this subject. Writing to Lady Beaumont on May 21, 1807, he refers as follows to the little attention paid as yet by the reading public to his poems: "Trouble not yourself about their present reception; of what moment is that compared with what I trust is their destiny? To console the afflicted; to add sunshine to daylight, by making the happy happier; to teach the young, and the gracious of every age, to see, to think and feel, and therefore to become more actively and securely virtuous—this is their office, which I trust they will faithfully perform long after we (that is, all that is mortal of us) are mouldered in our graves." And at the conclusion of the same letter he says: "I doubt not that you will share with me an invincible confidence that my writings will co-operate with the benign tendencies in human nature and society, wherever found; and that they will in their degree be efficacious in making men wiser, better and happier."

Here we see clearly what his aims were; he regarded himself, in all solemnity and seriousness, as a moral teacher. There is no talk here of art for art's sake: "I wish," he says elsewhere, "to be regarded as a teacher or as nothing."

It was not a new idea this of the selection of poetry as a means of moral and religious instruction; English poetry has seemed to foreigners, at any rate, particularly didactic in tone. In fact, it is probable that it is to the poets we must look for the highest expression, in literature, of religious truths. It is the poetry of the Bible, and especially the unpremeditated outpourings of the Psalms, which have had the greatest personal and consolatory influence on men. The reader of the more intense and exalted of such passages must himself share something of the glow and fervour of the writer; that is, must himself become a poet, before the real significance of the language can be understood. It is by poetic intuition, and not by learning and study, that we become at all times conscious of the meaning of the deeper realities of life.

This function of the poets as instructors in the highest truths has never been formally admitted by our professional moral teachers, the clergy, whose theory of inspiration is based on the opinions expressed by semi-political councils of the Church on this subject

more than a thousand years ago. The clergy are still expected, by the regulations under which they take up their duties, to believe that the only inspired books that have been written are those contained in the canons of the Old and New Testaments. Of course the result of the Higher Criticism will in time be seen in the disappearance of such superstitions, and some of the more enlightened of the clergy have already ventured to state from their pulpits their belief in a continuous revelation in human life and history. Nor is it improbable that some of us may live to see the day when the noblest passages of Shakespeare, Milton, Cowper, Wordsworth and others shall be read aloud in our churches and chapels, as is already the case in Theistic churches and at meetings of the Ethical and Positivist Societies. For such a purpose the writings of Wordsworth are especially suitable, owing to their depth of religious feeling and high moral aims; and let us take, as one giving a particularly good example of these qualities, the well-known poem called "Ode to Duty," and I select this from the many lessons that can be learnt from a study of his poetry because, in point of view of practical importance, it cannot be surpassed.

If only as individuals and as a people we knew what our duties were, and knowing them, exerted ourselves to carry them into effect, all the personal, social and economic problems which at present cause us so much trouble and anxiety would vanish like mists before the rising sun.

Many are the remedies recommended by politicians and all sorts of reformers for the admittedly unsatisfactory condition of the country at this time; technical education, improved teaching of foreign languages, trade protection, settlement of the people on the land—these and many others are suggested, just as may happen to be the trend of thought of the individual. If we English people are not in a prosperous state it is because we are not doing our duty, so all are agreed. But what is our duty? Let us turn to Wordsworth's poem, and in the first line we find it referred to as the "Stern Daughter of the Voice of God." The voice of God is obviously conscience. Duty is then what flows from or is derivative from conscience, its command the "categorical imperative" of Kant.

And what does conscience command? It bids us seek always our moral, mental, and physical improvement, to be sensitive to the needs of others, and to be diligent and untiring in the fulfilment of these our human obligations; lastly, to be true and faithful to our sense of the immanency of deity in all things, and to realise it to be our special privilege to exhibit in our lives something of the goodness, beauty and holiness of God.

It is a very common tendency with all of us, if we find we are unhappy, to blame some person or persons, or some accident of

circumstance as the cause. Would it not be really a more reasonable and practical course to first consider whether the cause did not lie in some failure in our performance of our obligations towards ourselves? And if we are not loyal to ourselves, how can we complain of the disloyalty and injustice of others? And the same method of reasoning may be applied to all such complainings of classes and nations. Let us, for example, take the case of that very much discussed and thorny question, that of the improvement of the condition of the working classes. It has been found, as the result of a long experience, that it is extremely difficult to persuade the rich people, consisting of the large landowners and leaders of commercial enterprise, to perform their natural, human duties towards the classes who, by their work, supply them with the means for comfort, leisure, and enjoyment. Would it not be a much easier task for the working classes to find out what their duties are towards themselves, and to make it their object to fulfil them? Are they doing their best for themselves at present? Are they uniting all their powers to destroy the drink evil, which saps their vitality, strength, and manhood? Do they support, as they should, their ablest leaders? Do they contribute as liberally as they can, and ought, for the purpose of producing labour newspapers and of sending to Parliament members to represent their interests? When they have done all these things they can then, with a better right and, owing to their improved position, with an infinitely better chance of getting their claims listened to, turn to the governing classes and demand the granting of all just concessions.

Let us take care of the duties, and the rights will take care of themselves. It is in this way, whether we be regarded as individuals, classes or nations, that we must seek out our own salvation.

We can never think of a subject of more tremendous importance, or one which can have a more beneficial and elevating influence upon us, than that of duty. It constitutes in itself the whole science of ethics, and its roots lie hidden in the very nature of God himself. It is the key which unlocks to us the unsuspected world of beauty and truth, concealed in the heart of objects and actions, which from long familiarity seem to our dull eyes mean and commonplace. It is the law above all other laws from which no conceivable being is exempt. Here at last, and nowhere else, shall we find that peace "that passeth all understanding" for which our hearts have yearned; the atonement, which restores us to a long-lost Paradise.

When we have risen triumphant over some temptation which threatened us, or have become reconciled to some friend or relative from whom we had parted in anger, as we believed for ever, do not all the powers of Nature seem to breathe upon us their benediction of approval? The songs of the birds, the whisperings of the leaves on

the trees, the murmurings of the tiny brook, all seem to unite in rejoicing that we were obedient to the call of the higher self. Who of us has not felt the reality of this beautiful harmony existing between man and the outer world of sense? And those of us who have felt it will find in it a convincing proof that this universe in which we live obtains its highest expression in the revelation of the moral law by which it is controlled.

This thought, which was the inspiration of the life and work of Kant, is contained in the inscription on the wall near his grave, at Königsberg: "The starry heaven above me, the moral law within me"; and, by a happy coincidence, the same idea appears towards the end of Wordsworth's noble poem:

"Stern Lawgiver, yet thou dost wear  
The Godhead's most benignant grace;  
Nor know we anything so fair  
As is the smile upon thy face;  
Flowers laugh before thee on their beds  
And fragrance in thy footing treads;  
Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,  
And the most ancient heavens, through  
Thee, are fresh and strong."

MAURICE G. HERING.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

## PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

THE volumes in "The World's Epoch-Makers" series are of various degrees of merit, but we have no hesitation in saying that the last one issued, *Descartes, Spinoza, and the New Philosophy*,<sup>1</sup> by Dr. James Iverach, is one of the best of the series. No names are of more importance to modern students of philosophy. Both these thinkers have exerted enormous influence over subsequent philosophy and theology, to which it may also be added that Descartes is regarded by some as the founder of modern science. Dr. Iverach is an appreciative expounder of their doctrines, and in a small compass conveys as clear and lucid an account of them as any with which we are acquainted. Yet while sufficiently in sympathy with them to be able to do them ample justice, he is critical enough to detect the weak points in their doctrines, and so helps us to fill up the gaps in their systems. Dr. Iverach very ably and successfully depicts the relation of Descartes to the thought of the middle ages, his departure from which became the starting point of modern thought, but with equal justice exhibits Descartes' unfortunate adoption of the scholastic method which arrested the proper development of a philosophy which began in so promising a manner. But it is quite true, as Dr. Iverach says, and this, perhaps, is the chief value of his work, "Descartes set the world a-thinking, and the answers to the questions he raised form the history of modern philosophy." This truth is exemplified to some extent by Spinoza, who, if he did not actually build upon the foundation laid by Descartes, was at least set a-thinking by his great predecessor, of whom, however, he was no servile follower. The bringing of the two great thinkers together in one volume considerably increases its interest and value to the reader, and few who read it will lay it down without a better understanding of the doctrines of these "epoch-makers," and a feeling of gratitude to Dr. Iverach for the admirable manner in which he has accomplished a difficult task.

*Alcuin: his Life and his Work*,<sup>2</sup> by C. J. B. Gaskoin, M.A., is a

<sup>1</sup> *Descartes, Spinoza, and the New Philosophy*. By James Iverach, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Alcuin: His Life and his Work*. By C. J. B. Gaskoin, M.A. London: C. J. Clay and Sons. 1904.



University Essay, to which the Hulsean prize was awarded in 1899, and it has all the characteristics of similar productions ; it exhibits the results of considerable study, patience, industry, and scholarship, but it lacks vigour and originality, and arouses but faint interest on the part of the reader. It contains much useful information put together in a readable form, but fails to give any very vivid idea of the personality of the subject or of the character of the times in which he lived. Accuracy has been secured by careful attention to authorities, and guaranteed by the assistance given to the author by maturer scholars, the acknowledgments forming an exceptionally long list. But the author's summary of Alcuin's character perhaps explains the want of interest in him ; he was not the kind of man to arouse enthusiasm. Alcuin is most esteemed for his services to education, which after all were only moderate, while his theological controversies and his Biblical commentaries belong to a world that has passed away.

A month ago we congratulated the Rationalist Press Association upon the success which had attended their enterprise ; but at the present time we are inclined to ask if they are not rather overdoing it, and whether it would not be wise to give the public time not only to read but to digest the books sent forth by the Association, especially as there is a good deal of monotony in the subjects actually treated or introduced into nearly every volume. Attacks upon the Bible and upon orthodox theology are apt to grow wearisome, however useful they may appear to be to the writers and publishers ; and the Association might find work of a higher kind, of a more distinctly educational character, to do. We say this, as the next three books we have to notice are all published for the Rationalist Press Association, and contain a good deal in common.

*New Light on Old Problems*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. John Wilson, M.A., is an admirable book, admirably written so far as it relates to science and scientific methods ; it will make much clear even to the untrained reader, which should be of the greatest value in enabling him to understand not only the methods of modern science but the certainty and importance of their results. But there is too much about theology, and theology of a kind which is fast disappearing. Letting that pass, we do not remember meeting anywhere a better account of the question of free will and determination. Mr. Wilson justly points out that much of the controversy over these subjects arises from the confusion caused by the use of terms which have no sense in themselves. It is nonsense to speak of the "will" as if it were something apart from the man. It is intelligible to speak of "free will," says Mr. Wilson, "if by it is meant that each individual is free." "Man as an organisation may be free or not free." If the question is put in that way it may be intelligently discussed ;

<sup>1</sup> *New Light on Old Problems*. By John Wilson, M.A. London : Watts & Co.

but certainly not as it is often put. We cannot follow Mr. Wilson through his chapters on Ethics, but we may say they are clear in expression and reasonable in theory.

Notwithstanding the observations we have made above we have to thank the Rationalist Press Association for what we believe to be the fullest and most complete account and translation of the *Hammurabi Code*<sup>1</sup> yet published in this country. Mr. Edwards' translation of the Code itself appears, so far as we have compared it, to differ only verbally from that of Mr. Johns, but he gives a translation of the preamble to the Code which Mr. Johns omits, and even Mr. Edwards cannot go beyond the previous translator's statement that this Code "is one of the most important monuments in the history of the human race." Acquaintance with this remarkable piece of legislation must extend our views of the history of civilisation and prepare us for further discoveries. So short a time has elapsed since the discovery of the monument at Susa, that perhaps theologians may be excused for having allowed Mr. Edwards to anticipate them in making a comparison of it with the Mosaic legislation. No one who has studied the older Code and is familiar with the later one, can doubt the dependence of the latter upon the former, and this dependence we may consider established by Mr. Edwards in the parallels he exhibits in comparing the two. But in these days this is not sufficient ground for talking about the "arrogant claims" in regard to the originality or excellence of the Jewish Pentateuch. So long as nothing older than the Mosaic Code was known claims were naturally made for it, which, though now found to be untenable, need not be called arrogant. And as for the picturesque story of the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, it is surely long since any sensible people regarded that as anything more than an Oriental device to provide what was intended to be a fitting framework to the promulgation of laws which were of the greatest importance to the people to whom they applied. It was not their fault if the Israelites were some hundreds of years behind the Babylonians in civilisation, and an historical inquiry into the relations of the two peoples would be none the worse for the omission of disparaging epithets and the absence of feeling.

The greatest offender in the way we have remarked, however, is Mr. Walter Jekyll, who, in *The Bible Untrustworthy*,<sup>2</sup> indulges in a style of virulent depreciation which is unworthy of a writer who claims to be a critic; it is not a criticism but an assault. Mr. Jekyll's animus is excited by a number of people who call themselves "The Bible League," and we do not say that they receive a

<sup>1</sup> *The Hammurabi Code and the Sinaitic Legislation. With a Complete Translation of the Great Babylonian Inscription discovered at Susa.* By Chaperic Edwards. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *The Bible Untrustworthy. A Critical Comparison of Contradictory Passages in the Scriptures with a View of Testing their Historical Accuracy.* By Walter Jekyll, M.A. London: Watts & Co. 1904.

more severe castigation than they deserve; indeed we do not think they receive their proper share; but instead of exposing the absurdity of their pretensions, Mr. Jekyll pours out his scorn upon the Bible itself, which, as he very well knows, when properly understood does not deserve it. Mr. Jekyll says, "Oh, the pitifulness of insisting upon unworthy and obsolete ideas, which any larger view of the Bible would render unnecessary," and we cannot help thinking he would have been wiser to have acted upon this principle himself; but he "goes for" the Bible as if the unworthy and obsolete ideas were justified by it, and as if no larger view were possible. What we think is wanted is that people should be taught to take the "larger view" and to understand the proper place of the Scripture writings in history and literature. Their historical inaccuracies would then be estimated at their proper value, while the intrinsic merits of the writings would be duly appreciated. Mr. Jekyll understands all this very well, but he does not do justice to himself by his general method. For instance, he says: "It is in accordance with human experience that stories do not lose by telling." Here is a key which will explain many an historical inaccuracy. Again he refers to the saying of Hosea, "I desire mercy and not sacrifice," and confesses that this was a new idea, which he proceeds very ably and sympathetically to explain. "This," he says, "is a higher religion evolving from a lower." He is quite right, and this is another key to the understanding of the Bible—why then waste time in denouncing the lower religion when it has already been superseded by the higher? Of the general construction of Mr. Jekyll's book we can have nothing flattering to say—it is unsystematic and inconsequent. Undue space is allotted to the merest trifles, and principles receive very little attention. A chapter on "Faith" is principally about the Book of Chronicles; and one on the "Conversion of St. Paul" contains very little about St. Paul, but a good deal about some miracles related in the Gospels. Being ourselves in favour of the most rational treatment of the Bible, though we have ventured to criticise Mr. Jekyll somewhat severely, we must not be supposed to intend to defend the Bible League or any other Bible worshippers in the remotest degree.

From a controversy which already seems to belong to another generation, we turn to a burning question of the day. The promise of a Royal Commission to inquire into the conduct of the clergy of the Church of England gives importance to the preliminary inquiry, apparently instituted on his own account, by the Rev. the Hon. W. E. Bowen, the results of which are published in an official-looking paper-bound volume, entitled *Ritualism in the Church of England, a Recess Inquiry, &c.*<sup>1</sup> The character and object and

<sup>1</sup> *Ritualism in the Church of England.* With an Introduction and Appendix compiled for the Parliamentary Session of 1904. By the Rev. the Hon. W. E. Bowen, M.A. London: Nisbet & Co.

results of this inquiry we may summarise from the Introduction. Visits were paid, during the Recess, by competent and trustworthy reporters to a hundred recent services, involving ninety-one churches and sixteen dioceses. These reports furnish typical illustrations of the ritual and services of the several churches; they show that in these services the measure of illegality varies a good deal, but that in the majority of cases the general type is Roman rather than English. A list is given of practices which have found their way into the English Church which are alleged to be in direct contradiction of the fundamental principles of its doctrine and ritual. In addition to the detailed account of a hundred ritualistic services, which is startling to those who are not familiar with the movement, Mr. Bowen gives an account of thirty Ritualistic manuals now in circulation, also of a packet of picture cards representing the Mysteries, and other Ritualistic materials. The compiler of the work also includes a draft of a suggested Clergy Discipline Bill. The volume is a most important contribution to the controversy, upon which we need make no comment.

It is quite refreshing to turn from these controversial matters, biblical and ecclesiastical, to the peaceful, if humble story of an old Dissenting congregation. It is told by Mr. Alexander Gordon in an *Historical Account of Dob Lane Chapel, Failsworth*.<sup>1</sup> The history of Dissent has been treated at large by writers of reputation like Calamy and Neal, and in our own day by Stoughton, Skeats, and Miall, and others; but it is only of late years that close attention has been paid to the history of individual congregations, which, originating in most cases in the seventeenth century, are still alive and flourishing. With that spirit of exactitude and enthusiasm for research which characterises the modern historian, several such accounts have already appeared, but no more thorough and competent worker in this field is to be found than Mr. Alexander Gordon, the author of the present elegant little volume. It is interesting to note, as Mr. Gordon informs us, that the famous migratory printing press which produced the Marprelate Tracts was finally run to earth in the adjoining township of Newton in August, 1589. From which we may infer that even in the sixteenth century there were friends of an aggressive puritanism in the neighbourhood of Failsworth. The history of Dissent in the neighbourhood begins with the Newton congregation as early as 1642. William Walker, the minister of Newton Chapel, was ejected in 1662, and for the next thirty years very little is known of the history of the congregation. Dob Lane Chapel was not built until 1698, nine years after the passing of the Toleration Act, since which time its history has been continuous. The congregation, originally orthodox, gradually drifted into heresy;

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Account of Dob Lane Chapel, Failsworth, and its Schools.* By Alexander Gordon, M.A. Manchester: H. Rawson & Co. 1904.

and in 1779 the minister, Pendlebury Houghton, was an Arian, but in a few years the congregation and its ministers followed Dr. Priestley, and became more definitely Unitarian. Though Mr. Gordon's volume is largely occupied with most interesting accounts of the successive ministers of Dob Lane Chapel, it incidentally throws a great deal of light upon the inner history of Dissent and on the development of liberal views amongst the old Dissenters who were unaffected by the Evangelical movement, and who are now in most cases represented by their Unitarian successors. As a "document" Mr. Gordon's volume will be found of great value to students of an important phase of religious history in England.

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#### SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS AND JURISPRUDENCE

THE most striking point of the *Reports of the Mosely Educational Commission to the United States of America*<sup>1</sup> is the popular enthusiasm for education in the States. It is this enthusiasm which supplies the driving power for education which is so sadly lacking with us. We provide technical colleges as fine as any in the States or in Germany, but they are shunned by the students, and viewed with indifference by the employer. The "scholar" is not wanted in the English factory or mine. The cry is all for the "practical" man, who alone is supposed to make a good workman or a business man. The Americans, however, have learned the lesson that the individual who has been properly grounded, trained and educated, makes the best workman and the best captain of industry. In training the young for the battle of life they spare no trouble and no expense. In his preface Mr. Mosely, who does not pose as an educationalist but as a business man, writes: "One of the things that struck me, all through the United States, was the large amount of money devoted to educational purposes, the buildings being magnificent and the equipment lavish. The teachers seem fired with enthusiasm, and there is a thirst for knowledge shown by pupils of all ages which is largely lacking in our own country. In contrast to our education, which has to a large extent been 'classical,' I found that in America it is the 'practical' subjects which are principally taught, and the technical classes and schools are to be found everywhere. There are also excellent opportunities for those going into professions to take up classical subjects; but with the ordinary 'everyday' boy who has to fight his way in the world, the bulk of the time is devoted to practical subjects likely to

<sup>1</sup> *Reports of the Mosely Educational Commission to the United States of America*. October-December 1903. London: Co-operative Printing Society, Ltd. 1904.

be of use to him in after life. American boys remain at school much longer than is the case here, often, in addition, passing through to the secondary schools and colleges at little or no expense to their parents or themselves. . . . My observations lead me to believe that the average American boy when he leaves school is infinitely better fitted for his vocation and struggle in life than the English boy, and in consequence there are in the United States a small proportion of 'failures,' and fewer who slide down downhill and eventually join the pauper, criminal or 'submerged tenth' class." In their joint Report the Commissioners lay special stress upon the far-reaching influence of the American system, which is becoming more and more the cause of industrial and commercial progress and national well-being. They declare that in years to come, in competing with American commerce, we shall be called upon to face trained men, gifted with both enterprise and knowledge. They also point to the absence of class prejudices and religious strife, the close connection between theory and practice, the high popular estimation of the expert, the value of manual training, the liberality by the public and private donors, and finally the organisation and co-ordination of education which are such a marked feature in the States. Each of the twenty-six Commissioners present a separate Report devoted to some special feature. The Commissioners are men of varied acquirements. They include professors of literature; like Professors Rhys and Gregory Forster; scientific teachers, like Professors Armstrong and Ayrton; public school masters, like Dr. Gray of Bradfield and Mr. Fletcher of Liverpool; officials, like Mr. Blair of the Irish Department of Agriculture; members of the London School Board, like Mr. Jephson and Mr. Shephard; a barrister, like Mr. Groser; Mr. Coward, ex-president of the National Union of Teachers, and Mr. Barclay, one of the supporters of the *entente cordiale* with France. Much that they have to tell we have heard before, but the stimulus to a rational national education in this country which the exposition here afforded will give, should prove of inestimable value. We regret that an editorial introduction summarising and analysing their views does not accompany this volume. It also lacks an index. We are requested to state that "the Report is on sale to the general public at 1s., and that any educational authority, county councillor, local manager, headmaster, headmistress, or registered teacher, may obtain copies free on forwarding to the publishers the cost of postage and statement of qualifications."

A similar moral is to be found in *A National Education to National Advancement*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. James Baker, who is well qualified to speak on this subject, as the author of the Report on Technical

<sup>1</sup> *A National Education to National Advancement.* By James Baker, F.R.G.S. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd. 1904.

Education in Eastern Prussia, Poland, Galicia, Silesia, Bohemia and Saxony for the Board of Education. "Two of the most terrible evils," he writes, "that loom ahead for England are the blocking of her food-supply and the decay of her commercial supremacy." From the instances from Germany and Austria Mr. Baker brings into glaring contrast the neglected opportunities for material and intellectual progress which lie to our hand at home. He shows how by technical schools the young may be trained for village-life and town-life alike. In our rural districts he says our local authorities have now for some time had the power to mould the trend of their education into pleasant usefulness, but they mostly wasted that time in sectarian squabbings. We would go even farther. It is our sincere belief that as long as the cleric of any denomination whatsoever has anything to do with the control of education, we shall have no real progress. Even in priest-ridden Austria the clergy are not allowed to interfere with national education. The primary school leads to the secondary school, and the latter to the local works, where the master is compelled to carry on the education of his apprentice. At these secondary schools illness is the sole cause of absence. The hours on Sunday are from 8 to 12 A.M. It is sad to think how our English Sunday is absolutely wasted, physically, mentally, and morally. The examples given by Mr. Baker of industries established in rural districts are little short of marvellous. Pottery, glass, jewellery and precious stones, textile fabrics and machinery, combining the latest improvements with the highest art, have revolutionised the villages. And with all this the literary side is not neglected. You may meet a German milliner well versed in English and French literature; you may see an Austrian peasant lad reading an English art magazine in the village library. If foreigners with their crushing militarism can do this, why cannot the richest and most powerful nation in the world? Because we are ceasing to conduct our national affairs upon business-like lines. Because we allow a Tory party to continue to misgovern the country and to neglect national affairs in the interests of certain privileged classes. What is the use, said a late Tory Minister, of being in office unless we look after our friends?

*Among the Five Miners*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Kellogg Burland, is one of those human documents like *Three Months in a German Workshop*, and one or two American books on similar lines. Determined to see for himself the inner life of the miners in whom he was interested Mr. Burland chose the mining village of Nelty as the scene of operations; and after having had his hair cropped, and purchased a lamp, ball of wick, flannel shirt, "gravits," tea flask and piece box, reported himself for work at the pit-head. This was not Mr. Bur-

<sup>1</sup> *Among the Five Miners*. By Kellogg Burland. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd. 1904.

land's first social experiment of this nature, and we hasten to add that the journal which forms the basis of this book was written with no view to publication. Mr. Burland's conclusion upon the eight hours' day both above ground and in the pit, confirms our own opinion derived from books; "from the economic standpoint as well as a humanitarian I have," he writes, "little hesitancy in giving as my firm belief that in the long run the eight hours' day yields the best return, for the men remain capable longer and the standard of work is higher." From this quotation it will be seen that Mr. Burland is an economic. He is also social reformer. He has something to say on the liquor question. It is very largely, he declares, an "amusement of the people" problem. Temperance fanatics nearly always fail to see that if you want to take away the poor man's pub. you must substitute something better. But, as he shrewdly remarks, there are some not to be reached by any amount of amusement. "You don't know what you are talking about," said a confirmed drunkard to him once, "you were never drunk. When you are drunk you feel a great man. Look at me, what am I? I'm nobody. But when I'm drunk I'm everybody's master." As I have said, this book is a human document from which the sociologist may learn so much.

In *The Miner's Guide*<sup>1</sup> Mr. Atherley Jones and Mr. Hugh H. L. Bellot have endeavoured to put into a handy and concise form a large body of law dealing with the relations of employer and employed in mines. The first part of the book consists of an annotated digest of the Coal Mines Regulation Acts, the Truck Acts and the Weights and Measures Acts, whilst the second part deals with the law of employers and workmen as affected by the Employers and Workmen Act 1875, compensation to workmen under Employer's Liability Act 1880 and Lord Campbell's Act; similar compensation under the Acts of 1897 and 1900; the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1875, the law affecting trade unions and the Conciliation Act, 1896. Although especially designed for the use of the coal-miner, this book will be found of value to all classes of workmen. It is neither a text book for the Labour party nor a defence of the employer's position. It is first and lastly legal, and concerns itself simply with setting forth exactly what is the law. It may perhaps be a recommendation to working men that both the learned authors are in strong sympathy with them; but this sympathy can, of course, find but little place in defining the legal relations of men to their employers. Equally, of course, the work is the more valuable on this account as a practicable handbook stating the whole case clearly and dispassionately, without regard

<sup>1</sup> *The Miner's Guide to the Coal Mines Regulation Acts and the Law of Employers and Workmen.* By L. A. Atherley-Jones, K. C., M. P., and Hugh H. L. Bellot, M. A., B. C. L., Barrister-at-Law. London: Methuen & Co. 1904.



to anything but the legal aspects. In addition to a table of cases, there is an excellent index.

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#### HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

IN *Foundations of Modern Europe*,<sup>1</sup> which is the outcome of certain lectures delivered in 1903, Dr. Reich "attempts to give a short sketch of the main facts and tendencies of European history that, from 1756 onwards, have contributed to the making of the present state of politics and civilisation." The work begins with the War of American Independence (1763-83) and ends with the Franco-German War. Dr. Reich is of opinion that it is high time that the untenable idea of *race* was abandoned; history is not made by *races*, but, in addition to the constant influence of geo-politics, by the mental vigour and moral grit of nations. Europe, like Hellas, is influenced to an incomparably higher degree by intellect and character, than by the ethnographical or physiological qualities of nations. Dr. Reich makes no secret of his admiration for Napoleon; with him, in fact, it is little short of hero-worship. Much mischievous nonsense has been written to show, on the authority of Arthur Young, the utter misery of the peasantry and smaller *bourgeoisie*, and the wretched decadence of the nobility on the eve of the French Revolution. But Young, we now know, was deceived by the lying tales of the peasantry; for public records actually attest that, in the districts where (according to him) the greatest destitution prevailed, extensive purchases of lands and farms had at that time been made. In fact, the sufferings under the *ancien régime* were less severe in the reign of Louis XVI. than was the case in that of his predecessor.

*History of Rome, 44 B.C.-138 A.D.*,<sup>2</sup> by Messrs. A. H. Allcroft and J. H. Haydon, begins with the assassination of Cæsar, and ends with the death of Hadrian. Two chapters are devoted to the literature of the period; and a selection of Test Questions, of special value to the student who dispenses with the aid of a tutor, is provided. It is an exceedingly well-written compilation; indeed, the account of the conflagration of Rome is almost worthy of Defoe.

From a monograph written by Mr. S. P. Langley,<sup>3</sup> we learn not only that the Founder of the Smithsonian Institution was an Englishman, but also that the best blood of England flowed in his veins.

<sup>1</sup> *Foundations of Modern Europe*. By Emil Reich, Doctor Juris. London: George Bell & Sons. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Rome, 44 B.C.-138 A.D.* By A. H. Allcroft, M.A., and J. H. Haydon, M.A. Third Edition, Enlarged. London: W. B. Clive.

<sup>3</sup> *James Smithson*. By Samuel Pierpont Langley. City of Washington. 1904.

James Lewis Macie was son of Hugh, first Duke of Northumberland, whose patronymic was Smithson until changed by Act of Parliament into Percy, and a widow who was lineally descended from Henry VII. At Oxford he distinguished himself by his devotion to physical science, then in its infancy, and was in 1787 admitted to the Fellowship of the Royal Society. The motives which actuated James Smithson—a self-assumed name—to make the United States his residuary legatee are not altogether clear. He lived much at Paris, where his time was divided between scientific research and gaming.

In addition to being a prolific author and an accomplished scholar, profoundly versed in economics and French history, M. d'Avenel is a keen observer of men and things. *Les Français de mon Temps*,<sup>1</sup> is not a gallery of portraits of his contemporaries, but a study of contemporary types. Some insight into the nature of his work may be gained by merely perusing the titles of its chapters: *La Politique et les Gouvernements*; *Ce qu'il reste d'aristocratie*; *Ce qu'il reste de Christianisme en France*; *Autour des Lettres et de la Presse, &c.*; but only a close study of their contents, which are marshalled like the jottings in a note-book, can reveal the mordant irony that underlies the mask of philosophic calm. According to M. d'Avenel, his countrymen fall into two classes—*les Français qui se voient*, and *les Français qui ne se voient pas*—a classification, we take it, applicable to no nation in particular. The author writes with the literary polish of M. Anatole France in a manner curiously reminiscent of Montaigne.

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#### THE DRAMA.

*The Shoemaker's Holiday*, *Old Fortunatus*, *The Witch of Edmonton*,<sup>2</sup> and two parts of a strong play with a quaint title, compose the works of Thomas Dekker as presented in the exquisite thin-paper edition of the "Mermaid" series. Dekker had, let us admit, great powers combined with great defects. He was, as Mr. Ernest Rhys remarks, "the type of the prodigal in literature . . . but after all has been said, he remains, by his faults as well as by his faculties, one of the most individual, one of the most suggestive, figures of the whole Elizabethan circle."

The present condition of the drama in England is deplored by many besides Mr. Wilson Barrett, who has voiced the discontent

<sup>1</sup> *Les Français de mon Temps*. Par le Vicomte d'Avenel. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Thomas Dekker*. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Ernest Rhys. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

prevailing among the more intellectual section of playgoers. In *The Divine Aretino and other Plays*,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Robert South displays most of the qualities usually expected from the playwright who essays to handle historical themes. Three out of these four prose dramas, or rather tragedies, are concerned with the Italian Renaissance, viz., the title-play, *Savonarola*, and *Sabado*; the remaining one—*The White Rose*—depicts the last unhappy days of Charles Stuart, commonly known as the "Young Pretender." From a purely literary standpoint *The Divine Aretino* is the most successful; it would also lend itself best to scenic representation. We commend this volume to the attention of theatrical managers in search of unhackneyed material.

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#### BELLES LETTRES.

THE two first volumes of *The Talisman Pocket Library*<sup>2</sup> present a curious amalgam of science, superstition, and worldly wisdom. Magic (in the shape of talismans), planetary influence, and animal magnetism all play a part in *The Art of Fascination*, which, if properly understood and practised, lead to "Business Success." The rules for securing this consummation are as simple as they are profound: "An important thing in selling is to have something worth pushing, for a salesman cannot have confidence if he knows it is rubbish he is trying to palm off. Study all the good qualities of whatever you wish to sell, and you will have something to talk about. Have the whole subject well in mind before starting out for business. . . . As there are no two people alike you will find it necessary to deal with each one a little differently, therefore it is well to learn something of the nature of an individual on first coming into contact with him. . . . To gain any influence you must avoid antagonising with his hobbies or weaknesses. Have in your mind the object you wish to attain, especially when your eyes meet and you shake hands." Verily Mr. Geo. H. Bratley could give points to a German "bagman."

*Birds of a Feather*,<sup>3</sup> by Mr. E. Kellett, are a collection of sixteen short stories concerning episodes in the life of two chums known to one another by the euphonious names of Hoppy and Sloppy. Most of the stories possess that peculiar quality of

<sup>1</sup> *The Divine Aretino and other Plays*. By Robert South. London: John Long. 1903.

<sup>2</sup> The Talisman Pocket Library. I. *The Art of Fascination*. By Geo. H. Bratley. II. *The Art of Luck*. By A. Osborne Eaves. Harrogate: The Talisman Publishing Company.

<sup>3</sup> *Birds of a Feather*. By E. E. Kellett. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith. 1904.

humour which commends itself to the average healthy-minded public schoolboy; but *collaboration*, with its ludicrous attempt at rendering into heroic verse the opening lines of the *Æneid*, appeals to us most.

“ Much also and in war he suffered dire ;  
The while he *hid* a city, and *inferred*  
The gods to Latium, whence the Latin *herd*  
And Alban fathers, and high walls of Rome.”

The italics are ours, not the author's.

*Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xxxiv.,<sup>1</sup> which is the tenth and penultimate volume of the new issue, contains 124 double-pages of maps and insets. The Index is supplementary to the General Index, and extends to 497 pages. In it practically every place mentioned in the maps, and almost every insignificant geographical feature finds recognition. The atlas is not only fully up to date, but is also anticipative, *e.g.*, the routes of railway lines not yet laid down are marked by red lines. As might be expected in a work as much designed for America as for Great Britain, the United States are treated with the importance that they deserve, but rarely meet with. The colouring and lettering of the maps are excellent.

*The Cardinal's Pawn*,<sup>2</sup> by Miss K. E. Montgomery, is an amazingly clever “first novel.” In it the author displays in an uncommon degree dramatic and imaginative qualities which clothe with the semblance of flesh and blood the phantoms of Renaissance Italy. The scenes are laid in Florence and Venice, in the days of the Grand Duke Francesco dei Medici. The atmosphere throughout is charged with plots and counter-plots; one stirring episode after another keeps the enthralled reader in palpitating suspense as to the fate of the principal personages. Like Rosalind in *As You Like It*, the heroine dons male attire, and wears it without sacrifice of outward or inward grace.

As the vital necessity, from a commercial point of view, of a practical knowledge of Continental languages must, by this time, be obvious to the middle-class Briton, it only remains for him to set about acquiring it in the only sensible way. He will find the qualities he has a right to demand of his teachers set forth in *How to Teach a Foreign Language*,<sup>3</sup> by Professor O. Jespersen, who is to Denmark what Dr. H. Sweet and Professor Storm are to England and Norway respectively. Beginners ought to commence with short connected sentences, gradually passing to longer texts, *e.g.*, short

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Vol. XXXIV. London: The Times Office.

<sup>2</sup> *The Cardinal's Pawn*. By K. L. Montgomery. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1904.

<sup>3</sup> *How to Teach a Foreign Language*. By Professor Otto Jespersen, Ph.D. Translated from the Danish Original by Sophia Yhlen-Olsen Bertelsen, M.A. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1904.

stories of animals selected from scientific text-books. The vocabulary of poetry or even elevated prose must be avoided by all but advanced students. Phonetical transcription should precede orthography, and formal grammar—the fetich of pedants and examiners—should be dethroned and relegated to a back seat. The translation reads smoothly, but there are several instances of typographical errors.

*The Indiscretions of My Lady Palgrave*,<sup>1</sup> by Amyot Sagon, were committed in the days when Beau Nash ruled as *arbiter elegantiarum* at Bath. Among Lady Palgrave's "indiscretions"—as good old Jennings (who was at once poor relation, governess, and sempstress) quaintly termed them—may be enumerated a passion for gambling, which denuded the family mansion of most of its portable treasures (including heirloom jewelry) that could easily be turned into hard cash, and would inevitably have landed her in a debtor's prison, had she not sold her daughter in marriage to a duelling peer who was a cardsharper and worse. Lady Clodagh's existence with such a mother could not be a roseate one, but the good blood of her race kept her scathless amidst the temptations of her heart. The plot is so deftly managed that up to the final chapter the reader is uncertain whether the *dénouement* will be happy or the reverse.

In the conclusion to *The Rise of English Culture*,<sup>2</sup> the late Mr. Edwin Johnson writes: "I set out with the intention of showing to my readers that English Story is a branch of Church Story, and that it rests not on the testimonies of witnesses who were living in the times of which they profess to relate, but on the dreams and theories of Church artists, who were sitting down to their work at an epoch much nearer to our own than we are wont to suppose." Up to the sixteenth century, Mr. Johnson asks us to believe, the Benedictines had no registers, no genuine records of a long past. "They had little more than the bare dogma of the Incarnation out of which to construct a theory of history, to be converted into historic forms by the aid of Jewish, Arabic, and classical literature." It was, says Mr. Johnson, the uprising of the Jesuits on the one hand and of the Lutherans on the other, that awoke the Benedictines from their long intellectual torpor. The great period of Italian Benedictine activity is assigned by him to 1464–1534. "You will descry a scriptorium there (at Monte Cassino) for the first time in the late fifteenth century; and you will observe a knot of black monks busy in writing books, which are to be issued to the world by and with the names of Paul the Deacon, &c." The most interesting chapters are those devoted to Polydore Vergil and his *Anglica Historia*. Almost all the partisan and paradoxical vagaries of Father Hardouin may

<sup>1</sup> *The Indiscretions of My Lady Palgrave*. By Amyot Sagan. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *The Rise of English Culture*. By Edwin Johnson, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate. 1904.

be found re-dished in this amazing volume, which illustrates the credulity of incredulity run mad.

In their edition of *Tacitus: Agricola*,<sup>1</sup> Messrs. G. Norwood and A. F. Watt have followed the text of Draeger's fifth edition. The notes, which are brief but pregnant, afford an intelligent student of this difficult classic all the help that he can reasonably demand, short of providing him with a "crib." Like all books which issue from the Tutorial Press, it is both scholarly and practical.

We welcome from Mr. J. W. Arrowsmith a sixpenny edition of *Johnny Fortnightly*<sup>2</sup>—one of the pleasantest novels that it has ever fallen to our lot to read. In it we are transported in spirit to the apple orchards of Devon, to an idyllic world far from the reek of towns, the placidity of which is, however, troubled for a time by a charlatan, whose exceeding cunning extorts the admiration of his victims.

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#### POETRY.

*Corn Law Rhymes*,<sup>3</sup> by Ebenezer Elliott, evoked an essay from Carlyle, according to whom their author was "not a rhymers and speaker only, but, in some genuine sense, something of a poet." Little as we are disposed to accept the author of *Sartor Resartus* as a competent critic of lyric verse, nevertheless few will attempt to dispute his verdict in this particular instance. We are curious to watch what effect the cheap reprint of this once-famous collection of verses will have on the burning question of fiscal reform.

*Translations from the German*,<sup>4</sup> by J. Goodfellow, form a tastefully bound oblong booklet of forty-seven pages. To our thinking, the version of Bürger's *Lenore* is the best executed. *The Holy Grail* is a spirited rendering, but its excellence is marred by the translator having rhymed "time" with "vine." Several of the pieces have not previously appeared in an English dress.

Long religious poems are seldom popular in these days, so that the fact that *Christus Victor*,<sup>5</sup> by Mr. Henry Nehemiah Dodge, has reached a fourth edition must be evidence of just recognition of its undoubted excellence. Mr. Dodge has escaped the danger of that monotony which so often attends religious poems by introducing a

<sup>1</sup> *Tacitus: Agricola*. Edited by Gilbert Norwood, B.A. Camb., and A. F. Watt, M.A. Oxon. London: W. B. Clive, University Tutorial Press, Ltd.

<sup>2</sup> *Johnny Fortnightly*. By Eden Phillpots. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith.

<sup>3</sup> *Corn-Law Rhymes and other Verses*. By Ebenezer Elliott. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1904.

<sup>4</sup> *Translations from the German*. By J. Goodfellow. Paisley: Alexander Gardner. 1904.

<sup>5</sup> *Christus Victor*. By Henry Nehemiah Dodge. Fourth Edition. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

variety of metres into his work, in each of which he appears to us to be equally successful. Some of the lyrics are beautiful. We think Mr. Dodge at his best, like most poets, when singing of freedom, and the warning he addresses to his fellow citizens is one that we should take to heart.

“ Be not too sure  
 Your freedom will endure,  
 Unless ye watch and guard your treasure well :  
 If ye but close your eyes—  
 Lulled by luxurious Siren singing  
 Into a fatal slumber and forgetting ;  
 In eager haste for wealth and place,  
 Heedless of woes to come and foul disgrace,  
 Blind to your country's homebred foes that hide,  
 Lurking in ambush at your very side  
 While ye are sleeping or are busy getting—  
 Some giant may arise,  
 Some emissary of the powers of Hell—  
 A petty partisan at first,  
 Seized with ambition's quenchless thirst—  
 And in an evil hour  
*Grasp at imperial power.*”

The highest praise we can give Mr. C. Whitworth Wynne is that he is an accomplished writer of finished verses, which though they are pleasant to read fail to stir the pulse. *The Songs of Summer*,<sup>1</sup> and other songs and lyrics printed with them, are short poems, some of them extending no further than a single stanza and yet none are striking enough to quote. Included in the volume is a selection (one hundred stanzas) from Mr. Wynne's larger poem, “ Ad Astra,” in Spenserian measure.

<sup>1</sup> *Songs of Summer and Other Poems.* By C. Whitworth Wynne. London: Grant Richards. 1903.

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THE FAR EAST AND THE NEAR EAST.

I.

RUSSIA'S INVINCIBILITY AND HER CHAMPIONSHIP  
OF THE WHITE RACE.

I.

WHENEVER Czardom is bent upon some new fell scheme of conquest, we generally hear a great deal about Russia's "Manifest Destiny" (in capitals), her "invincibility," and so forth. The agents of the Government of St. Petersburg never fail, on such occasions, to set these terrifying ideas afloat. So it was done—as those may recollect whose memory goes back to the early 'fifties—shortly before the Crimean War. What mystic prophecies, destined for the consumption of decadents and of people unacquainted with Muscovite history, were then craftily introduced into the European Press by writers of the pan-Slav, or rather pan-Russian, propaganda!

In those days the talk about "Manifest Destiny" and an "irresistible Fate" was meant to paralyse the public mind of Europe, to emasculate its resistance by sheer fright. There was quite a literature of this fatalistic kind. It was written in the style of the so-called "Last Will of Peter the Great"—a proven forgery, which, however, contains an able forecast of the designs of successive Russian rulers. Often such talk was embellished with new phrases filched from the democratic armoury of speech, in accordance with the tendencies of an age inclined to revolutionary changes.

Thus, Alexander Herzen, whom I knew intimately and with whom I had much intercourse—first at Paris, then in London, until I found that, under the guise of revolutionary language, he actually



worked for Russian universal dominion—was a head source of such suspicious outpourings. He incessantly sought to impress upon the popular parties of the Continent, by French and German writings, afterwards also by English and Italian ones, that Europe was politically and socially “played out.” He prophesied that “her dissolution was near at hand”; that “the young barbarians of the Slav world, feeling this death agony to be in the wind, were calling out a *memento mori* to the Old World, offering to murder it, if it would not commit suicide”! He asserted that the “Death March” was sounding for Europe, whilst “youthful Russia was heralded in by an *Introduzione maestosa e marziale*.” He compared the Czars to “Robespierres *à cheval*.” He imagined that in this way he would catch the assent of French Republicans to the idea of a revolutionary regeneration of Europe by that mysterious entity, the immense Slav world.

Shortly before the Crimean War, Herzen even sought, to my personal knowledge, to imbue exiled Democrats and Socialists of various foreign nationalities with the desirability of “going to South Africa or to Australia, where a New World is growing up, and new scenes of activity are opening; the Old World, with its corrupt Germano-Romanic blood, being destined to decay before the onrush of youthful Russia.”

All this farrago was to pass for revolutionary propagandism. But what a tremendous fall his prophecies had soon afterwards in the Crimean War!

The simple truth about this alleged youthfulness and barbarian desire to infuse new blood into a “Europe sick unto death” is, that the Russian Empire is one of the oldest and most corrupt despotisms, and that the stolid and backward Muscovite masses have no liking whatever for aggressive adventures, into which they are driven, and do not dream of regenerating our part of the world. Herzen himself did not seek scenes of new activity in South Africa or Australia. He remained in this country to write, in German and English, “My Exile in Siberia”—*where he had never been!* The revelation of that latter fact in the English Press mainly contributed to shortening his stay in England.

And what was the result of all those terrible foreshadowings about the “majestic and martial” onward march of Russia as the irresistible Power? When tackled without regard to such windy talk, Autocracy collapsed. Nicholas I., in the midst of the catastrophe, suddenly died—from poison, as many thought at the time. Had the war been firmly continued then by the Western Allies; had the Man of December, who secretly aimed at a future alliance of France with the Russian Government, not refused further co-operation with England—how much greater would the result achieved have been!

## II.

I thought I might bring these occurrences to mind, because shortly before and during the Crimean War I was among those who, whilst strongly warning against the designs of the Government of St. Petersburg, firmly opposed all that fatalistic talk about Russia's manifest destiny, her invincibility, and similar hollow bugbears. In one of those writings (*The Universal Empire of the Cossacks*), published as a series of articles in a Liberal London paper, I gave a history of Russian aggression, especially in the direction of Constantinople. Any one conversant with that history knows how idle the verbiage about the impossibility of defeating the brazen image, with its feet of clay, is.

Now, as to the much-talked-of championship of the White Race by Russia, as against the Yellow one. Here we come upon another myth.

Strange to say, that myth is specially worked up just now in France, where, in years gone by, well-informed writers like Delamarre, taking the same view as Polish ethnologists like Duchinski, had quite a different story to tell. But then there are at present £400,000,000 of Russian stocks held in France; and, moreover, Nicholas II. is trying to get up, at Paris, another loan of £30,000,000. The "White Czar" wanting a good deal of the yellow gold of his ally, Russia is, forsooth, to be written up as the defender of the white Aryan race against the yellow Japanese. A nice colourable pretext!

In passing, another gold tale may here be touched upon. For the purpose of making us believe in the financial invincibility of the Autocrat, we have been informed that in a tower at St. Petersburg £65,000,000 are piled up in solid coin. It is added that there can be no doubt of this fact, as the Liberal English member of Parliament who saw it with his own eyes, had it actually photographed—of course, from the outside.

Such a Liberal, or liberal, testimony is of twofold advantage to the Russian Government. Some, it is true, may wonder that Röntgen X rays were not used for penetrating the covered rolls of gold, though even that procedure might have left a doubt in distrustful minds. For, many a person, reading about this Nibelung hoard, has perhaps had a disturbing remembrance about Potemkin's way of creating villages and canals. It happened during Catherine II.'s journey through the lately wasted and scarcely inhabited parts of the newly conquered provinces of Southern Russia, where until then the remnants of the yellow Golden Horde had lived under Turkish suzerainty. By means of pasteboard structures, and of masts stuck in the earth at a distance, Potemkin produced the pleasant mirage, whereupon Catherine exclaimed "she felt as if she were brought into a suddenly arisen enchanted world."

This is a way they have in Russia in matters of Administration, on an emergency.

As to the assertion that Russia, in Europe, represents the main stock of the Slav, Aryan, white race, Polish and other ethnologists declare it to be on a par with Potemkin's *Fata Morgana*. Indeed, it can be clearly shown from Russia's own historical records that the mass of her population in the North of Europe is originally not of Slav, not even of Aryan, but of Ugro-Finnish blood, with which but a few Slavonian tribes were intermixed when the Russian Kingdom was founded. Now, this Ugro-Finnish stock is of Turanian connection, kindred to Magyars and Turks, and, in a wider sense, to the Mongolic, hence to the yellow, race.

Among real Slavs, such as the Poles, the Ruthenians, and others, there is quite a literature on that subject. Writers of such truly Slav origin contend that Russia does not, in her European majority, belong to their own race, but to an ancient Ugrian, Turanian one, which has only become Slavonised in speech in a long course of time, whilst in the European dominions of the Czar there is still, to this day, a large number of populations of Tatar and other non-Aryan, non-Slav blood. They cite Napoleon's saying: "Scratch the Russian and you will find the Tatar!"

No fair-thinking person will state these indubitable historical facts for the purpose of making an opprobrious charge from them. Have not the Finlanders proper—through contact with Sweden, it is true—achieved a high degree of culture? Wherever aspirations to civilisation, to human progress, to political and social freedom are to be found, there we have to acknowledge a bond of brotherhood. But who can truthfully say, looking at the racial composition of the Muscovite Empire, that it can pose as the immaculate Defender of the White Race?

### III.

To talk of a "Yellow Peril" in reference to the progressive and nobly patriotic Japanese nation is worse than a calumny. It is a political blunder. The Japanese, from the point of view of human progress, are the Europeans of Asia. Muscovite Autocracy is a backward Asiatic element in Europe.

If a "Yellow Peril" were to be spoken of, it would have to be found in that aggressive, yet corrupt, Power which only contains a small section of people of Aryan descent; which even in its European possessions has a large fringe of Tatar populations; and which by its Siberian, Kalmuck, Baschkir, and other Mongolic tribes has, in the main, a yellow race for its basis. That is the real Russia.

Look at her history. In the ninth century, the Ugrian, non-Aryan, non-Slav tribes of the great plain were, together with a few Slavonic ones, conquered by a Germanic war-clan of Warangian—

that is, Norse and Teutonic—origin. They came mainly from Sweden and Norway. The very name of Russia is not a Slav one. It was introduced by those Norse, Gothic, and Angle warriors who established the Russian kingdom.

In the thirteenth century, when the country had been weakened by being split up into separate Principalities under the various descendants of those foreign Germanic conquerors, Russia fell under the rule of the Mongol Golden Horde. She remained under that Yellow dominion for nearly two centuries and a half. On the ruins of the Khanate, Czarism arose with institutions framed after the very pattern of those which the Yellow Horde had introduced.

In the early part of the seventeenth century, Russia, for a little while, came under Polish rule, from which she was freed by a rising at Moscow. In our time she was again defeated, though the then aristocratic Government of England, and the Bonapartist one of France, had only made a "Cabinet war" against that masterful tyrant, Nicholas I., who had waded through blood to the throne in 1825, and who afterwards posed as the Dictator of Central Europe. It was a game of bluff which Nicholas I. had long played with much success—a game of wily diplomatic intrigues at many Courts; intrigues supported by venal writers and insidious female agents, such as have latterly also been about among the statesmen of nations whose natural interest it would be firmly and actively to oppose Muscovite aggression.

The present generation is not aware of the horrible weight of this whilom Russian incubus, artificially made though it was to a large extent. Few can understand now how it oppressed the Continent shortly before the liberating Revolutions of 1848, and again afterwards, when the scarcely gained freedom of nations was once more overthrown by the sanguinary reaction of princes. The war of 1854-56, which so many foolishly cry down as a grave fault committed by England, struck a very necessary and useful blow against the fatalistic theory of the irresistible advance of Russian power. Let it not be forgotten that the Liberal, Republican, and Socialist parties of Europe were well aware of the real situation when Nicholas I. made his attack upon Turkey. With quite a few exceptions, the best Liberals and the Radical working-classes in England energetically called for armed resistance.

I can speak from personal recollection of the mass meetings in London. The exiled popular leaders of the Continent—Mazzini, Kossuth, Ledru-Rollin, and many others—publicly advocated war against Nicholas I. They knew what was wanted. Some of those who at present, under various *aliases*—working either from ignorance or from unavowable motives—have been trying to smooth the path for a tyrannic Power, than which there is no greater danger for the independence, the freedom, and the civilisation of Europe, might

well be astonished if the manifestoes of those exiled popular leaders of the 'fifties were reprinted.

Had the war against Czardom been carried on in their sense, the oppressed Russian people would have immensely benefited thereby. Even as it was, there came, in consequence of Czardom being defeated, the Emancipation of the Russian Serfs, and the partial loosening of the iron grip by which Nicholas I. had choked every utterance of the press. Through his defeat, the restoration of Hungarian independence and parliamentary government, which the Czar's army had helped to overthrow in 1849, became a possibility once more, a few years afterwards. Through his defeat, the future of Italy was saved. Her unity and independence could never have been achieved had Russian Autocracy become paramount at the Dardanelles.

## IV.

Utterly foolish then are those who go by Lord Salisbury's saying that England had "put her money on the wrong horse" in the Crimean war. Utterly foolish also was his saying that the best policy for dealing with the Russian danger in regard to India was to "buy large maps." Why, since Lord Salisbury gave that absurd cartographical advice, Russia has actually advanced through whole Central Asia up to the frontier of Afghanistan. She has even made a spring into that country, tearing away a portion of the Ameer's territory. No wonder the present Premier recently avowed in the House of Commons that it was no longer possible to go by the policy of "purchasing large maps." The nephew had found the uncle to be a deceptive guide as to India's safety.

If Czardom were victorious against Japan, which represents parliamentary government, progressive civilisation, and freedom of trade for all nations in Manchuria, it would soon be found that the military and bureaucratic ring which upholds and even domineers over Autocracy, would presently resume its designs upon Constantinople and Mediterranean quarters. This see-saw alternation of aggression in Asia and Europe—and not only in Eastern, but even in Northern Europe—is a well-known feature of Muscovite policy from olden times.

Björnstjerne Björnson, the eminent Norwegian poet and Democratic politician, who formerly, from aversion to the Pact of Union with Sweden, made light of the Russian danger in the North, has come to see it at last. He recently called, therefore, for an alliance of all Germanic nations against despotic "Holy Russia." The fate of Finland had enlightened him. A crushed Finland was to be made the stepping-stone for a future Russian attack upon the Scandinavian countries, with the ultimate object of opposing even this country from an ice-free port in the High North. The possession

of Hammerfest was the aim of Russian autocracy even before the Crimean War.

The present Autocrat (such is the official title of the Emperors of All the Russias) is in character, no doubt, rather a weakling. Yet, in the matter of Finland, he cannot be absolved from the charge of wilful perjury. Even the military and bureaucratic ring which often controls him, could not have compelled him to become main-sworn to a Constitutional oath, which is his very title as a ruler in that Grand Duchy. If he could be arraigned before a Parliament, his guilt would even be more clearly provable than was that of Charles Stuart.

With one hand that professed friend of Humanity made show to build up a Temple of Arbitration and Peace at the Hague. With the other he tore up the Finnish Charter, and signed decrees for military aggression. For the infamies of Blagovestschensk, Kischeneff, and Gomel, this irresponsible "self-ruler" had not a word of reproof. Who could have prevented him from a personal utterance? In Manchuria, again, he became grossly perjured to promises made in his name. Young Japan he tried to crush, "as a beetle is crushed with a steam-hammer"—to use the elegant figure of speech of papers which serve him, and which, in the beginning of the war, spoke of a cultured nation as "wretched dwarfs" and "yellow apes."

Truly, Nicholas II., who once said he "wished to follow in the footsteps of Nicholas I.," has laid a heavy burden of guilt upon his own shoulders.

v.

At the beginning of this war, General Ivanoff, the Governor of Turkestan, made bold to threaten England, if she dared to support Japan, with a "*diverting invasion of India*"! There were plenty of similar threats. Now, under the stress of events, these menaces are discontinued. But they show what intentions are harboured, and what policy would be pursued under favourable circumstances. Even quite recently, the great Friend of Arbitration still declared—it was before the battle on the Ya-lü, and before the landing of the Japanese in Liao-tung Bay—that never, never would he allow the intervention of other Powers, if they were bent upon bringing this war to an end. Possibly he may have to change his mind yet.

When firmly met, the Holy Russia of the Czars is apt to collapse. Nothing better could happen for the freedom of the Russian people. Had Plevna become the Sedan of Alexander II.—and things were very near to that—the demand for a parliamentary Constitution would have been presented to the Czar, on his retreat, on the points of the bayonets of the National Guard in his own "holy city" of

Moscow. The cry would then have been raised in Russia: "Even the Turks have got a Parliament, and we shall still be the abject slaves of an arbitrary Power?"

That was the reason why Alexander II., whose army had only been saved in the nick of time by the Rumans, and so was enabled to reach Constantinople, urged Abdul Hamid (no doubt a willing disciple) to dismiss his own Parliament, which had done most satisfactory work in 1877-78.

If Japan beats back now the armies of Nicholas II. both from Korea and Manchuria, all the accumulated elements of dissatisfaction in the overgrown Empire, which is a very prison-house of oppressed nationalities, might perhaps call out for representative government or national independence. Who then can doubt, from the point of view of progress, where the world's sympathies should be?

Yet we have recently seen many so-called organs of public opinion in this country tacking to and fro between Russia and Japan in a strangely half-hearted, shilly-shallying way. The views of others who stood firm to the right cause have met with attempts at "burking" all the more disgraceful because Japan is "England's ally"—at any rate on paper. Well may many a son of the Land of the Rising Sun have said to himself: "Do you call this backing your friends?"

And yet it was only a question of continuing with sympathetic words; for the Japanese are perfectly willing to take the heavy task of this great struggle upon themselves alone, so long as Russia is not helped by another Power.

On that point, Baron Kenchio Suyematsu, a man educated in England, and who, twenty-five years ago, was a member of the Japanese Embassy in London, has recently spoken out at the National Liberal Club with the greatest clearness. As a Cabinet Minister until recently, and son-in-law of the Premier, Marquis Ito, the words of this highly-cultured man merit the fullest attention. When here in 1879, Baron Suyematsu published a noteworthy historical work on *The Identity of the great Conqueror Genghis Khan with the Japanese hero Yoshitsuné*. Since the outbreak of the war, he has issued a well-reasoned memorandum on *A Question of International Law*. It deals with declarations of war, and contains an able and convincing justification of the action of the Government at Tokio. The memorandum is written in answer to an article in the *Russian Review*, and is published in a French version in the *Paris Mémorial Diplomatique*. Baron Suyematsu is an adherent of the principle of arbitration. But he also knows what a country owes to itself when it has to deal with a crafty Power ruthlessly bent upon aggression at its own opportune moment.

As a kind of paltry excuse for their own backsliding, those who hold their breath so timidly in regard to Japan, have, almost day by day, sought to make out that the German press is sidling up to

Russia—nay, that it does not even give proper prominence to Japanese victories on land, omitting to use headlines, and not discussing the subject in leading articles at all! These assertions are evidently to suggest the idea that this country has, under such circumstances, some good reason to be cautious.

A curious excuse, indeed, considering England's alliance with Japan—even if the alleged facts were true. But they are not. All the statements about German journals neglecting to bring out Japanese victories with due prominence are the rankest fabrications. As one who daily receives a number of German papers, I can vouch for it.

More than that : at a time when English monthly magazines have been strangely silent on a subject of the most far-reaching importance for this country's own interests, the chief German Review has not hesitated to publish an essay of the most uncompromising character in the way of out-and-out opposition to Russia, and of friendliness to Japan. And that Review is published at the very frontier of Russia!

Personally, I have not experienced any difficulty in Germany as regards the strongest utterances against Muscovite policy. Many a Liberal and Democratic daily journal of Germany expresses itself in the same way as I did, adding hopes of a coming internal movement in Russia for deliverance from an intolerable tyranny. Yes, the mass of the German nation is sound on that point. Would that its hearty, sympathetic wishes were realised by successful risings from Petersburg to Odessa, so that the horrors of this war may be brought to a speedy end, and the long dark night of Russian slavery be succeeded by the dawn of freedom.

## II.

### MACEDONIA AND ENGLAND'S DUTY.

Shortly before the war between Japan and Russia broke out, no less a person than Prince Uchtomski, the intimate friend of Nicholas II., had the boldness to declare in the *Petersburg Gazette*, that "Macedonian affairs might certainly hasten the solution of the task of the occupation of Constantinople, which must sooner or later become a Russian city," but that "it is of even greater importance to crush, if necessary, with a giant's foot, the proud young State of Japan."

Here the double object of masterful dominion in the Far East and the Near East was boldly avowed. The same Prince Uchtomski, who accompanied Nicholas II. on his Eastern travels, and wrote a work on them in the name of the Czar, gave a pretty plain hint in that book as to Russia's designs upon India. He asserted that the



nothing like a treaty instead of English rule: and he speaks in quite a smiling way of "the Russians being expelled beyond the Caucasus."

Fortunately, there is a comparative bill just now in those Macedonian affairs which Prince Lichnowski thought "might certainly lessen" the occupation of Constantinople by Russia and its conversion into a Muscovite city. This bill should be used for getting things into better order in the Ottoman Empire. But how could this be done?

Assuredly not by procedures such as have of late been frequently attempted—procedures advised by men who neither take the enormous racial and religious difficulties existing in so-called Macedonia into proper account, nor care about the tremendous dangers for the peace of Europe which an armed intervention of foreign Powers would lead to. The mass of those who thus lightly try to provoke—as some of them literally avow—a "crusading spirit" against the "infidel Turk," are speaking, no doubt, from lack of acquaintance with facts in the Near East, or from antiquated religious bigotry. Others there are whose hidden motives and connections are worse.

Who does not deplore the atrocities to which the incursions of Bulgarian bands into "Macedonia" have given rise? Unfortunately these atrocities are committed by Bulgars as well as by those who fight against them. Here is the new work of Professor Neokles Kassis,<sup>1</sup> the Rector of Athens University, who was entertained in London at a banquet a few months ago, when some of the very men were present who have got up the recent "Macedonian Conference." In this work, not less than 440 murders were detailed, with names, places, and dates, committed by Bulgarian bands against Greeks in Macedonia. A mass of those crimes owed their origin to the hostility entertained by the Bulgarian adherents of one section of the Eastern Church against the orthodox Hellenes, who belong to another section. And in the presence of these facts we are told that the European Powers ought to organise a "Christian crusade" against the "infidel Turk"!

When will those who want this country to put its hands into such a hornet's nest by armed interference, learn that "Macedonia" is a term unknown even to the polyglot, race-divided, strangely intermixed populations of provinces, in which there are not only Bulgars, but Greeks, Turks, Serbs, Albanese, Wallachs, Pomaks, and various other tribes of the most discordant origin, violently averse to each other? It is because the Bulgars, who are not even a majority in "Macedonia," intend to lord it over the other nationalities, that the districts in question have been converted into such a criminal Witches' Cauldron.

It is necessary to point out here that, not only are there so many

<sup>1</sup> *Hellenism and Macedonia*. London. 1904.

contending races in the region called Macedonia, but that the Bulgar and Pan-Slavic emissaries, contrary to history, fabricate even an artificial country of that name by adding the district of Kossovo to those of Salonica and Monastir. In the district of Koesovo, the Slavs are the majority. Not all of them are Bulgars even there; for there are Serbs, too, in that district. The Serbs are real Slavs. The Bulgars are not. They were originally a Tatar people, kindred to the Turks, and they have only become Slavonised in speech. They came from the Volga into the Balkan country. Hence their name of Volgars, Bolgars, or Bulgars. Using a Slav language now, they are in blood more of Tatar, Mongolic, connection.

In the districts of Salonica and Monastir, the Greeks claim to be the majority. Altogether, in each of those three districts it is often difficult to make out what a person speaking two or three languages, and often changing his residence from one province to another in the course of his life, really is. The sons of one father, going to various parts of the country, frequently change the ending syllable of their common name, so as to appear to be either Bulgar, or Greek, or Serb, as the case may be.

To Bulgarise the artificially constructed Macedonia in question, suits the Russian Pan-Slavists. Everybody knows, or at least ought to know, that Russia, by the Convention of San Stefano, wished to extend Bulgaria down to the Ægean Sea, in order to cut off Greece for ever from the direction towards Constantinople. Everybody ought to know, too, that Muscovite agents, by means of conspiracies and horrible assassination plots, have for years repeatedly sought to get the mastery over Bulgaria in military and administrative affairs, with the final object of downright annexation. That is a danger which may, in course of time, crop up again. But those who urge on a "crusade" against the "infidel Turk" will not see it. Some of them, and others who are at the back of the movement, would even hail the irruption of the Cossack into Constantinople. What folly from the point of view of European interest, of the cause of civilisation and freedom!

Let the eager spirits who are in the "crusading" frame of mind not forget also that in the so-called "Armenian" provinces of the Ottoman Empire there is no majority of Armenians. There is such a majority in that part of Armenia which the Russian Government has annexed to its own dominions. And in that Russian part of real Armenia, Autocracy governs in such oppressive manner, even by laying violent hands on the property of the Christian Armenian Church for the benefit of its own orthodox Popedom, that the bitterest dissatisfaction exists at this moment in that section of the Czar's Empire.

Yet Russia is one of the Powers appointed to reform "infidel" Turkey! What a mockery of the sense of justice!

All this I certainly do not say with the object of counselling simple inaction. On the contrary, England, where so much reforming zeal is apparently shown, could not have a better opportunity than is afforded now for bringing about an amelioration in the condition of the Ottoman Empire at large. The root of the evil lies at Constantinople. There alone, not in "Macedonia," can it be eradicated. In the place of arbitrary, inefficient, and cruel Court Government, a representative system ought to be introduced.

Why should England, who boasts of being the "Mother of Parliaments," not act, at Constantinople, in accordance with a right conferred upon her by the Sultan himself in 1878? Why should the Government of this country not remind him, in strong terms, of the promise he then made to all the Ambassadors of the various countries that "*the Ottoman Parliament would be convoked anew after the conclusion of peace*"?

That would be the only way in which both the solution of the Macedonian Question and the betterment of the condition of Turkey in general could be brought about. In "Macedonia," where the seven or more different races, with their different languages, live in overt or covert hostility to each other, Autonomy would only lead to renewed sanguinary conflicts. Even whilst I am writing, murders of Christian Greeks by Christian Bulgar raiders are still going on, both from racial and sectarian causes.

In the general Ottoman Parliament of 1877-78, on the contrary, the various nationalities of the Empire worked together for common reform. English Ambassadors at the Porte, Sir Henry Layard and Sir Henry Elliot, testified to the fact of that Assembly having acted in excellent manner in the way of political, financial, and administrative reform, until the Sultan, under the pressure of Russian bayonets, and owing to his previous quarrel with Midhat Pasha, prorogued the representation of the people. Only prorogued it was—not dissolved.

In a letter to the *Times*, published a few years ago, Sir Henry Elliot spoke out once more in favour of the reconvoation of an Ottoman Parliament. He said that "if those who attend the meetings that are taking place throughout the country—instead of being satisfied with denunciations of the horrors that have been perpetrated—were to show that every effort to put an end to the system under which they occurred would be gladly welcomed in this country, it would afford immense encouragement to the reforming (Young Turkish) party, from which alone any good result is to be hoped for."

This is the voice of a man who, as an English Ambassador, saw and studied the state of things at its source. The cause of humanity and the interest of England are alike involved in that matter. Those who, on the basis of the Convention of San Stefano—framed

by Russia with the ulterior object of her own supremacy in an enlarged Bulgaria—support the disruptionist and domineering tendency of the Macedonian Bulgars, virtually work for the aims of Czardom to get hold of Constantinople.

Even Mr. Gladstone, and quite recently Mr. Seymour Stevenson, M.P., at the banquet given in London to Professor Neokles Kasasia, the Rector of Athens University, avowed that the Convention of San Stefano, which was fortunately abolished at the Berlin Congress, had constituted a great wrong done to the Hellenic cause. Let those, therefore, who really wish for a reform in Turkey, remember that the true solution of the Eastern Question lies in the demand urged by the Young Turkish reformers, whose chief representative is at present Ahmed Riza, a highly cultured man of considerable ability.

He is the son of an ex-Minister, from a Turkish father and a German mother. Of scholarly inclinations, he formerly occupied a position at the University in Constantinople and in the department of Public Instruction. For years he has latterly lived as an exile at Paris, where he edits the organ of the Young Turkish party, the *Mechveret* ("The Consultation"). It is reckoned that there are about 5000 members of Ahmed Riza's party either in prison or in banishment, with a goodly number of secret sympathisers in the country itself. Their activity is hampered by Armenian and Macedonian troubles and horrors in which, as Ottoman patriots, they cannot possibly join, whilst as Reformers they would be ready to abolish any real grievances by Acts of Parliament. These are principles and sentiments which ought to appeal to Englishmen in particular.

Quite recently, Ahmed Riza was in London, when he endeavoured, in consultation with Members of Parliament and public writers, to see whether an "Ottoman Reform Committee"—taking the reconstitution of an Ottoman Parliament as its line of agitation—could be established here. All true friends of progress in the Near East must wish well to his and his fellow-workers' efforts.

If Japan, a country with a Representation of the People, were to triumph over Czardom; if Turkey, too, were to restore her Parliament, which, twenty-seven years ago, proclaimed liberty of the press, equality before the law, admission of all citizens, irrespective of race and creed, to public employment, freedom in matters of public institution, free exercise of every religious cult, an equal imposition of taxes, and so forth—if "infidel Turkey," supported by England's strong advice to the Sultan to fulfil his promise of 1878, were to recover parliamentary government: would not all this have a tremendous salutary effect upon Russia, where a party of noble-minded martyrs of the good popular cause are striving for a similar object?

KARL BLIND.

## YELLOW SLAVERY—AND WHITE!

## II.

"Slavery aint o' nary colour,  
 'Taint the hide that makes it wuss,  
 All it keers fer in a feller  
 'S jest to make him fill its puss."

*The Bigelow Papers.*

"A landless man is an unfree man."

*Anglo-Saxon Proverb.*

"The land therefore of every country is the common property of the people of that country."

—The Bishop of Meath, *Letter to Clergy and Laity*, April 2, 1881.

"We desire emphatically to state that the mineral wealth of the Transvaal is the property of the people of the Transvaal, both white and coloured, and not of the foreign investor, who is entitled to nothing more than good interest upon the capital he invests. It should, therefore, be worked in the interests of the people of the Transvaal, and, in our opinion, this is best secured by regulating the development of the country by the combined supply of white and African labour. This doctrine, scouted by Mr. J. A. Hamilton and styled by Mr. F. Hellman "a pernicious one," we take as the basis of our conclusions on the questions laid before your Commission."—*Transvaal Labour Commission*, Minority Report.

THE negro slave in the Southern States of America was, as a rule, allowed more freedom, and worked under better conditions, than those under which the Chinese slaves will be forced to toil in the South African mines. Compare the open-air life of the negro in the cotton-fields with the life of John Chinaman, deep underground, working under conditions described by Lord Carrington as follows:

"In those mines there was no ventilation, not even elementary precautions were taken to prevent loss of life; the mines were full of small particles of crushed quartz, which penetrated the lungs, while the galleries were filled with the fumes of dynamite explosions. . . . The life of a miner working under these conditions was not more than seven years. Kaffirs had been able to get off every six months to clear their lungs from these deleterious influences, but the Chinaman was not to have that liberty, and was probably not aware that the death-rate amounted to seventy per thousand."<sup>1</sup>

The negro enjoyed in many cases the sweets of home life. What in this respect will be the position of the unfortunate Chinaman?

<sup>1</sup> National Liberal Club, March 23, 1904, *Daily News* report.

Instead of prescribing, as in the case of all previous immigration ordinances for the last sixty years,

“that every immigration of labourers must be accompanied by a certain fixed proportion of women”;

this extraordinary Ordinance provides (Section 33) that :

“It shall not be lawful for the wife or any member of the family of any labourer or any female belonging to the race or tribe of any labourer introduced into this Colony to enter, be, or reside in this Colony, unless they be respectively introduced by a duly licensed importer under, as far as practicable, the same conditions and restrictions as are provided in this Ordinance for the introduction of labourers.”

In short, if the “importer” is not willing to incur the additional expense of importing the wives and families as well, there is no compulsion in the matter at all. It is very certain that in practice the rule will be “unmarried man preferred”; and one can imagine the moral and other evils that must follow from the herding of tens of thousands of these men in filthy compounds<sup>1</sup> for three long years at a stretch.

The negro, like a horse, cost good hard cash. He was his master's property for life, and it was to his master's interest to treat him well so that he might live the longer to work for him. But how about poor John Chinaman, held on a three years' lease (with, indeed, the option of a renewal of the contract), and at the end of his term to be shipped back to his own country? In the utter lack of ventilation in the mines, and the consequent heavy deathrate among the Kaffirs—to say nothing of the unholy greed that for the sake of sordid gain brought about the Boer War—we have the measure of the humanity of the “importers” of John Chinaman; and it appears only too probable that the one aim and object of these gentry will be to “farm” the utmost out of their employees during their three years' apprenticeship, and that in too many cases they will be shipped back to China mere wrecks of their former selves, or perchance as corpses, the cheaper to repatriate because dead.

In the early thirties of the nineteenth century we spent upwards of twenty millions sterling to put an end, as we thought, to slavery within the British Empire. It would seem that at the beginning of the twentieth century we have spent £250,000,000 and lost 25,000 brave lives in order to re-introduce slavery!

And all that the millionaires, the multi-millionaires, may have more gold to wallow in!

What is the bond that binds his Majesty's Government to these

<sup>1</sup> “. . . the men who were to be brought were of the lowest type. They were going to be slaves. They were going to be beasts of burden, herded in filthy, insanitary compounds. He knew it, he had seen the compounds.”—*Od.* 1941.—*Dr. Ireland, at Anti-Chinese meeting, Town Hall, Craddock, Cape Colony.*

men? Does "the Hawkesley dossier" constitute their indenture? Or is the nexus one of cash and diamonds? Some bond there must be; and the sooner it is broken, the sooner the country is ruled once more by a free and a freedom-loving Government, the better for all concerned.

Persistence in the present mad course simply means the loss of South Africa—possibly the loss of the whole of our Colonial Empire.

Already the Chinese Government are endeavouring to use this Slavery Ordinance as a lever to force Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, to admit Chinese labour. And the spirit in which this will be met is the spirit which animated the Cape colonists when in 1849 they successfully resisted the landing of convicts on their shores; the spirit which led Sir Henry Parkes, then Premier of New South Wales, to warn Lord Salisbury, when he remonstrated against the Colony refusing admission to, or penalising, Chinese immigrants:

"Neither for her Majesty's ships of war, nor for her Majesty's representatives on the spot, nor for her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, do we intend to turn aside from our purpose";

which led him, when charged with breaking the law, to reply:

"I care nothing for your cobweb of technical law. I am obeying a law far superior to any law which issued these permits (to Chinamen), namely the law of the preservation of society in New South Wales."<sup>1</sup>

That spirit the Government rouse at their peril.

Events have amply justified the declaration of the *Sydney Bulletin*, in 1899, that war was being waged in order to enable "British speculators to gorge themselves with plunder." Amply justified, too, has been the cartoon in the same paper representing an Australian "contingenter" lying dead on the veldt, while a Chinaman, blood-stained knife in hand, rises from the corpse.

The whole country is now being administered in the interests of the mining magnates. Not only have they secured their Chinese Labour Ordinance, but "they have established a dynamite monopoly in the interests of De Beers as against the English manufacturer, they have filched from the public the right to nine-tenths of the new diamond mines in order to preserve the Kimberley monopoly"<sup>2</sup> and they are tampering in a similar fashion with the law as to the gold-fields.

Mr. A. B. Markham, M.P.,<sup>3</sup> exposed the iniquities of the Diamond Ordinance in a series of letters to the *Daily News*: A new diamond field had been discovered in the Transvaal, and was estimated to be worth no less than twenty-five millions sterling. Under

<sup>1</sup> Dilke's *Problems of Greater Britain*.

<sup>2</sup> *Daily News*, Jan. 13, 1904.

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately a supporter of Chinese labour.

the old law of the Transvaal, one-tenth of the new diamond-bearing land would have been reserved to the owner, while the other nine-tenths were thrown open to the public, with "the result . . . that every citizen had a fair and open chance; and there can be no doubt that if this discovery had been made under the Boer Government, the De Beers monopoly of diamonds would have been broken. But the De Beers monopoly is one of the great reigning forces of South Africa," and an Ordinance was therefore rushed through, Lord Milner proving as usual a willing tool of the monopolists, by which four-tenths were reserved for the private owners—who are none other, according to Mr. Markham, than the De Beers Company; while the Government was empowered to lease the remaining six-tenths to the owners.

A nice little scheme this for preserving the great diamond monopoly!

The Gold Law of 1898 opens with the declaration that "the right of mining for and disposing of all precious metals shall belong to the State"; but under the new law "it is proposed to curtail the present privileges of the owner of land found to be auriferous, and to extend, by giving increased areas (in bulk), the privileges of licensees, who may also become the purchasers of mining rights at public auction, instead of by the present system of pegging, which is recognised as the ordinary digger's only hope of getting a claim."

The effect of such legislation, as the Johannesburg correspondent of the *Daily News* pointed out (January 11, 1904), will be

"to enable the capitalists to corner the mines, and thus create the biggest trust on earth. What chance (he asks) . . . can the ordinary prospector have against the capitalist, or possibly a syndicate of capitalists, when it comes to bidding for a mineralised area by public auction?"

And he adds:

"The position, depend upon it, amounts to this. The people of South Africa desire freedom of action and speech, and insist that their voices shall be heard in the government of their country. Their patience is nearly exhausted: a few more steps in the direction of legislation in the interests of the capitalists, and the people will rise. The Dutch section are but waiting for the English and Colonial section to rise and revolt, and they will join with them to a man. Remember, this is no idle chatter, no rash, excited vapouring of a prejudiced mind. The words are heard upon all sides day by day: 'If things don't alter soon there will be civil war!'"

The Slave Ordinance is the last straw.

In the recent Blue-book,<sup>1</sup> the twenty-three pages taken up by reports of hostile meetings conclusively show that the feeling of the people of South Africa is strongly opposed to the introduction of Chinese labour. Indeed, the feeling in Cape Colony is so strong that even Dr. Jameson—now, unfortunately, Premier of the Colony

<sup>1</sup> Cd. 1941.



thanks to the wholesale disfranchisement of the Dutch colonists after the war—was forced at the recent elections to run on an anti-Chinese ticket, while on Good Friday last a mass meeting, representing 7000 workers on the Rand, strongly denounced the Ordinance and demanded the recall of Lord Milner. But our egregious Government, who have professed a desire to deal with this matter as if the Transvaal were a self-governing Colony—the Transvaal which, as the *Times* puts it, “is a Crown Colony by a kind of accident and for a season only”!—have refused to allow a referendum on this question. Indeed, Mr. Lyttelton went so far as to say in the House of Commons that “such an expedient is absolutely unknown in any portion of the British Empire.”<sup>1</sup>

Apparently our stop-gap Colonial Secretary is unaware of the fact that the Australian Commonwealth was brought into being by the referendum; that by means of it South Australia decided a group of educational questions in 1896 and a franchise question in 1899; that in New South Wales the referendum has quite recently pronounced in favour of reducing the number of members in the Legislative Assembly; and that in New Zealand a referendum is held every three years for licensing purposes.<sup>2</sup>

Yet the importation of Chinese labour, thus stubbornly persisted in, is an absolutely gratuitous proposal. It is utterly unnecessary!

While the findings of the Majority Report of the Labour Commission are obviously intended to pave the way for the Ordinance, these findings are directly traversed by the Minority Report, signed by Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside, to whom every credit is due for the strong stand they have taken on this matter.

Quoting the evidence given before the 1897 Commission, these gentlemen point out that the demand for labour is grossly exaggerated; that, whereas in 1897 the requirements of the mine-owners were stated as ten or twelve natives per stamp, the demand is now for twenty; that the number of natives required can be very materially reduced by the employment of unskilled whites in certain departments and by the introduction of labour-saving machinery; that “there is ample labour for present requirements” in South and Central Africa; and that any temporary shortage at present existing is a direct consequence of the war and of “the ill-advised reduction in wages carried out in 1900 by the Chamber of Mines.”

These conclusions are borne out by the great increase (noted above) in the number of natives employed in the mines, and by the steady growth, month by month, of the output of gold—from £846,490 in January 1903 to £1,309,329 in March last.

As a matter of fact, the last-named figure, if maintained, will give for 1904 a total output of some fifteen millions, or barely a

<sup>1</sup> *Times*, Feb. 17, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Liberal Mag.*, March, 1904.

million short of the output at the time of the Rand's greatest prosperity!

Even were it otherwise, however, even were it absolutely impossible to get an adequate supply of black labour, even were it absolutely impossible to make the mines pay with white, or with white and black labour combined, under free conditions—even then it would be impossible to justify the introduction of Chinese slave labour.

If the low-grade mines cannot be worked without slave labour, then they should not be worked at all.

Upon this, surely, the workers of this country will insist with no uncertain voice.

The Transvaal does not yet possess self-governing powers, and until that self-government is granted, as it should be right speedily, the responsibility rests upon the democracy of this country. The issue at stake is not merely whether the Transvaal shall be governed by the Randlords for the Randlords, or by the people for the people. The issue at stake is nothing less than this: Shall the mining magnates control the Empire and force upon it the lasting disgrace of Chinese slavery; or shall the Empire control the mine magnates, break down the vicious monopoly system which gives them their vast wealth and the enormous power they have so flagrantly abused, sweep aside the Ordinance, and restore to South Africa that freedom which is the only alchemy that can heal the many wounds caused by the war and weld the several Colonies into a South African Dominion, free as Canada is free, and therefore loyal as Canada is loyal?

In their Minority Report, Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside not only demonstrate the hollowness of the case for Chinese labour, but they lay down very clearly the fundamental principle which should guide us in the settlement of the great problem of the gold mines, and, for the matter of that, all kindred problems:

"We desire emphatically to state," they say, "that the mineral wealth of the Transvaal is the property of the people of the Transvaal, both white and coloured, and not of the foreign investor, who is entitled to nothing more than good interest upon the capital he invests."<sup>1</sup>

This principle, and its corollary—that the mineral wealth of the Transvaal "should be worked in the interests of the people of the Transvaal"—are incontrovertible. Indeed, though scouted by some and styled "a pernicious one" by others, this principle is of universal application. It applies not only to the mineral wealth of the

<sup>1</sup> At the Hyde Park demonstration, on March 26 last, Mr. Will Crooks, M.P., mentioned the case of a group of South African speculators who floated for half-a-million a mine the original capitalised value of which was £50,000, adding that the market price of the shares now stood at two and a quarter millions sterling! The Rand magnates are not content with a reasonable dividend on the £50,000 of capital actually invested. They demand huge dividends on the two and a quarter millions—mostly "water." Hence their dislike for white labour and their predilection for cheap Chinamen.

Transvaal, but to all the natural wealth of the Transvaal; not only to all the natural wealth of the Transvaal, but to all the natural wealth of every country—to all “land,” to use the economic term which embraces all natural wealth, all natural opportunities.

The land of every country belongs to the people of that country, and should be developed by the people in the interests of the people.

This is the ideal of freedom. It is the true Christian ideal. For, if God be the All-Father, then all men are brethren—all co-heirs to the Father's bounty.

Needless to say, however, this ideal does not commend itself to the Randlords in South Africa. Nor does it appeal to the landlords here at home. It is, in fact, too radical for a very large number even of “good Christian people” who regard land monopoly and the resulting wage slavery in this country—as the Archbishop of Canterbury regards yellow slavery in South Africa—as “a regrettable necessity.”

The ideal of the Randlords, the ideal of the landlords, is that of the slave-owner. “The Earth for us,” not “the Earth for all,” is their motto. And while they hold that the land should be developed by the people—white, black, or yellow—it must be developed, not in the interests of all, but in the interests of the exploiting few.

The industrial history of the world is but a record of the age-long strife between these two ideals.

In the beginning might was the only right. The strong everywhere enslaved the weak, treating them as mere goods and chattels—cattle, beasts of burden. Then humanity revolted against this naked wrong, and in all civilised countries the chattel slaves were “freed.” But the desire to exploit and enslave still remained, though to-day subtler methods than those of the old slave-owners must be employed.

In old, long-settled countries where population is dense, and where the land is in the hands of the few, the enslavement of labour is an easy matter, for, man being a land animal, the competition of the landless masses for access to the land, so essential to the life of all, inevitably brings into being a system of wage slavery which is far more effective as a means of exploitation than chattel slavery ever was, or ever could be.

In newly-settled countries, with extensive public domains readily accessible to labour, it is, however, a very different matter.

This is clearly shown by Karl Marx, the great German socialist, in the final illuminating chapter of his *Das Capital*, a chapter which, rightly understood, it seems to me, completely cuts the ground from under the elaborate structure of scientific socialism upreared in the preceding chapters of the book.

Karl Marx, in this chapter, is reviewing Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theory of "systematic colonisation," by which he sought "to effect the manufacture of wage-workers in the Colonies:"<sup>1</sup>

"It is," he says, "the great merit of E. G. Wakefield *to have discovered in the Colonies the truth as to the conditions of capitalist production*<sup>2</sup> *in the mother country.*" . . . First of all, Wakefield discovered that in the Colonies property in money, means of subsistence, machines, and other means of production, does not as yet stamp a man as a capitalist 'if there be wanting the correlative—the wage-worker who is compelled to sell himself of his own free-will.' . . . Mr. Peel, he means, took with him from England to Swan River, West Australia, means of subsistence and of production to the amount of £50,000. Mr. Peel had the forethought to bring with him, besides, 3000 persons of the working-class, men, women, and children. Once arrived at his destination, 'Mr. Peel was left without a servant to make his bed or fetch him water from the river.'<sup>3</sup>

Wakefield points out that "in new American settlements . . . a passion for owning land<sup>4</sup> prevents the existence of a class of labourers existing for hire," and that "in the Northern States of the American Union, it may be doubted whether so many as a tenth of the people would fall under the description of hired labourers," whereas "in England . . . the labouring class compose the bulk of the people." And he "contrasts the English capitalist agriculture and its 'combined' labour with the scattered cultivation of American peasants," greatly, in his view, to the disadvantage of the latter. But, says Marx,

" . . . he unwittingly gives us a glimpse at the reverse of the medal. He depicts the mass of the American people as well-to-do, independent, enterprising and comparatively cultured, whilst 'the English agricultural labourer is a miserable wretch, a pauper.' . . . In what country, except North America and some new Colonies, do the wages of free labour employed in agriculture, much exceed a bare subsistence<sup>5</sup> for the labourer? Undoubtedly, farm-horses in England, being a valuable property, are better fed than English peasants!"<sup>6</sup>

As Marx says:<sup>8</sup>

"The expropriation of the mass of the people from the soil forms the basis of the capitalist mode of production. The essence of a free Colony, on the contrary, consists in this—that the bulk of the soil is still public property, and every settler on it therefore can turn part of it into his private property and individual means of production, without hindering the later settlers in the same operation. This is the secret both of the prosperity of the Colonies and of their inveterate vice [from the exploiter's

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833; and *A View of the Art of Colonisation*, 1849.

<sup>2</sup> By "capitalist production" Karl Marx means a system under which capital exploits labour and holds it in subjection. On p. 792 of *Das Capital* he says, "We know that the means of production and subsistence, while they remain the property of the producer, are not capital. They become capital only under circumstances in which they serve at the same time as means of exploitation and subjection of the labourer."

<sup>3</sup> Italics, mine.

<sup>4</sup> i.e., an exploiter.

<sup>5</sup> Rather the possibility of owning land.

<sup>6</sup> The wages of slavery.

<sup>7</sup> P. 797.

<sup>8</sup> Pp. 793-4.

point of view]—opposition to the establishment of capital. ‘Where land is very cheap and all men are free, where every one who so pleases can easily obtain a piece of land for himself, not only is labour very dear, as respects the labourers’ share of the produce, but the difficulty is to obtain combined labour at any price.’”

“The great beauty of capitalist production,” continues Marx,

“consists in this—that it not only constantly reproduces the wage-worker as wage-worker, but produces always, in proportion to the accumulation of capital, a relative surplus population of wage-workers. Thus the law of supply and demand of labour is kept in the right rut, the oscillation of wages is penned within limits satisfactory to capitalist exploitation, and lastly, the social dependence of the labourer on the capitalist, that indispensable requisite, is secured; an unmistakable relation of dependence, which the smug political economist, at home, in the mother country, can transmogrify into one of free contract between buyer and seller, between equally independent owners of commodities, the owner of the commodity capital and the owner of the commodity labour. But in the Colonies this pretty fancy is torn asunder. The absolute population here increases much more quickly than in the mother-country, because many labourers enter this world as ready-made adults, and yet the labour market is always understocked. The law of the supply and demand of labour falls to pieces. . . . The wage-worker of to-day is to-morrow an independent peasant, or artisan, working for himself. He vanishes from the labour-market, but not into the workhouse. This constant transformation of the wage-labourers into independent producers, who work for themselves instead of for capital, and enrich themselves instead of the capitalist gentry, reacts in its turn very perversely on the conditions of the labour market. Not only does the degree of exploitation of the wage-labourer remain indecently low, the wage-labourer loses into the bargain, along with the relation of dependence, also the sentiment of dependence on the abstemious capitalist. Hence all the inconveniences that our E. G. Wakefield pictures so doughtily, so eloquently, so pathetically.

“The supply of wage-labour, he complains, is neither constant, nor regular, nor sufficient. ‘The supply of labour is always, not only small, but uncertain.’<sup>1</sup> ‘Though the produce divided between the capitalist and the labourer be large, the labourer takes so great a share that he soon becomes a capitalist. . . . Few, even of those whose lives are unusually long, can accumulate great masses of wealth.’ The labourers most distinctly decline to allow the capitalist to abstain from the payment of the greater part of their labour. It avails him nothing, if he is so cunning as to import from Europe, with his own capital, his own wage workers. They soon ‘cease . . . to be labourers for hire; they . . . become independent landowners, if not competitors with their former masters in the labour market.’”

“No wonder,” says Marx,

“Wakefield laments the absence of all dependence and of all sentiment of dependence on the part of the wage workers in the Colonies. On account of the high wages, says his disciple, Merivale, there is in the Colonies ‘the urgent desire for cheaper and more subservient labourers—for a class to whom the capitalist might dictate terms, instead of being dictated to by them.’<sup>2</sup> . . . In ancient civilised countries the labourer,

<sup>1</sup> Just the complaint of the Randlords!

<sup>2</sup> Merivale might almost have been a Randlord, he puts their views so clearly.

though free, is by a law of nature<sup>1</sup> dependent on capitalists; in Colonies this dependence must be created by artificial means.’”

How, then, to secure subservient and exploitable labour—how to “effect the manufacture of wage-workers in the Colonies?”

In the old colonial days the answer to the problem was the introduction of chattel slavery, and we know to what a race problem that has given rise in the United States. To-day the answer of the Randlords is still slavery—slavery masquerading as contract labour; but slavery coupled with as close a monopoly of the land as their Randlordships can secure. These gentry, if they can help it, take no chances.

The white man with his trades unions and his demand for the franchise, is too hard a nut to crack. The Kaffir, with his tribal system of agriculture, cannot be enslaved. So John Chinaman must be imported, he must be bound down simply to unskilled labour in the mines, he must be walled up in the compounds, he must, above all, have no chance to buy or lease land, for that would enable him to become independent, unexploitable.

True, to the problem of two alien white races, settled amongst and far outnumbered by a prolific black race, it adds the disturbing factor of a large yellow population. But what care the Randlords? Their object is to work the mines out as quickly as possible, and with the greatest possible profit to themselves. And when once the mines are worked out, South Africa, with its racial and other problems, may go hang. That the Chinese are neither white nor black, but yellow, is, from the point of view of the Randlords, a great advantage. It will enable them to work with the greater efficiency the Fugitive Slave Law which they have re-enacted. John Chinaman will be readily tracked down; for how can he disguise himself either as white man or as Kaffir?

Slavery, too, was Wakefield’s answer to the problem. “Slavery, according to Wakefield himself,” says Marx,

“is the sole natural basis of colonial wealth. His systematic colonisation is a mere *pis aller*, since he unfortunately has to do with free men, not with slaves. ‘The first Spanish settlers in Saint Domingo did not obtain labourers from Spain. But without labourers, their capital must have perished, or, at least, must soon have been diminished to that small amount which each individual could employ with his own hands. This has actually occurred in the last Colony founded by Englishmen—the Swan River Colony—where a great mass of capital, of seeds, implements, and cattle, has perished for want of labourers to use it, and where no settler has preserved much more than he can employ with his own hands.’”

To remedy this dire state of affairs, Wakefield, like “the first

<sup>1</sup> The “law of nature” that man, being a land animal, cannot live without access to the land and is therefore at the mercy of, or dependent upon, not the capitalists, as capitalists, but the land monopolists.

Spanish settlers in Saint Domingo," would have had recourse to chattel slavery; or failing that, he would, doubtless, like the Randlords, have tried indentured labour or compound slavery; but "unfortunately he had to do with free men."

How then did he set to work?

"If," says Marx,<sup>1</sup> "men were willing at a blow to turn all the soil from public into private property, they would destroy certainly the root of the evil, but also—the Colonies. The trick is how to kill two birds with one stone." And this he tells us was Wakefield's scheme:

"Let the Government put upon the virgin soil an artificial price, independent of the law of supply and demand, a price that compels the immigrant to work a long time for wages before he can earn money to buy land, and turn himself into an independent peasant. The funds resulting from the sale of land at a price relatively prohibitory for the wage-workers . . . the Government is to employ . . . in proportion as it grows, to import have-nothings from Europe into the Colonies, and thus keep the wage-labour market full for the capitalists. Under these circumstances, *tout sera pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possibles*. This is the great secret of 'systematic colonisation.' By this plan Wakefield cries in triumph, 'the supply of labour *must* be constant and regular, because, first, as no labourer would be able to procure land until he had worked for money, all immigrant labourers, working for a time for wages and in combination, would produce capital for the employment of more labourers; secondly, because every labourer who left off working for wages and became a landowner, would, by purchasing land, provide a fund for bringing fresh labour to the Colony. The price of the soil imposed by the State must, of course, be a 'sufficient price'—*i.e.*, so high 'as to prevent the labourers from becoming independent landowners until others had followed to take their place.'"

"But why all these quotations from Karl Marx? Why all this talk about Edward Gibbon Wakefield?" you will say.

To make the workers of this country realise that the labour problem is at bottom the same the world over—that we have to fight to-day, not only slavery in South Africa, but slavery here at home. To make them realise that it is not capital, *quid* capital, that is the enemy, but land monopoly. To make them realise how unutterably foolish they were, first in 1895 and again in 1900, to place "a Landlord Government" in power to rule over them.

As Buckle has well said,<sup>2</sup> "Landlords are, perhaps, the only great body of men whose interest is diametrically opposed to the interest of the nation." Your landlord is your exploiter *par excellence*. And the present Government is essentially a Government of exploiters.

In the Transvaal the Rand magnates fight for their own hand openly and unashamed, facing the growing light of the twentieth century with fronts of brass. In our self-governing Colonies, thanks

<sup>1</sup> P. 798.

<sup>2</sup> *Fragment on the Rise of Agriculture. Miscellaneous Works, vol. I., p. 350.*

to "the trail of the trades-union serpent," and thanks to the wide extension of the franchise, the exploiters are compelled to walk warily and with whispered humbleness, in fear and trembling, for the doom at hand. In this country, thanks to the economic ignorance of the middle classes and of the toiling masses, and thanks to the skill with which Tory "statesmanship," with its Jingo Imperialism, manages to keep "the eyes of the fool in the ends of the earth," the predatory classes are still the ruling classes.

But the exploiters in this country feel that they are fighting with their backs to the wall. They see that an awakening is near. And hence, in their desperation, they have even gone so far as to tear down the whole fabric of our educational system.

It was not without good reason that Cobden said, upwards of half a century ago :

"The Tories, whatever they may say to the contrary, are at heart opposed to the enlightenment of the people. They are naturally so through an instinct of self-preservation."

"What hinders reform?" wrote John Richard Green, the historian, to Professor Freeman in 1867. "What hinders reform? The want of education among the people. And what hinders education but the present attempt at a sectarian and not a national system? And what hinders a national system but the Church?" Again, he said, "The clergy know that a thoroughly educated people, and that people without any uneducated classes, would be the ruin of their establishment. The squirearchy see that with it a squirearchy would be impossible."

It is hardly conceivable that the author of *Philosophic Doubt* cares anything for the dogmas of the Church. He is himself, in fact, a Nonconformist. But it is very possible that he desires that the children of the poor shall be well drilled in that part of the Catechism which bids them "order themselves lowly and reverently to their betters"—which tells them, in effect, to pray :

"God bless the Squire and his rich relations,  
And teach us all to keep our proper stations."

This Government of Exploiters hates and fears "the trail of the trades-union serpent" just as much as the Rand magnates do. Hence their opposition to the remedial legislation intended to free the trades unions of this country from the grave disabilities resulting from the Taff Vale decision and similar "judge-made law."

They feared the growing enlightenment of the people, due to the democratic School Board system of education. Hence they sought, and still seek, to enable their Church to exploit the children in our schools, just as they seek to enable the brewers to continue unchecked their exploitation of the manhood and womanhood of



the nation, in order that the people, ignorant and beer-sodden, may remain an easy prey to those who enslave them.

"Enslave them?" you cry.

Yes, "enslave them." Land ownership involves man ownership. The industrial system of this land of ours is simply slavery masquerading in the guise of freedom. Your "free-born Britisher" is, if the truth must be told, less free than the Kaffir. Whereas "the land of the Kaffirs belongs to all the Kaffirs," "the land of the English belongs to only a few of the English." And whereas the Randlords have not succeeded in breaking up the tribal system of agriculture so that the Kaffirs may be "deprived of the opportunity of getting land enough to earn a living," and may be compelled to accept any wage they please to offer, the landlords in this country, by methods scathingly exposed by Professor Thorold Rogers, in his *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, succeeded long ago in transforming themselves from State tenants into land-"owners," and in enclosing the greater part of the "common" land. The "free-born Britisher" is, in consequence, very effectually "deprived of the opportunity of getting land enough to earn a living." He is unable to employ himself on the land, and therefore, in order to get an opportunity of earning a living, he is, as Karl Marx puts it, "*compelled to sell himself of his own free-will.*" By withholding land from use "a relative surplus population of wage-workers" is readily secured. "Thus the law of supply and demand of labour is kept in the right rut, the oscillation of wages is penned within limits satisfactory to capitalist exploitation," and labour becomes so cheap that "undoubtedly farm-horses in England, being a valuable property, are better fed than English peasants."

Aye, and better housed!

"Millions of human creatures," says Cardinal Vaughan,<sup>1</sup>

"are housed worse than the cattle and horses of many a lord and squire. Nearly a million of the London poor need re-housing; the medical authority has reported against 141,000 houses as insanitary, in which the poor are huddled together, in numbers varying from four to twelve and more in a single room. What delicacy, modesty, or self-respect can be expected in men and women whose bodies are so shamefully packed together?"

"Enslave them"? What is this but slavery?

And such conditions as these are due to land monopoly.

Said Professor F. W. Newman, in his *Lectures on Political Economy*:<sup>2</sup>

"Here is the fundamental error, the crude and monstrous assumption, that the land which God has given to our nation, is or can be the private

<sup>1</sup> Inaugural address to the Annual Catholic Truth Society, at Stockport, published in the *St. Vincent de Paul Quarterly*, New York, Nov. 1892, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> 1851. Lecture VI., p. 133.

property of any one. It is a usurpation exactly similar to that of slavery."

As Henry George, the great apostle of land reform, has well said:<sup>1</sup>

"If chattel slavery be unjust, then is private property in land unjust.

"For, let the circumstances be what they may—the ownership of land will always give the ownership of men, to a degree measured by the necessity (real or artificial) for the use of land. . . .

"Place one hundred men on an island from which there is no escape, and whether you make one of these men the absolute owner of the other ninety-nine, or the absolute owner of the soil of the island, will make no difference either to him or to them.

"In the one case, as the other, the one will be the absolute owner of the ninety-nine—his power extending even to life and death, for simply to refuse them permission to live upon the island would be to force them into the sea."

"But the ninety-nine would never stand such a state of things as that," you say.

Would they not? Why, if the British Isles were that island we should see the ninety-nine vulgar, and a vulgar fraction besides, slaves to less than half a man!

Of the whole of the British Isles it is estimated that 180,524 landlords—that is to say, persons "owning" more than a field and a tenement each—"own" ten-elevenths! Therefore, considerably less than one two-hundredth part—considerably less than one-half of 1 per cent.—of the population have the right, as the law is now interpreted, to turn the other 41,000,000 of us—English, Irish, Scotch and Welsh—out of our native land!

"But we wouldn't stand that!"

We stand a great deal!

The White Paper containing the latest budget of "Emigration Statistics for Ireland" shows that since 1851 no less than 3,961,011 Irish folk have been driven by landlordism from the land of their birth; that, as the *Daily News* puts it:<sup>2</sup>

"In a little over half a century nearly four millions of Irish people, mostly in their youth and early manhood, and forming a body more or less equivalent to the whole population of inner London, have left their native land."

The Irish people, to their credit be it said, were not disposed to "take this lying down." They would have made short work of land monopoly. But we stupid English, though suffering in degree from a like infliction, strengthened the hands of the landlords and aided and abetted them in their foul work.<sup>3</sup>

In the history of "the Highland clearances" we may read a

<sup>1</sup> *Progress and Poverty*, Book VII., Chap. ii.

<sup>2</sup> May 2, 1904.

<sup>3</sup> And now the "Unionist" Party, the Landlord Party, are demanding that since the population of Ireland has been cut down by one-half the representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament shall, in defiance of the Act of Union, also be cut down by one-half, so that the fetters of monopoly may be riveted still more securely upon the wasting limbs of poor Hibernia!

similar shameful tale. And the Highland clearances are still proceeding—proceeding, too, at the hands of South African millionaires!

“Not in South Africa alone,” said the *New Age* in a recent issue :

“Not in South Africa alone does the De Beers Company curse the land. From the *Highland News* we learn of the desolation wrought in Inverness by the power of the diamond lords. Mr. Rudd, one of the richest of the De Beers Directors, bought the estate of Ardnamurchan, in the Highlands, a few years ago, and every year since the purchase he has added field to field, expropriating farmer after farmer, for the enlargement of his deer forest. Nine farms have been cleared, sheep stocks to the number of 8500 have been got rid of, and the whole industrious population of a large territory have been driven from their native land.”

Surely such facts as these will rouse the democracy throughout the Empire to the danger that threatens its very existence.

“The dangerous classes,” it has well been said, “are the very rich and the very poor.” The most dangerous class is that class which, rich beyond the dreams of avarice, recognises no law but its own insatiable desires, no right but the might of “the almighty dollar.”

It is against such soulless greed that we have to battle. The fight is now on—the fight of the people against monopoly, of the right against the wrong, of freedom against slavery. And if that fight is to be won, we must quit ourselves like men.

But we do not fight in the dark, nor as those without hope.

Well may the Randlords look with fear and trembling upon what is taking place in Australasia, for there Labour, with its great trades-union organisations and the power of the ballot, has practically “knocked out monopoly in the first round.” There, in the Colonies settled under the influence and theories of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the very different influence and theories of Mr. Henry George have made wonderful headway. His “simple yet sovereign remedy,” the taxation of land values, is now in partial operation in New Zealand, New South Wales, South Australia, and Queensland, and the results have been so striking that, for all who have eyes to see, it is clear that the solution of the riddle which the Sphinx of fate propounds to our civilisation has been found. Canada is attacking the problem on the same lines; and there too the results have proved most beneficial. Even in South Africa there are those who see the great light that heralds the dawn.

Referring to the ruin that is threatening the Rand, the *South African Guardian* says :

“There is, however, a means whereby that calamity can be averted. Let the State tax the mines on their value, less capital expenditure, whether working or idle, and the depression would soon vanish and every stamp be falling. The mine-owners could be allowed to value their properties, the State having the right to take them over at their valuation.

This would check under-valuation. If the tax were made heavy enough, there would be such a rush for labour, such a zeal to produce, that the Transvaal would hum with prosperity."<sup>1</sup>

Aye, and it would smash "the biggest trust on earth." The vast monopoly power of the Randlords would be broken. They would no longer be able to take John Bull by the throat and say to him, "Either you give us Chinese slave labour or we will not pay the £10,000,000 that we guaranteed to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain."

Their power to bend the Empire to their will rests upon the same basis as the power of Lord Penrhyn to crush the Bethesda Quarrymen's Union. Just as Lord Penrhyn, by closing down "his" quarries, was able to keep some two thousand men out of work for three years and practically depopulate a whole countryside, starving the people into submission, so the Randlords, by simply shutting down the mines and holding idle the rich mineral resources of the Transvaal, can threaten the future of the whole of South Africa, force those on the spot to throw up their hats for Chinese labour, and bring enormous pressure to bear on statesmen and others at home. But, just as Lord Penrhyn would have been unable to afford the luxury of smashing the Quarrymen's Union if, instead of having his assessment reduced by some thousands of pounds, he had been required to pay rates on the full value of "his" quarries whether in full work or not, and if he had been required to pay the land-tax of 4s. in the pound, not on the values of 200 years ago, but upon full present values, so the Randlords, if forced to pay a substantial tax upon full Rand values, whether their claims were being worked or held idle—a tax, one-half of which should go towards paying for the war, while the other half should be ear-marked for the rehabilitation of stricken South Africa—would be shorn of their power to dominate the economic situation, would be forced to abandon their pro-Chinese policy, and would be only too glad to make reasonable terms with the labour—white and black—naturally available.

Here, and in South Africa, it is land monopoly that is the enemy. Abolish land monopoly and you abolish slavery, whether white or yellow. Let us, then, strike a blow not only against yellow slavery in South Africa, but also against white slavery here at home.

A. W.

<sup>1</sup> It should be remembered, too, that in 1898, the year before the war broke out, Mr. Cronwright Schreiner, the Premier of Cape Colony, introduced a Land Tax Bill under which the De Beers Company, which now pays little or nothing, would have been called upon to contribute £140,000 a year towards the expenses of the State. Mr. Cecil Rhodes and his creatures in the Upper House defeated the measure, but they read the handwriting on the wall, and that, possibly, was one of the causes that led them to rush the situation. The Johannesburg City Council, too, has twice declared in favour of the rating of land values, which, as in Australasia, would go far towards the solution of the housing problem now so acute on the Rand.

## NATIONAL AND POLITICAL EFFICIENCY.

THERE has been much talk of late about national efficiency. Can we, however, reach national efficiency except by first securing political efficiency, and shall we ever achieve the latter except by a wide departure from our present altogether immoral system of party politics?

We are gradually more and more emulating the methods of the Irish politicians who have recently declared that whatever side they take in regard to Mr. Chamberlain's policy will be solely inspired by considerations as to which side will give them what they want in respect to Ireland. The party which had almost despaired of power have recently rushed at their chance, and have flooded the country with party catch-cries about "free trade" and "free food," the one quite as misleading—and, therefore, dishonest—as the other. This is, indeed, an age for political free lances, when so-called Imperialists of the Sir Harry Johnston stamp, after writing strongly in favour of preferential tariffs, seize what seems to be an opportunity for getting into Parliament on the opposite tack. This gentleman appears to have reserved separate views for the Sir Harry Johnston advising the Foreign Office to the Sir Harry Johnston writing in the *Nineteenth Century*, so that the public taste for something fresh was likely to be satisfied at Rochester—and so it was. Again, this "free foodler" candidate seems to have appreciated the intrinsic value "politically" of showing his sympathy with as many religious creeds as possible, by putting in an appearance at the cathedral in the morning of one Sunday and at a chapel in the evening, whilst his wife did duty separately at two other chapels. One likes to see a certain breadth of mind even in matters of religion; but surely, to the truly religious mind, this sort of thing is more likely to spell contempt than anything else. Any Christian should be capable of good fellowship with those having another sectarian faith without necessarily belonging to them all.

But Sir Harry, apart from his aforesaid little peculiarities as a candidate, is a man whom we could have heartily welcomed to Parliament on different grounds—a man whose official and other experience in Uganda and Central Africa might be turned to good account in the House, despite his inconsistencies on the fiscal

question, &c. But what are we to say of certain other varieties of the species *Candidatus*? Let us turn to the recent election at St. Andrews, for instance. Here two good-natured sportsmen were dragged from the moors to stand against one another, each admitting that he knew nothing of the Education Act—neither of them had read it, and probably they found the intricacies of fiscal policy still less attractive—but each, due possibly to wifely ambition, sits up through the night poring over Blue-books in order to tell his electors all about it.

The object of my remarks is not, however, so much to call attention to newly-fledged "Statesmen" finding their way into Parliament merely as the result of domestic ambition and a long purse, as to the manner in which opportunism of every kind influences political and national efficiency. What does the average man, who, having made, or inherited, a certain sum, thinks he will "go in for politics," set himself to consider? Is it not invariably what line is most likely to lead to his election as "M.P." for the particular constituency in which—owing to reasons of interest or what not—he thinks he has the best chance of success? But surely the aspiring statesman should have devoted months, if not years, of study to the *pros* and *cons* of each really important political question of the day? Surely, too, he should have a good general knowledge of the Parliamentary history of, at least, the last quarter century? Then, perhaps, he might be able to persuade a constituency that he is a man who (as the result of careful and impartial study) will vote in accordance with the probable needs of the country. If not, he will at any rate have done some good by the mere ventilation and discussion of his matured views. To candidates of this description, considerable honour would be due—whether they spent their own money at election time, or whether funds were found by their admiring adherents to cover expenses, which should be far less than they are. It is not so much good talkers that we want, as sound and well-informed politicians, who may be relied upon both to speak and to vote conscientiously. We already have in the House of Commons enough and to spare of mere orators.

Is it not also something of a scandal that, just because a man is the elected representative of a given constituency in the legislative council of the realm, or is "nursing" that constituency with a view to becoming such, *therefore* he should be expected—as he nearly always is—to subscribe liberally to local bicycle clubs, church and chapel building funds, *et hoc genus omne*? Such subscriptions, as is well known, often form the heaviest item in the devoted member's "parliamentary" expenses. In the case of certain candidates who have nothing better than such largesses to recommend them to the electorate, the *best* that can be said is that these disbursements are a self-inflicted fine for their overweening ambition, and, on the part

of the public, a sort of legitimate blackmail! From our present standpoint—the political efficiency of the nation—this, of course, does not mend matters, since it involves the much more serious consequence that good men who happen to be poor are barred or discouraged from contesting such constituencies at all.

Who, then, are responsible for the encouragement at present given to the pack of gilt-edged mediocrities who seek membership of our great national assembly for the satisfaction of their social ambitions, and to use it as a dumping-ground for their garrulous self-conceit? Who is responsible, I say, for all these unprepared, half-fledged “young barbarians,” as Matthew Arnold would have classified them, who, in a “spare moment” jot down in notes for to-morrow’s speech to their unfortunate constituents just the greenest of green stuff which is most likely to “go down” with their own particular Parish-Pumpers, without any thought of what is for the good of the nation at large?<sup>1</sup> Surely the electorate themselves. A fair illustration of this is to be found in the large body of interested persons who some time ago declared that they would only ask their candidates one question at the next General Election, and that was as to the line they would take regarding the “Motor Problem”! The present method of electoral axe-grinding is largely responsible for candidates putting their constituency before their country and currying favour with individuals and small coteries at the expense of the vital interests of a great Empire. Such candidates, moreover, are often personally unsuited in other ways than those referred to above for taking a broad, national view of many subjects, being closely connected with some particular financial or professional interest, and unable to dissociate that interest from those of the nation as a whole: on the other hand, the mere fact that Members have a business experience and aptitude renders them peculiarly well adapted for dealing with other problems with which their interests do not happen to be concerned. With such men, the question is, how far in each case will sense of duty prevail over self-interest? What, in fact, we really want here is the broad, intellectually trained and well-balanced mind, with practical experience, but free from the pecuniary temptations due either to greed on the one hand, or to poverty on the other. If we had more of this type on Royal Commissions and Parliamentary Inquiries, more useful work would be effected. As things stand at present, however, these institutions—as a method of

<sup>1</sup> At present Parliamentary legislation is practically the only work for which some qualification and training—other than that of a long purse and tongue—are not considered essential; yet, nationally speaking, it is more important than any other work. But, as a matter of fact, in our so-called “Imperial Parliament,” as at present constituted, serious work is largely replaced by gibing, wit, and humour—take, for example, a recent speech by Mr. Gibson Bowles on so important a subject as the Fiscal Question, or even that of a Privy Councillor and ex-Minister, Mr. Asquith, on the same occasion. No wonder the House of Commons has gained the characteristic reputation of being “the best club in London”!

consigning to decent burial a troublesome matter which the Government of the day cannot see votes in—should be brought to an end as speedily as possible.

To come back to the main point, we shall obtain National efficiency when we obtain political efficiency; and as a first step, we, above all things, require to rid ourselves of the utterly rotten state into which party politics have sunk—a system by which a mass of M.P.'s think out nothing for themselves, but follow into lobbies as they are told, and who are only elected on the strength of individual promises more or less associated with the parish pump. A General Election is coming on before very long, and—with the introduction of entirely new problems largely associated with the question of Empire—surely this is the time to show that we will no longer put up with the existing political ineptitude of our representatives.

We shall only begin to secure political efficiency when some practical move has been made towards the formation of a National party. This National party should be constituted, in the first place, of such Conservative, Liberal, Liberal-Unionist, Radical, and even Irish Nationalist partisans, as are prepared to throw over their respective party-shibboleths once and for all—and *as their first programme*—to agree upon a list of measures conducive to the consolidation and more perfect harmonisation of the Empire as it now stands: also (in so far as may be consistent with this main object) reform of the defensive services, conciliation of conflicting race and class interests at home and within the self-governing parts of the Empire, and finally certain other moderate but ripe and urgent measures of political and social reform. The party's *essential policy*, indeed, would be neither the support of any class or sectional privileges (like the old Conservatives), nor that of freedom and democracy (like the old Radicals), nor of "Individualism" or "Collectivism," but characteristically the consolidation and more perfect harmonisation of the Empire as it now stands.

It would be—may I say, will be—in short, a party devoted to national and imperial, not parochial, class, or private and corporate "business" interests; a true Parliamentary party of the Empire, as distinguished from one that concerns itself largely with provincial, local, or even exclusively British, or Irish, politics. A party, moreover, that insists upon competence, thoroughness and honesty of purpose in its leaders, and seeks representatives from among all classes and sections of the people. A party, finally, that is not ashamed of treating politics as a serious profession, and making its representatives in Parliament exhibit knowledge of their subjects, as well as other special qualifications, before they send them to the poll. Membership at present is too much the prize of a scramble between those candidates who are endowed with the longest purses, the easiest consciences, and the loudest voices.



Those who have no mere local, or personal, axes to grind, but are close students of the conditions and requirements of their country and its great colonies and dependencies, must be encouraged either to stand for Parliament themselves, or to take an active part on behalf of "national" candidates, in educating the large number of voters who know little of their Empire or its needs, and who sadly require to learn how their own interests—or those of their children at any rate—are really bound up with the whole of this vast British world.

Let it not be supposed that this remark applies only to the labouring classes. On the contrary, the number of people of high social position and "good education" who are still unable to realise that the Colonies are over-sea extensions of their own country—or at any rate speak more or less contemptuously of these and other wings of the Empire—is quite as remarkable in these days of easy inter-communication and travel, as is their "insularity" when in foreign countries. The want of really intelligent concern in politics is certainly as much marked in the upper classes as anywhere.

Turning to the middle classes, the average business or professional man gets his politics from his pet newspaper. Sheep-like, he never takes the trouble to read the other side of the question, or to acquaint himself with other points of view. Look into an early morning suburban train going city-wards. You will see rows of men reading their newspapers; and if you subsequently touch on any topic of the day, you will find their impressions are impressions of the paper they have been reading—not the result of their own judgment after an impartial study and weighing of arguments one against another. All this leads, not only to party feeling, as incited by most of the newspapers, but to actual prejudice—in fact, to a narrow and bigoted view of things, accompanied by a childish pride in their self-attributed shrewdness of mind in arriving at what is, in reality, merely the adopted creed of a party pleader.

Putting aside patriotism, the man of business, in thinking that he has no time for an independent study of politics, little realises how important such a study is in his own interests. A truly national party would make it part of their business to bring this fact home to him.

The working classes take some interest in their elections, because, besides a certain pride in exercising their votes, they hope to get their particular needs gratified. Their study of the problems of the day, however, is mainly limited to listening to the candidates, and reading the political leaflets that are so freely distributed, many of which are very misleading and superficial. The present party leaders, on either (or any) side of politics, cannot surely be proud of the claptrap which they inflict, in pamphlet and leaflet form, upon their long-suffering fellow-citizens in corduroy!

Speaking generally, the majority of the comfortable classes take but little part or interest in the elections. Of those who *do* vote, many do so as Conservatives, partly because their fathers and forefathers were Conservatives, partly for certain class reasons—but not by any means as the result of properly reasoned convictions. People of this description cannot any longer vote Conservative, for the Conservative party is now in process of breaking up into at least two sections! This fact should surely serve as an incentive to a study of the situation, to replace the present lazy attitude so peculiarly characteristic of Englishmen in regard to politics—especially if appertaining in any way to foreign countries.

With the advent of a fresh set of problems, all true citizens should in fact endeavour to recognise as their paramount duty a wider interest in, and a closer study of, Imperial Politics before, and at, the General Election that is coming. This would lead almost certainly to the formation of a strong National party, on lines somewhat similar to those above indicated, in substitution for the Unionist party, which shows signs of more or less rapid disintegration. I repeat, then, a true “National” party should work in the interests of the Empire as a whole—for to-morrow as well as for to-day, for our children as well as for ourselves—rather than in the interests of any particular section, class, or industry.

The present moment is favourable for the establishment of such a party, in that its adherents would, at any rate, be certain to view the proposed fiscal reforms from the right (national) standpoint rather than from that of their constituents as individuals. Above all, such a party would put on one side the special consideration of the consumer pure and simple—a really non-existent class except amongst the idle. Such a party would also think out the Chinese Labour problem on its own merits, from a national standpoint. If a really compact and business-like party in opposition to it is also formed, so much the better for political progress.

CHARLES BRIGHT.

## A PLEA FOR FREE TRADE IN LAND.

"If I were twenty-five or thirty," wrote Cobden, "instead of being, unhappily, twice that number of years, I would take Adam Smith in hand. I would not go beyond him. I would have no politics in it. I would take Adam Smith in hand, and I would have a league for Free Trade in land, just as we have a league for Free Trade in corn. You will find just the same authority in Adam Smith for the one as for the other; and if it were taken up—as it must be taken up to succeed—not as a political, revolutionary, radical, Chartist notion, but taken up on politico-economic grounds, the agitation would be sure to succeed."

No public man came in for a greater share of abuse than Cobden in his lifetime; and now, after sixty years of practical proof of the soundness of his statesmanship, we have tariff reformers and other enlightened folk travelling about England and disparaging his great and successful efforts for freedom of trade, and pouring contempt and ridicule on the memory of a man who will be for ever remembered as an illustrious champion of justice and freedom.

The enormous improvement in the condition of the people of these islands since the Free Trade era is patent to all who take the trouble to observe and think; but it is an undoubted fact that it is in the large towns, amongst the superior working classes, that the largest measure of progress is to be noted. Although the agricultural labourers are in many ways in a far better position than they were fifty years ago, still their opportunities for bettering their condition are little more now than before the Free Trade era. Their wages are better, clothing and food are cheaper, and their children enjoy what is perhaps the doubtful benefit of superior education; but their chance of rising to a better position is no more now than it was fifty years ago, with the result that the best and most adventurous of their sons drift to the large towns, or emigrate to Canada, there to seek that chance of rising in the world which is denied to them in their own villages. In the sixteenth century a landlord had to grant four acres of land to every cottage on his estate, and commonage rights existed in all villages; but these rights and privileges of the agricultural labourer have been encroached upon, and most cottages have a wretchedly inadequate garden, though it is true [that farmers allow their

labourers a certain quantity of potatoes and other produce. But the mere granting of temporary rights to the use of small portions of land will not really improve the chances of the farm labourers. They have still in some instances to live in old houses, badly ventilated and in bad repair, whole families (as is the case in my neighbourhood) occupying one room. How can decency and self-respect be maintained under such conditions? One room in which to do the working, sleeping, and living for a man and wife and five children! And yet there are rich people who wonder that the poor are discontented! It is well that they are discontented; if they were as clamorous as some of the Irish they might have as good an opportunity for the improvement of their position.

The country is faced with a grave danger—the loss to the country districts of the best and most resourceful of its inhabitants. When Parliament gets the fiscal question out of the way it is to be hoped that it may be possible so to legislate as to prevent this continued exodus from the country; and it will, I think, be useful to consider one of the means by which the best of the agricultural labourers can be induced to stay on the land.

One way to bring about a happier condition is to give facilities to the agricultural labourers to purchase land in the districts in which they have worked, and in which, in many cases, their families have resided for centuries. To give a concrete instance. A blacksmith of my acquaintance, who has several stalwart sons, complained to me that though he and his sons had saved money they could not get land in the neighbourhood, as it was all entailed and through this could not be sold. Now the estate on which he lives and works is a small one belonging to an ancient family, and is in the hands of the money-lender, and none of the family will agree to the sale of the property, now let as a large farm. If this and other estates in like case could be cut up into small farms and sold, what an advantage it would be, not only to the best of the working classes, who by their thrift and sobriety could obtain farms, but to all other labourers in the country; how greatly their general condition would improve, and how much to the advantage of England it would be to keep her stalwart sons on the land in their own counties!

Partly through debt, but mainly through an unenlightened selfishness, many owners of property in England live away from their estates, leaving their management entirely in the hands of agents. London seems to be the only place now worth living in, though in past centuries the landed proprietors lived on their estates, identified themselves with the interests of their tenants and workpeople, and generally led a more wholesome and happier life than their present-day descendants.

The feudal system, which, as Hallam says, has always been

instrumental to oppression, has had its day, and no greater argument for the entire abolition of any remaining privileges of that system of tyranny and spoliation could be advanced than this disinclination on the part of many of the wealthy to recognise "that property has its duties as well as its rights."

The complaint of absenteeism on the part of landed proprietors was strongly put forty years ago by the Conservative historian Froude, who wrote, in reference to landlords, in his essay on Progress :

"Progress and civilisation conceal the existence of his obligations and destroy at the same time the old-fashioned customs which limited the sphere of his free-will. The great estates have swallowed the small. The fat ears of corn have eaten up the lean. The same owner holds properties in a dozen counties. He cannot reside upon them all or make personal acquaintance with his multiplied dependents. He has several country residences. He lives in London half the year and most of the rest upon the Continent. Inevitably he comes to regard his land as an investment ; his duty to it, the development of its producing powers ; the receipt of his rents, the essence of the connection ; and his personal interest in it, the sport which it will provide for himself and his friends. Modern landlords frankly tell us that if the game laws are abolished they will have lost the last temptation to visit their country seats. If this is their view of the matter, the sooner they sell their estates and pass them over to others, to whom life has not yet ceased to be serious, the better it will be for the community. They complain of the growth of democracy and insubordination. The fault is wholly in themselves. They have lost the respect of the people because they have ceased to deserve it."

If the law of entail were absolutely abolished in England, the result would be that at the death of the owners many large estates would be sold and the proceeds divided amongst the children. The need for the perpetuation of great families in England passed away with the feudal system, and it is a manifest injustice to the younger sons that the elder should take all the landed property ; and though in times past the system of primogeniture and the law of entail worked well, still the pressure of population is so great and the loss to the country so enormous through the perpetuation of this archaic system that the sooner it is abolished the better. Why should not land be treated as a commodity, to be freely bought and sold like other commodities ? Why should a monopoly price exist in England of all places ? If all land were freely bought and sold, the single tax confiscator could no more claim to confiscate rent than he could to confiscate the interest on any other investment.

It has been urged that large estates are essential to profitable farming, but I know farmers of large estates who are giving them up as bad investments. Small farmers on the contrary seem to thrive fairly. In Ireland all the late land legislation has been for the benefit of the tenant farmer. It has certainly not been for the benefit of the Irish agricultural labourers, who are emigrating to the

States and Canada by thousands. Ireland has wrongs, real or imaginary. It is a conquered country, and so is England for that matter, and not so many years before Ireland. A Northumbrian hind, whose family was on the Border before the Norman Conquest, said to me recently, "Why should all the land legislation be for Ireland? Why shouldn't we have a chance?" These men are commencing to think. They see men coming over from Ireland to work in the busy seasons, whose families have small properties of their own, which the work they get in England helps to pay for. Now that cheap newspapers are to be had, and reading-rooms are established in every village, the Northumbrian shepherd or hind naturally reflects on his own rights and position. It is absurd to attempt to check the aspirations of these law-abiding, patient folk, who for centuries have tilled the fields, and who in past ages bore the brunt of all the border-fighting while the south of England slept in peace. The need for smaller freeholds was never more pressing than at this time, but the agricultural labourers will have to organise and agitate if they wish to carry out this great reform. To quote Adam Smith :

"In Europe the law of primogeniture and perpetuities of different kinds prevent the division of great estates, and thereby hinder the multiplication of small proprietors. A small proprietor, however, who knows every part of his little territory, views it with all the affection which property, especially small property, naturally inspires, and who upon that account takes pleasure not only in cultivating, but in adorning it, is generally of all improvers the most industrious, the most intelligent, and the most successful. The same regulations, besides, keeps so much land out of the market that there are always more capitals to buy than there is land to sell, so that what is sold always sells at a monopoly price. . . . If landed estates, however, were divided equally among all the children upon the death of any proprietor who left a numerous family, the estate would generally be sold. So much land would come to market that it would no longer sell at a monopoly price. The free rent of land would go no nearer to pay the interest of the purchase-money, and a small capital might be employed in purchasing land as profitably as in any other way."

There are evils enough to combat in this kingdom without making the lot of those who toil harder. There is, it is true, room for countless thousands of agriculturalists on the fertile plains of Australia and New Zealand ; but the absurd and tyrannical laws imposed by the will of the democracy of these British Colonies check that stream of emigration which would be at once so beneficial to both the Colonies and the Mother Land. Though of late there are indications that a reversal of this Chinese wall policy is contemplated, still there would be no undue pressure of population in England if wiser and freer land laws existed. It is to be hoped that when South Africa shakes herself free from capitalistic monopoly that room will be found there for many thousands of toilers from the United Kingdom, who could never hope to hold land in their native country,

though it is, I submit, a manifest injustice to prudent and thrifty men in England that through the operation of this law of entail they are unable to secure small holdings in their own counties.

There are other matters in connection with land which require alteration. The simplification of transfer is one. Why should not land be freely transferred between buyer and seller without a number of expensive legal processes? "Every man his own lawyer" results, I know, in bad law; but surely in these days of free education and enlightenment there ought to be little difficulty in simplifying a good many legal processes, still wrapt in the mystery of the dark ages!

John Bright, in one of his most telling speeches, says:

"I believe that these vast properties, which are of no real advantage to those who hold them—for £100,000 a year, or £200,000 a year, can give no man greater happiness than £10,000 or £5000 a year—I say these great properties with great political power, form what we call our great territorial system—a system which prevails to an extent in this country which is probably unknown in any other, but which leaves the cultivator of the soil ignorant, and hopeless, and dependent, and degraded. There is, as you know, a great tendency to increase the size of farms throughout the country, a practice which makes it still more difficult for the labourer even to become a tenant, or to rise from the condition in which he is. You see a ladder—the social ladder—upon which you wish to see the poor and depressed and unfortunate nine-or-ten-shillings-a-week labourer ascend gradually. You would rejoice to see him get up a few steps and become a farmer, although but in a small way, or the owner of a small piece of land. But you find that for six, or eight, or ten feet up the ladder the steps are broken out; and in his low position he has not a chance of beginning the ascent. Let there be steps in the shape of small farms and small estates, and land freely bought and sold, and then he will have something to hope for, something to save even his small earnings for, that he may be able to purchase or to occupy one of these small farms and get away from the humble and melancholy position in which he is now to one which I wish from my soul every labourer in this country could find himself placed in."

These great reforms may not come at once, but come they must, and it is the better for the landed interest to recognise the spirit of the time, and voluntarily give up their antiquated feudal pretensions than to be made to do so by the force of an exasperated public opinion. There is a sense of justice and reason in all people of English descent, and that spirit which has always animated the people of this country will never allow any violent scheme of confiscation; but the rights of the poorer people are not so fully acknowledged as they ought to be; their enduring patience has its limits, and I for one feel that the time is rapidly approaching for a fuller recognition of the claims of the rural poor, a recognition, which though late in coming, will be none the less welcome to them, and which will give a strength and stability to the kingdom greater even than exists at the present time.

“ Liberty  
Always with right reason dwells  
Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual being:  
Reason in man obscured, or not obeyed,  
Immediately inordinate desires  
And upstart passions catch the government  
From reason, and to servitude reduce  
Man, till then free.”

SIDWELL SHOTTON.



## AN APPEAL TO THE LIBERAL PARTY.

ALTHOUGH Party Government may not be a perfect institution, the form taken by it in England is, perhaps, that which approaches nearest to nature. There can only exist logically two parties, the one Conservative and the other Liberal. Labour or Home Rule parties represent only local or corporate interests, and must unite more or less the two elements of Liberalism and Conservatism.

There is some dispute as to whether the Liberal or the Conservative party is the party of progress. This shows a misconception of the meaning of the terms. Progress in a civilised country simply means the gradual adoption of labour-saving instruments and methods which enable society to produce more, and more varied, wealth with less effort. This does not seem to me to be a sphere of politics at all, but rather a question of political economy. Politics do not define the relations of man and the means of production, but the relations of man to man, and of man to the State in matters of individual or collective justice.

The object of politics seems to me to be the definition of the obligations of one man to another, and of each man to the State. This function touches naturally, but indirectly, questions relating to material and moral progress; but, whilst politics may influence progress, they are not the cause of it. Progress originates in the insatiable desire of men to obtain ever more and more wealth and power, and its expression is found in invention and that separation of effort induced by competition.

What, then, are the functions of Liberalism and of Conservatism? I define Liberalism as that politic which would secure to each citizen the maximum of liberty, and which would reduce government to its minimum. I define Conservatism as that politic which would trace for each citizen a course of action reducing his personal liberty to a minimum, augmenting the power of government to its maximum. Liberalism is *laissez-faire*, and Conservatism is *faire-faire*. Any party which would increase the liberty of the individual is Liberalistic, and any party which would tell the individual what he must do under such and such circumstances is Conservative.

For example: To oblige men to go to school is, in politics, Conservative; and to let them go if they like, or stay away if they like, is Liberal. To oblige men to serve in an army is Conservative; and to give them a free choice of doing so is Liberal. To oblige

men to limit the hours of labour is Conservative; to let them work as long as they like is Liberal. To oblige men to pay fixed wages is Conservative; and to allow them to pay as much or as little as they like—or as they can—is Liberal. To oblige men not to employ child-labour is Conservative; and to let them employ whom they like is Liberal. To prevent men from selling whiskey is Conservative; and to let them sell it is Liberal. To insist upon certain styles of architecture is Conservative; and to let architecture run wild is Liberal. In short, all interference with liberty of action is in its nature Conservative, and all abstention from such interference is in its nature Liberal.

In order, therefore, to know when Liberalism and Conservatism are respectively good or bad, we are obliged to ask: When is it right to interfere with men's actions, and when not?

There is a common definition of liberty, to the effect that what we require is the liberty of each, limited by the like liberty of all. It would follow as a logical deduction from such definition that if you are at liberty to kill me when you can, this is perfectly right, providing I am at liberty to kill you when I can. Or that if you are free to rob me when you can, no one can complain, if I am free to rob you when I can. Or that if you are at liberty to run away with my wife, that is all right, if I am also at liberty to run away with yours. Evidently there is something incomplete about such a definition of liberty.

If it is acknowledged as postulate that I have a right to my property, my life, and my wife, then under no circumstances can it be admitted that any other individual shall with impunity deprive me of them. Why? Because these three rights, once well founded, are absolute in nature. They are morally inalienable. When liberty gets past the bounds imposed upon it by an absolute right, it is the function of government to restrain its action. We may therefore define true Conservatism as *the conservation of absolute rights through the medium of government.*

But there are absolute rights and equal rights. If I want to sell something to somebody, I have a perfect right to do so (under one conservative condition to be presently stated), but I have no right to oblige the buyer to buy from me. My right to sell is limited by his right to refuse to buy. If I want to work for somebody, that is my right; but my right is limited by the right of the employer to refuse my services. If I want to use a piece of land, that is my right; but that right is limited by the equal right of each man to use the same piece of land.

If, therefore, a Government obliges me to work for such and such a man, to buy from such and such a seller, to accept such and such a price, and to use—or to leave untouched—such and such a piece of land, the Government mistakes its functions. A man may have

an absolute right to his property (result of work), to his life, or to his wife, and it is avowedly the business of the Government to secure him those rights, but no man has an absolute right to make me work for him, to make me buy from him, or sell to him, or use this piece of land, or leave that piece of land untouched (land not being produced by work cannot become rightful property), this constituting a decided encroachment on my liberty of action. Any Conservatism advocating such interference is false Conservatism. The absence of governmental restriction in these matters is Liberalism. True Liberalism is, therefore, *to leave men free to decide their relative rights between themselves.*

Should the Government interfere in work, trade and the occupancy of land?

Certainly, the Government should not make a man work or prevent him from working, should not make a man buy and sell from certain people or prevent him from doing so, should not make a man occupy a certain piece of land or prevent him (or let him be prevented) from doing so. But if I make, buy or sell poison, bad meat, rotten vegetables or fruit, or in any way produce or traffic in things which are directly (not comparatively) harmful, then I encroach on the absolute right to each citizen to his health and life. If I poison the air, or rivers, or the land, I encroach in the same way on the rights of my fellows to their life and health. It is therefore the function of government (or Conservatism) to lay down such rules of work, or of trade, as may conduce to the general health and safety of the people.

What may we deduce from these general principles? I have a right to buy and sell to whom I please. Whether that person be in my street, or in the next town, or in the nearest country, or in the uttermost parts of the earth, no Government can rightly step in to prevent me from doing the business which pleases me, so long as I respect the rules of personal safety and health. It follows that every protective or non-protective tax which makes me buy from this man, or prevents me buying from that one, is based on a false conception of government, and prevents the full and rightful development of individual liberty. I have a right to occupy this piece of land or that—and so has every one else—and therefore any law which secures to one man more right to land than another is a form of false Conservatism. I have a right to keep the full results of my work and trade, and therefore every Government or municipal tax which makes me pay this or that sum of money to the Government or municipality, is an encroachment on liberty.

It follows from these considerations that Conservatism has carried it over Liberalism to a great extent. We are hampered and tarified and taxed both by governments (on work and trade) and by private individuals (on land) in a thousand directions. On the other hand,

Liberalism has the upper hand in certain false ways, as when there is no fixed standard of goodness in the things sold (life being often at stake), or as when rivers, the land and the air are not kept so clean as they ought to be, thereby encroaching on our absolute rights to life and health.

What then are the relative positions of the Liberal and the Conservative party in the fiscal controversy?

The Conservative party advocate such Government measures as would oblige us to buy and sell at given prices, and from given people. Up to the present time, England is in the van of Liberty. We, at least, open our ports to the world's commerce. Other countries close them in a tyrannical and false Conservatism. The Conservative party would close our ports, and the Liberal party would keep them open. Who is right?

Certainly an examination of principles brings us to the immediate conclusion that the Liberals are right and the Conservatives wrong. What is the actual position? England has adopted a large measure of Free Trade, and did so in the hopes that the "social problem" would be solved by liberty. Other countries adopted in a large measure Protection hoping thereby that the "social problem" would be solved by the paternal care of the Government.

Both parties have been wrong. The social problem is as far from solution as ever. The English Liberals took this view of the matter; progress brings with it (or is the expression of) newer and more important means of producing and of distributing wealth. If we give full play to these means, the worker will get a full share of the wealth produced, and so the social problem will solve itself. The foreign Conservatives said: progress brings with it newer and more powerful means of competition as well as productive and distributive forces, and we can only have an equable distribution of wealth if we shut out foreign competition, whilst shutting in as many forms of wealth-producing force as possible.

But although to-day productive and distributive forces are a million-fold what they were two hundred years ago—population not having increased in like proportion—the position of the worker is not better than it was. The Conservatives ascribe this to foreign competition, and propose paternally to shut out this foreign competition. The Liberals point out the pretty obvious fact that this has not succeeded in foreign countries, and would probably not succeed in ours. The Conservatives—in honest or visioned moments—admit this, but ask what the Liberals will do. The Liberal will do nothing. His scheme is as much liberty as possible. And he says we have nearly the maximum now.

This produces a dead-lock. The Conservative (personified by Mr. Chamberlain) calls the Liberal (personified by Lord Rosebery) a "do-nothing critic." In self-defence the Liberal simply refuses

to admit that there is any problem to discuss. On all hands do we now hear of "the fiscal furore," or the "one-man idea," &c. &c. There is no fiscal question, and—the Liberal almost dares to hint it—no social problem.

But if it is an evident fact that Protection in foreign countries has not solved the social problem, it is equally evident that the social problem does exist in England. To deny it is as like denying the existence of the sun—or of night. Not only does it exist, but it intensifies. On all hands there are signs of poverty and signs of distress. It is useless to tell men that new progress will bring new wealth into existence, and that they must hope for better times. It is a simple fact of experience that for the last hundred years or so our power of producing and of distributing wealth has been increasing by leaps and bounds. But working men have not benefited by it, either in protected or unprotected countries. What hope can they have for the future in that case?

What is the tendency of progress? It is the increase of total productions. It is the perfection of our means of production and of distribution. As progress brings new wealth into existence, so are three tendencies intensified. These are (a) the increase of the value attaching to land; (b) the proportionate decrease of profits or interest—the returns for the use of capital; (c) the accompanying proportionate decrease in wages.

Whoever will look for a moment at large towns will see the first tendency. The possession of a small patch of land is a huge fortune. And as population increases, or as our means of production increase, so does town land become more and more valuable, absorbing nearly the whole of the total increase of wealth brought about by our inventions, or by the birth of more children and their concentration in towns. Any large town represents a value annually of millions, quite apart from the value of its houses. London is said to have a ground rent of about thirty millions of pounds per year. As time goes on (bringing with it more population or more industrial improvements) this tendency becomes more and more marked. It is plain to all, and there is no necessity to insist.

A new invention brings an increased profit to the man who has an exclusive use of it. But as others adopt it, this profit diminishes gradually to almost disappear until some new invention starts the game over again. But those who cannot afford to buy the new inventions are simply driven out of the trade. They fail and disappear. Any one with his eyes open can find scores of examples of these tendencies.

Each new invention reduces the wages of workmen, and even reduces—comparatively, their number. Lyons is a great silk manufacturing town. Well, there exist machines which do a certain quantity of work, and which employ a dozen men. But a new

machine has come out which will do all this work with the help only of four women. Hence a saving in wages. Hence a number of men thrown out of work (or will be when the machine is more adopted). At present one such machine only is to be found in Lyons. Its owner is making a fortune. But when it comes into common use his advantage will cease.

Of course as new inventions have the tendency to cheapen goods, they create a greater demand which eventually bring more men into employment again in the business. But always at low wages, as is seen on every hand and in every country. And there always remains a certain number of unemployed, who never get work again.

That is the social problem. That share of wealth represented by the rent of land goes into the hands of the landlord. The rest is divided between the capitalist and the workman. But from this latter balance you have to deduct (1) the expense of keeping up an army and a navy, or about sixty millions of pounds a year (for England); (2) the cost of occasional wars, such as the South African campaign, or about two hundred and fifty millions, every so often; (3) the interest on our National Debt of eight hundred millions of pounds, or about thirty millions of pounds per year; (4) the keeping up of officials to collect taxes, &c.

Is it in any way surprising that the share of the capitalist and the workman should be so small when that part of wealth represented by the rent on land goes into private hands, whilst what is left is eaten into in this monstrous way by Government expenses?

It is not. It would be surprising if it were otherwise. Now, as to that part of wealth represented by rent on land. If you can suppose three fields, two of which produce forty bushels each of potatoes, whilst the other produces fifty bushels, you will immediately have an idea of what rent is. The same work is put into each field, and obstinately the result remains the same. The minimum result of work is forty bushels, and the maximum result is fifty bushels. If three men occupy these pieces of land, the best way of doing justice to each other would be to take the extra ten bushels for common use. That would be really economic rent. But if a fourth party gets hold of all three pieces of land, he will ask a rent not merely of ten bushels on the best piece, but as much more as he can extort for the use of the other pieces. Whatever quantity of rent he imposed in excess of ten bushels on the whole of the land, would increase rent to the decreasing of wages, or what was left.

It is thus that private property in land not only takes away economic rent, but increases the rent of land far beyond what it should be.

What must be done for the capitalist and the worker? Evidently what is wanted is this:

(1) That the State should take economic rent—represented, as just said, by ten bushels, or the difference between the land which is worth the most and that which is worth the least—for common use.

(2) That in doing this the State should not take in rent those sums of money now taken by private landlords, over and above economic rent, but should leave them to be shared between capital and labour.

(3) That the State should cease to take from the share of capital and labour anything in taxation on work, trade, or income in any of their forms.

(4) That the State should abolish the army and the navy, and should thus save the expenses incidental to these forms of slavery and humbug.

(5) That the State should pay off the National Debt with the proceeds of economic rent.

(6) That when the State has paid off its debts, the surplus of economic rent over and above the few wants of a Government with no military, naval or fiscal officials, should be equally distributed amongst the people every year, as a dividend on the running of the State business.

The share of the capitalist and the worker would be increased by the difference between economic and private rent. The share of the capitalist and the worker would not be diminished by the present taxes laid upon them, fiscal and interior. The share of the capitalist and of the worker would not be diminished by an income tax.

The land would be open to all, it would be indifferent who used it so long as he paid the tax on it. So that production would increase in ratio to increased liberty to use land. Free production and free distribution would assure an equable distribution of wealth. This would go far towards solving the social problem.

Are not the fiscal problem and the social problem one and the same? The fiscal problem is how to secure the greatest production of wealth and its justest distribution. Is the social problem of another nature than this? It is not. Therefore if the Liberal party deny the existence of a fiscal problem, they deny the existence of a social problem. Such an attitude cannot be long maintained.

How can we assure the greatest production of wealth? Evidently it is not necessary for the State to step in to coddle us. The existing means of production are infinitely greater than any ever possessed by the world before. If men are left free, their natural tendencies will induce them to utilise to the full these means with the result that they will produce as much as can be produced. It is for this sovereign reason that taxes and tariffs on trade are

impolitic. But men cannot produce unless land is there for them to use. Nor can they produce to the full if they must pay for this privilege to landlords. Therefore the land should be free to all—economic rent being taken by the State—which would give all the fullest possible opportunity to produce. Free land and free trade mean the maximum of production. But the maximum of production is powerless and useless without the maximum of distribution. Not only is it a fact that if you take away the result of a man's work to pay the landlord, or to keep up armies and navies, or to maintain a staff of customs officers, or to pay interest on national debts, you not only so discourage the worker that nothing short of hunger will induce him to do his most and his best, but you so limit his buying power in this way that it is no longer possible to distribute wealth, and consequently production falls below its maximum.

It is therefore clear that nothing short of the confiscation of rent, the abolition of armies and navies and customs houses, and the wiping out of the national debt, can really solve the fiscal or social problem.

Is it the function of the Liberal or of the Conservative party to give us these reforms?

It is to my mind clearly the business of the Liberal Party to do all this. Armies and navies constitute a form of coercion quite against all ideas of liberty and of justice. Admitting that it is a good Conservative function to force people to respect the rights of others, it has never been shown in any modern war that there was justification for recourse to arms. And in most European countries men are forced to be soldiers whether they will or not. This is a terrible encroachment on individual liberty, and almost a form of slavery. The Liberal party must abolish the army. Can it be shown that a Free Trade England would have to fear an invasion? Could England not become a neutral country to-morrow if such were the wish of Englishmen? If England were to lead the way by simply and unconditionally disarming (or by disarming under treaty of peace with every existing Power), France and Russia would not be long in following suit. Undoubtedly it would be better to settle the Russo-Japanese war by arbitration.

Customs Houses prevent men from trading with each other, whether they impose protective duties or non-protective ones. Who can pretend that we have "free trade" with a customs revenue of thirty-one millions per year? We cannot change foreign institutions, but we can at least open our own ports wide, and abolish the last vestige of the fiscal system which makes a man pay a fine every time he drinks a glass of whiskey, smokes a cigar, or takes a cup of tea.

The confiscation of rent with the accompanying abolition of the



land monopoly is both just and expedient. Land is the only thing not produced by work, if we understand by "land" all external nature, the skies, the sun, moon, and stars, the seas, the virgin forest or prairie, the wild bird and beast, and the free fish. Land is not produced by work, if we exclude the culture in field and in garden, buildings, railway or tramway lines, and other forms of improvement. What man makes by using land—including town and country land alike—is wealth. Wealth belongs to man, but the land may not rightly belong to him. It should belong to all, and its economic rent (not an imaginary but a real quantity) should be taken for the use of all.

With economic rent the National Debt could be quickly paid off, if we first do away with military, naval, and fiscal expenses. Then that party which would run the Government most economically, *i.e.*, give the biggest dividend to the people every year after paying all expenses, would carry the general elections.

These reforms being simply an extension of the liberty of the individual, are, I maintain, the proper business of the Liberal party. When they have been carried out the Conservative party will have its functions defined in regulating the moral actions of the people, in establishing the laws of health, in architecture, in the laying out of towns, in the cleanliness of industries, in the healthiness of workshops, &c. The Conservative function is essentially one of control, but the greatest function is that of the giving of liberty.

If our Liberals will consider these things they may rise to the dignity of their destiny. Will they? We do not know, but this we do know: we want a real disarmament party, a real peace party, a real Free Trade party, a real free land party—in short, *a real Liberal party*. Unless the Liberal party accept these truths, the Conservative party may carry the day.

After the huge sums for rent, national defence, &c., have been subtracted from wealth (total productions), wages and profits become ever proportionately less and less, because these sums to be deducted advance more rapidly than progress increases production. With such a tendency the Conservative party can see no remedy but the meddling of Government with things which do not concern it. They will not confiscate rent, nor abolish the army and navy, nor cease making war, nor pay off the National Debt, but *they will close our ports and coddle our industries*. The people wrongly put the fault of social wrong on the shoulders of competition—trade!—and shut their eyes to the abstraction of glaringly gigantic sums of money for rent and unnecessary Government expenses. So in order to lessen what they consider to be the cause of the social problem—competition—they will shut out that part of trade called "foreign competition." Utterly oblivious of the true cause of social injustice, the people will, in the absence of Liberal reform and

Liberal policy, follow the Conservatives, who have on their side the maternal power of the State, the sentiment of home and Empire, and the love of control by authority.

Liberals! will you refuse to lift a hand for the cause of liberty? Society itself may be at some future time endangered by the revolt of the submerged strata of humanity, and ruin may follow inaction. Dare you shut your eyes to present injustice and to future danger? If so, the time is rapidly coming when you will be weighed in the balance and found —. Unless you would see your doom flame across the wall of some general election, you had better take up the cause of liberty now, and strike while the fiscal iron is hot.

LEONARD M. BURRELL.

## SIR JOHN GORST AND POOR-LAW REFORM.

THE appearance of Sir John Gorst's Bill to amend the Vagrancy Act of 1824 will be welcomed by many who do not approve of the measure itself. It may be regarded as an indication of the growth of public opinion in connection with a subject directly affecting the well-being of the country which has been too long neglected, and the publication of the Bill and the discussion which it will provoke will tend greatly to develop and intensify intelligent interest in its object. So far the result of Sir John Gorst's action is quite satisfactory, but the Bill itself must, we fear, be regarded as both premature and immature. It is not our intention to discuss its provisions here, but surely we may reasonably ask if both General Booth and Sir J. Gorst have come to the conclusion that the "resources of civilisation" are so completely exhausted that we must still have recourse to physical coercion pure and simple in dealing with vagrants—a costly expedient which the experience of centuries has proved to be useless. There is still another force available—the coercion of *self-interest*. It is a potent power and has never been fairly tried and in such a case as this might prove effectual, and would certainly have the advantage of being economical. But, passing from this, in the meantime it must be obvious to every one who has paid much attention to the subject that a number of other things require adjustment before we are in a position to take full advantage of Labour Colonies.

What most concerns the country at the present moment is the rapid increase of pauperism, lunacy, and impotency of every kind. The problem is, how are we to stem this mighty tide which rises year by year with ever-increasing force? Now, Labour Colonies are only one device among many which have been suggested towards the accomplishment of this end; but if they are to contribute duly to the desired result they must have their proper place assigned to them in a comprehensive, well-devised scheme under one duly qualified authority invested with adequate powers. If this be admitted, it will at once be seen how completely the Bill for the amendment of the Vagrancy Act of 1824 would fail of its object if enacted now. If Labour Colonies are to be of any practical advantage to the poor-law authorities, their relation with such

institutions must be much more intimate than that indicated in Sir John Gorst's Bill, or they will require facilities for the establishment of colonies for themselves. They cannot be independent of the judicial authorities if compulsory detention be necessary, but they need not be, and ought not to be, subordinate.

If we had only to deal with male mendicants the case would be widely different, but it will be readily seen how complicated it becomes when we have to deal with the wives of vagrants and their children and other dependents, and with itinerant tramps and their dependents, willing to work but unable to gain employment. The truth is that till the various exigencies involved have been duly considered by men familiar with them all, and a proper scheme for dealing with each devised and authorised, a rough-and-ready Act dealing with a mere fraction of what is needed would probably do more harm than good and prove a serious barrier to a more thorough and systematic reform.

Whatever may be done in this direction it is important that it should be recognised as an inviolable principle that the proper duties and responsibilities of Boards of Guardians and Parish Councils shall not be given to or interfered with by either County or City Councils. Their task is great and exceedingly difficult. They want all the help they can get and they deserve to be guarded against officious interference.

The fact must not be forgotten that, bad as it is, there are other much more serious social evils than vagrancy, and while, no doubt, the object of Sir John Gorst's Bill is excellent in itself, its introduction is, as we have said, premature. The subject is too complex for such treatment and cannot be satisfactorily dealt with apart from other phases of the problem.

One noticeable point in the Bill is that it takes no notice of drunkards. Yet nothing does more to fill the wards of the workhouse and the asylum than drunkenness, and the object of any changes in our poor-law system now ought to be to reduce pauperism by means which shall leave a great deal less to the discretion of paupers themselves, discountenance every form of extravagance and self-inflicted misery, and encourage sobriety and thrift. This should be the general object steadily kept in view now in any reconstruction of the complicated machinery of administration. If it could be successfully accomplished it would practically be the only equitable solution of the old-age pension. The deserving poor would practically be old-age pensioners, and the undeserving and the extravagant, vicious, dissolute poor would get more than they deserved even if kept in quarters and on rations which would not tempt any one to follow their example. In furthering this object the importance of securing facilities for the distribution of voluntary alms along with relief furnished by the poor-law authorities through one duly author-

ised channel, in some such way as we have previously indicated,<sup>1</sup> will be readily recognised. It will probably be found—if there ever is such a thing as an old-age pension in any other form—that it must be a parochial, not an Imperial affair, as only within limited areas can a proper discrimination be exercised.

But Labour Settlements are needed in connection with poor-law districts in large towns as well as Labour Colonies in the country, and the new Bill does not seem to make any provision for these. Then among other things urgently required there are besides: this question of workhouses (in the strictest sense) in towns, where not only professional vagrants but others may find temporary employment without being chargeable as paupers, the modification of existing laws as to outdoor relief; the advisability of authorising Boards to erect dwellings for the deserving poor entitled to relief, both in urban and rural districts; the amendment of laws relating to casuals, lunatics, deformed and diseased persons of every description; and last, not least, measures to prevent the propagation of congenital disease of every kind. This is a matter of the utmost importance which *must* be faced. All these things require to be dealt with in full detail in the light of mature experience before we are in a position to judge how far Sir John Gorst's Bill can be accepted as an integral part of a comprehensive code of laws relating to pauperism.

Most people who have taken any interest in this subject are familiar with the matters referred to above with perhaps two exceptions, on each of which we venture to make a few remarks.

First, as to Boards of Guardians or Parish Councils obtaining powers to erect dwellings for outdoor paupers, the question naturally arises whether it is better that this duty (assuming it to be necessary) should devolve upon the Parish, the City, or the County Council, and the answer must be—"Whichever body is best qualified." It may be broadly said that neither a Town nor a County Council have any special qualifications for the task whatever, and yet we have found both—but especially Town Councils—presuming to encroach so far on the province of the poor-law authorities as to erect dwellings for the poor and grant outdoor relief in the form of restricted rents at the cost of the ratepayers generally. As these bodies have no organisation for ascertaining who are the deserving poor and who are not, this eleemosynary dole is given—in a large measure—to deserving and undeserving alike, and the respectable, thrifty class of the working classes is saddled with the cost of erecting dwellings for fellow workmen and others in receipt of higher wages than themselves, but less thrifty and less deserving of better treatment in every respect.

The poor-law boards alone have proper officials and powers to

<sup>1</sup> See WESTMINSTER REVIEW, February 1904, p. 188.

determine who are entitled to any relief, either indoor or outdoor. This may be called their primary function, and *having ascertained this* they would be in the best position to judge how far it would be profitable or otherwise to give outdoor relief in the form of restricted rent. They would know the exact number for whom relief of this sort would be required, and would limit their operations accordingly, and in this respect would be in contrast with other local authorities who have no clear idea where their extravagant schemes are to end, and a strong bias towards heroic measures. If we are ever to see the deserving poor treated differently, extension of the Boards' powers in this direction will be required, and, on the other hand, the extravagance of Town Councils in providing houses for the deserving and undeserving poor indiscriminately at unprofitable rents ought to be severely restricted. For if the poor who deserve to be helped by the rates are provided for by the proper authority, it is inexcusable and grossly unjust to the ratepayers to be obliged to pay anything for the support of others who have no claim upon the rates, and this evil can be cured, and ought to be cured, by the Local Government Board refusing to sanction any scheme unless they are perfectly satisfied that it will give a return of at least five per cent., besides the sum required for the repayment of the loan and all other expenses. Such a rule would not only put an end to a great deal of civic extravagance, but it would afford some protection to those who meet, and have always hitherto met, the requirements of a growing population by private enterprise—a consideration far more essential to the well-being of a community than most glib, superficial, civic municipal dignitaries seem able to understand.

The other subject to which we wish briefly to refer is of a much more difficult and delicate nature, and one upon which, with the information at present available, it would be unreasonable to dogmatise. We rather wish now to direct attention to the matter as one of urgency. It is one which cannot longer be neglected without danger to the nation's existence. The annual increase of lunacy, blindness, deafness, lameness, and other deformities of mind and body cannot be allowed to go on unchecked till it reaches a point where nothing can possibly check it. There is a point in the course of many diseases where palliative measures fail, but where the use of the knife may save the patient's life; and so in regard to the body politic, there comes a time when a cancerous social sore must be dealt with drastically to save a nation from dissolution, and social surgeons say that it is now high time that our country was preparing for an operation of this kind to prevent the risk of vital parts being involved. This is the all-important point for us now to realise: the absolute necessity of submitting to treatment, at once unusual and painful, or take the consequences of the alternative. The object of this operation, by whatever means executed, is

to prevent the spread of congenital diseases and hereditary taints, physical and moral, and naturally it has been suggested that the most direct and certain means to this end is to put an end as far as possible to the production of tainted lives. To this end it has been suggested that notorious criminals should be kept under a certain restraint and surveillance for life, that lunatics should not be liberated or allowed to go at large whether supposed to be cured or not, and that marriage between people certified to be suffering from any hereditary infirmity should be illegal. In the case of convicts and lunatics, an alternative might be offered, which, in many cases, would no doubt be accepted. Were such measures rigidly enforced, a change for the better would soon be apparent, and in the course of two or three generations the worst forms of hereditary disease would be almost extirpated.

Is something of this kind not worth trying? Are we for ever to be debarred from attempting to mitigate or repress the great social evils of the day by the delicate sensibilities of sentimental pseudo-philanthropists who think it a shame to prevent these unfortunate people from enjoying all the social privileges of other members of the community? How much such sentiments continue to influence well-meaning people still we may, for example, infer from a statement in the annual report of a "Royal Institute for the Deaf and Dumb," in which it was stated, as a matter worthy of notice, that in the course of the year there had been fifteen baptisms and six marriages! One wonders if it did not occur to the superintendent or managing board of that institution that the most likely effect of such emotional charity would only be to prevent the supply of inmates of the institution failing!

The question to be considered by the benevolent, and by all who keep up our palatial lunatic asylums, hospitals, and prisons is, whether is it better, more humane, more merciful, and therefore more truly philanthropic, to deprive a few thousand persons, constituting the present generation of the impotent and vicious, of certain rights which those on whom they depend enjoy, in order to check the development of their peculiar variety of the species; or, in the exercise of a spurious sentimentality, to allow them full liberty to spread contamination and introduce into the world hundreds of thousands of individuals unfit for the duties of citizenship—the halt, the maimed, the diseased in mind and body—a curse and a burden to themselves as well as to the community at large?

JOHN HONEYMAN

1904.

## A PRIESTESS OF HUMANITY.

**THERE** died on April 5, at Hengwrt, Dolgelly, one of the most remarkable women of the nineteenth century.

Miss Frances Power Cobbe, who has justly been classed by a writer amongst the twelve greatest women of the Victorian era, owed her extraordinary mental supereminence to a large and favourably organised brain, united with an exceptionally powerful vital temperament.

The environment into which she was born afforded unusual facilities and felicitous opportunities for the development of her fortunate mental potentialities, and combined to make her one of those phenomenal personalities "Whom nature 'gat, For men to see and see, and wonder at."

The conformation of Miss Cobbe's brain entirely harmonises with her character and intellectual proclivities. The intellectual organs both of perception and reason are on a large scale, and the brain is broad-based with a circumference of  $23\frac{1}{4}$  inches, a most unusual measurement for a woman. The whole configuration of the head corresponds with that of the body, the prevailing characteristics of both being compactness combined with massive solidity.

Born of highly bred and well-conditioned parents, whose ancestors for immemorial generations seem to have been opulent; the youngest of the family by five years, her mother being in her forty-seventh year, she had the advantage of inheriting the matured mental vitality of her parents, while association with them and other adult persons—her brothers' absence at school depriving her of juvenile companionship—tended to impart a still greater depth of tone and intensity to her nature.

In her "Autobiography," Miss Cobbe, in referring to her childhood, says: "Fed in body with the freshest milk and eggs and fruit, everything best for a child; and in mind supplied only with the simple, sweet lessons of my gentle mother. No unwholesome food, physical or moral, was ever allowed to come in my way till body and soul had almost grown to their full stature."

In childhood and youth the mordant intellect of Frances Power Cobbe developed itself, as all powerful and original intellects do and must, according to its own genius, on the contents of an ample library, and independent cogitations upon the people, things and



circumstances with which she was brought in contact. It is easy to understand how an intellect so nourished, both on its physical and abstract sides, and moral intuitions so steadily developed, resulted in a strength of judgment and a type of mentality to which the trivialities which satisfy the average feminine mind appeared contemptible. Ethical and theological philosophy afforded a diet more congenial to a mental digestion of this masculine calibre, and at the early age of thirty-three Miss Cobbe produced her "Essay on the Theory of Intuitive Morals," a digest of the Kantian philosophy, which every editor and publisher without exception took to be the work of a man.

"The riddle of the painful earth"; the unrighted wrong; the suffering innocence; the triumph of the great wickedness—these were the problems that exercised the eager mind and inspired the strong, deep sympathies of this young priestess of humanity, and impelled her to champion the cause of the weak and oppressed, and to become the pioneer of one reform after another, from the emancipation of outraged helpless wives from the brutality of dehumanised husbands; prison and workhouse reforms—in which she was associated with Miss Mary Carpenter—to the crusade against the atrocities of vivisection, of which she was the instigator, and the present far-reaching foundations of which only a moral Titaness could have laid.

To contemplate the majestic proportions to which the anti-vivisection movement has attained, is to be swayed between wonder and admiration that one person, and that a woman, could have effected results so magnificent in the face of difficulties so numerous and so formidable that they would have appalled the majority of men. Only the purest sincerity of motive could possibly have inspired and sustained any one with the indomitable determination of purpose necessary to the prosecution of so arduous an enterprise and the attainment of results so colossal. Miss Frances Power Cobbe had not only been the leading agent in originating the movement against scientific cruelty, and in founding the Victoria Street Anti-Vivisection Society (now called the National Anti-Vivisection Society), her great and dauntless spirit had been the engine that had worked it up and moved it along. How great and almost insuperable the difficulties with which she must have had to contend, through the long years during which the anti-vivisection movement was developing into the powerful and far-reaching system which it has now become, only those can form an opinion who know from experience what it is to invade the prejudices and encounter the hostility of fashionable and scientific arrogance; in addition to the vast incubus of immemorial ignorance and moral indifference.

And when a large part of a lifetime had been spent in thus developing the movement, and in laying the extensive and strong

foundations indispensable to insure its ultimate consummation; and the insidious touch of time had sapped the ardent vitality of this valiant leader in the cause of mercy and moral liberty, a relative neophyte stepped forward to appropriate the results of her long and patient labours. But none could rob Miss Cobbe of the glorious consciousness that it was she who was first instrumental in establishing the noble scheme for the salvation of the lower members of sentient creation from the intellectual cruelty of which they have hitherto been victims; that to her initiative and dauntless exertions this magnificent reform, this gigantic stride in human evolution, will be primarily and principally due whenever it comes.

In the physiognomy of Frances Power Cobbe three characteristics strike one as conspicuously prominent; they are penetration, concentration, and determination. It was these qualities acting in concert with and subserving the purposes of her broad sympathies that were the secret of her extraordinary achievements in the domain of philanthropy and moral and humanitarian reform.

Like every human being, Miss Cobbe had necessarily the defects of her qualities, and those being on a majestic scale unavoidably impelled her to some extremes. Thus, the self-confidence and invincible resolution which enabled her to obtain such triumphs in the domain of moral reform, occasionally may have produced some degree of infatuation in regard to abstract opinions; but her motives were so high, so genuinely altruistic, as to render any such defects of relatively small importance.

Designed to dominate and command, the strong passional nature of Miss Cobbe merely served to give impetus to her intense moral feelings, imparting a certain impetuosity to her methods of action and style of controversy. It was this focalisation of passional force to a central glow in the direction of her moral aspirations that made her such an invincible amazon in realising her projects and purposes. The moral arena was her sphere, and had she, even with her majestic endowments of intellect and moral sentiment, possessed only a feeble milk-and-water passionalty, she would have been a much less colossal character, and not nearly so efficient an instrument in promoting the good of her race.

In viewing the career of Miss Frances Power Cobbe, "between the cradle and the pall," the extraordinary concurrence of circumstances and influences that combined to produce this morally sublime and majestic woman who was to incept and inaugurate reforms the most noble and far-reaching, and which will continue to broaden onward with the progress of human evolution to which they have given so tremendous an impulse, one is reminded of Harriet Martineau's novel, *The Hour and the Man*, so strikingly does Miss Cobbe appear to have been "The Woman for the Hour," designed

and projected by the hands that "out of darkness reach through nature moulding men."

Miss Cobbe had a striking voice, which at once gave the hearer the impression of belonging to some extraordinary person.

Unswerving, dauntless, untiring to the last in the prosecution of her labour of love and of duty, she died, as her friend, Mr. Verschoyle, editor of the *Abolitionist*, says, "like an old warrior whose strength was ebbing fast, gathering up the last remnants of his life to fling himself on the enemy and die as he had lived, fighting."

But there is a name that will eternally "smell sweet, and blossom in the dust," and that will be the name of Frances Power Cobbe.

MAURICE L. JOHNSON.

## THE LAST PROJECT OF CHURCH COMPREHENSION.

THE story of the last futile attempt to reconcile the Nonconformist bodies to the Church has a melancholy interest in an age when the political and religious rivalry between Church and Dissent are so violent as we see them to-day. It was, it is true, an attempt to unite men of discordant theologies by bonds of impartial formulæ and liberally conditioned rubrics which would never, like the "tuneful voice" in Dryden's ode have composed the jarring elements of their creeds to a harmony, yet when one thinks of the comparative peace in which the different schools of thinkers dwell within the church compared with the jealousies of separate religious organisations, one cannot but feel a fascination in the idea even of a purely outward unity. If only Tillotson and Burnet had been able to establish their latitudinarian *Ecclesia Anglicana*, and to solve, so far as a practical working was concerned, the problem of a religious union on the basis of a variety of opinion, we should to-day have no religious censuses, in all probability no education dispute, and in short, instead of the strife of hostile armies, merely the controversies of the schools, those

"milder conflicts of the Muse,  
The wars which Peace herself loves and pursues."

The history of the last comprehension scheme has excited remarkably little curiosity considering the far-reaching importance of the issues with which it was concerned. As soon as political disaffection and High Church zeal had finally brought it to nothing the subject was thrust out of remembrance by all parties as if by conspiracy. Only one copy of the Comprehension Bill itself was preserved, and Macaulay in his day was almost the sole person who had seen it. Both the recommendations of the Royal Commission in which the Bill ended, and the only diary that was made of their proceedings, were printed for the first time by Act of Parliament in 1854. Burnet deals very slightly with the subject in his *History*, and save for brief accounts in Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, and other long-forgotten biographies, few allusions to it can be found in eighteenth-century literature. Macaulay's is the only modern hand that has enshrined the story of the attempt in the permanent

historical literature of our language, and his narrative, so far as it deals with the work of the Commission, is only the merest outline. The documents issued by Parliament in 1854 were never reprinted, and their contents are now as obscure as during the 150 years when they lay in manuscript in the library of Lambeth Palace.

The appointment of the Commission was the culminating step in a long series of schemes to bring the pronounced Protestants within the national church. The great Sir Matthew Hale unsuccessfully introduced a Bill for the comprehension of the Presbyterians in the year of the Restoration. In 1674, thirteen years after the Savoy conference, a scheme of union had again been projected between some of the leading Nonconformists on the one side, and Tillotson and Stillingfleet on the other. A Bill was actually framed but the plan was at last abandoned by the two Anglican divines through despair of obtaining the consent of the King or of any considerable number of the bishops. A year or two later Archbishop Sancroft devised yet another scheme, his design being, in the words of his successor Archbishop Wake (a High Church prelate whose projects of re-union had a very different aim) "to review and enlarge the liturgy, correct some things and add others, and to leave some few ceremonies confessed to be indifferent, in their natural indifference in point of usage." In the reign of Charles II., Bishop Watkins had formed a Church of England club to promote re-union, which numbered among its members Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Chief Justice Hale, and in 1679, a Bill suggesting a modification of the Prayer-book had been drawn up by members of the House of Commons itself, under the direction of Daniel Finch the great Earl of Nottingham. William III., whose sympathies were of course strongly on the side of Protestantising the Church, thus, on his accession, found the subject of a comprehension one of the pressing questions of the hour. Within a few months of his arrival a Comprehension bill, based on the previously drafted measure was introduced by Nottingham into the House of Lords making liberal concessions to Dissenters in the matter of church ceremonies and usages. One of its recommendations was the appointment of a Royal Commission of thirty Divines to revise the Prayer-book with a view to rendering it more generally acceptable. Finally the whole scheme was referred to Convocation, but the King, following the suggestion of the Bill, took the preliminary step of appointing the Commission to prepare the revised liturgy for Convocation's consideration.

The instrument summoning the Commission is dated September 1689, and the first meeting was held on October 3. The Jerusalem chamber at Westminster was the appointed scene of assembly. Of the thirty Commissioners chosen, ten were bishops, and all, except two, Williams and Kidder, were Doctors of Divinity. Tillotson, Burnet,

Stillingfleet, Patrick, Kidder, and Tenison, were the chief representatives of the broad church party, and Beveridge, Sprat, and Aldrich, the most distinguished among the now obscurer divines who represented the Catholic school. Nine members, of whom at least three were to be bishops, were the smallest number authorised by the King's order to make recommendations. What passed during the eighteen sessions in which the Commissioners were preparing the document that has been so lately given to the world is known only through the diary of their proceedings taken by John Williams, a once noted controversial divine who was, when he served on the Commission, Prebendary of Canterbury, and afterwards became Bishop of Chichester. Unfortunately this diary is little more than a series of bare notes containing the scantiest details of the debates, and only a single dramatic stroke. After a discussion on the prayer of consecration in the office for Holy Communion "Dr. Tenison," says Williams, "reproving Dr. Beveridge, he took it so ill that he was for leaving, but Dr. Tenison asked his pardon." In the second session, Bishop Sprat, anxious no doubt to redeem the reputation he had compromised by sitting on James's illegal Commission by a show of scrupulousness, questioned the authority of the new body, and came to the meetings no more, and after the next session, Dr. Jane, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, Aldrich and Meggit, the Dean of Winchester followed his example. Six of the other selected divines, including the Archbishop of York and the bishops of Carlisle and Exeter, never attended the meetings, the average constitution of which was about sixteen members.

The alterations suggested by the Commissioners were very numerous, and, according to Dr. Calamy, grandson of the eminent Puritan, the acceptance of them by Convocation would have reconciled two-thirds of the Dissenters. They can conveniently, like "*omnis Gallia*," be divided into three sections—those made with a view to propitiating Protestants, those made from literary motives, and those made to remove or qualify such parts of the Church service as were adjudged of low Christian tone or authority. Of course the alterations of the first order were those which had a bearing on the main object of the Commission, and they were decisive enough to make a very interesting and valuable study. They will indeed always be important as showing how far a body of the most distinguished divines has been willing to go in lowering the ecclesiastical tone of the Prayer-book so as to make the Church a fit home for convinced Protestants, and how wide therefore was their ideal of a national Church.

Their task was of great delicacy. They had on the one hand to retain the institutions and language by which the continuity with the old English Church was preserved in such a measure as not to destroy the basis of the Catholic view of the Church, and on the

other hand to condition the "High" usages and diminish the number of the "High" passages so far that the Prayer-book should on the whole be acceptable to men holding an almost entirely non-sacramental and untraditional view of Christianity. They did their work with considerable skill, but it ought, one imagines, to have been obvious to them that it would prove in vain. Though they might not make the position of High Churchmen within the Church impossible by their alterations in the sense of rendering the Prayer-book forms and language incompatible with Catholic doctrine, still a Church made up partly of men of Catholic belief and partly of men to whom a bishop was of no higher ecclesiastical power than a presbyter, the minister was a mere preacher, and the sacrament nothing more than a memorial, was a society with which few High Churchmen could have endured communion. Such an ideal could indeed only have been proposed by a body which was composed chiefly of Broad and Low Churchmen, and from the glimpses afforded in Williams' diary we see how "low" in fact were the views of the Prayer-book institutions and language expressed by some of the Commissioners, and with what hostility from at least one of the High Churchmen their proposals met.

The fundamental question to be considered was of course the opening of the ministry to Protestant divines on terms capable of acceptance by them. Bishop Burnet, who had lately returned with increased Protestant zeal from Holland, was the most active spirit in supporting concessions by the Church on this point, and the learned Dr. Beveridge, afterwards Bishop of St. Albans, the first patristic scholar of the day, and a divine whose works, in many volumes, help to swell the Oxford library of Anglo-Catholic theology, their chief opponent. First the status of Protestant Continental ministers was considered. Burnet, we are told, gave instances of Scottish clergy in James I.'s reign who had been ordained bishops without having been ordained priests, and Dean Sharp, of Canterbury, remarked that several Continental presbyters had been made prebends of the English Church without reordination. The great Causabon, in James I.'s reign, was an example known to all. It was carried at last that Continental presbyters should be admitted to the Anglican ministry without reordination after merely receiving imposition of hands from a bishop and the following commission: "Take thou authority to preach the word of God and administer the holy sacraments in this church as thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto." Then came the greater question of the Nonconformist ministers. Burnet went so far as to say that "the ending of the present schism" made it necessary to receive them "on any terms," and finally it was decided, with Beveridge and Scott alone opposing, to treat them hardly less indulgently than the foreign divines. They were to be licensed to officiate in the Church after a merely conditional ordina-

tion, and thus the validity of their orders was, if not to be recognised, at least not to be condemned.

"Whereas" ran the proposed new direction on the subject "it has been the constant practice of the ancient Church to allow of no ordination of priests, *i.e.*, presbyters or deacons without a bishop, and that it has been likewise the constant practice of this Church ever since the Reformation to allow none that were not ordained by bishops where they could be had: yet in regard that several in this kingdom have of late years been ordained only by presbyters, the Church, being desirous to do all that can be done for peace and in order to the healing of our dissensions, has thought fit to receive such as have been ordained by presbyters only to be ordained according to this (the Prayer-book) office with the addition of these words: 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands if thou hast not been already ordained.'"

But the members of the Commission were not satisfied even with this concession and a new ordination form more thoroughly in accordance with Protestant sentiment was suggested as the standard for universal use. "Whereas," declared the Commissioners, "it was the constant practice of the Church to ordain by prayer, which practice continued for many ages, and that the pronouncing these words 'Receive the Holy Ghost' in the imperative mood was brought into the office of ordination in the darkest times of Popery, it is humbly submitted to the Convocation whether it be not more suitable to the general rule the Church of England has gone upon of conforming herself to the primitive Church to put these words in some such form as this." The formula which followed was simply a petition on behalf of the person ordained, attributing not a single authoritative word to the bishop ordaining.

The diary gives us a glimpse of the debates which resulted in this new recommendation. Burnet took the lead in opposing the traditional form. He asserted that the imperative pronouncement was "not above four hundred years old," and Tillotson supported him by quoting a passage from St. Augustine, which, after arguing the Divinity of Christ from the fact that He is described in Scripture as having given the Holy Ghost for whose assistance the apostles when ordaining only asked, ends "as the custom of the Church still remains." Dr. John Hall, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, was in favour of retaining the old form but only on the ground that alteration was unnecessary, inasmuch as it was well understood that the imperative words meant simply, "Receive ye commission to preach the word and administer the sacraments in the due course of which the Holy Ghost is conveyed." A pronouncement which makes it clear that Oxford Divinity students at that time were in no danger of being corrupted by "Romish" sacramental teaching.



from the official chair! It is of course not to be forgotten that as the ordination form still used dates only from the year 1661 an alteration of it would not seem so revolutionary and even sacrilegious a step in 1689 as High Churchmen would feel it to-day.

One of the declarations made by the Commission while on the subject of ordination deals with the peculiarly interesting question of the status of priestly converts from Rome. It suggested whether an alteration should not be made in the custom of admitting Roman clergy directly to Anglican cures, giving as the reason, not unequivocally the invalidity of their ordination, but "the uncertainty concerning the *instruments* of orders" which they produced. One would like to know whether the divines by this ambiguous sentence intended in reality to hint a conviction that Roman Catholic orders were unsatisfactory in spite of their historic validity, on account of the supposed "apostasy" of the Papal Communion. This seems at least not improbable, for the Commission included a large number of men who were specialists in what was then known as the "Romish controversy."

Concessions to Protestant opinion were made in the rubrics and the form of services accompanying the administration of each of the two sacraments. To the declaration at the end of the communion service sentences were added instructing the minister to satisfy the scruples of those who could not conscientiously receive the sacrament kneeling by "giving them the sacramental bread and wine in some convenient place or pew without obliging them to kneel," the prayer preceding the prayer of consecration was altered so that it might not necessarily express the doctrine of a substantial presence and the passage in the exhortation recommending to people of "unquiet conscience" the benefit of absolution from a "discreet and learned minister" was expunged. A rubric drawn up by Burnet was added to the baptismal office stating that the sign of the cross is "of no virtue or efficacy in itself," that if any could not "without sin offer the child to be baptized according to the form prescribed by admitting the sign of the cross," then it should not be used, and also that "if any minister at his institution should declare to his bishop that he could not satisfy his conscience in baptizing any with the sign of the cross, the bishop should dispense with him in that particular and name a curate who should be able to baptize the children of those in the parish who desired it with the sign." It was recommended that for all services the use of the surplice should be made optional. Further, the absolution formula in the office for the visitation of the sick was altered from "and by his authority committed to me I absolve thee from all thy sins" to "and upon thy true faith and repentance I pronounce thee absolved," and for the answer in the Catechism stating that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed received in

the sacrament, another of entirely different import was substituted. Throughout the Prayer-book the word "presbyter" was generally substituted for "priest," but here and there, in places where no one would expect it, the latter term was retained, no doubt not merely through oversight, but so that Protestants might not be able to say triumphantly of the Prayer-book, that the word "priest" does not occur in it. But the majority of the commissioners steadily refused to go so far as would entirely betray the High Churchmen. Tenison and others urged that the passages in the office for baptism ascribing virtue to the rite *ex opere operato* should be expunged, but it was replied on the other side that "the cause of the Church" was not to be surrendered to the "Anabaptists" by leaving it a permissible opinion that baptism was a mere "outward washing," and the new proposals were overborne.

Beveridge, it is noteworthy, seems to have consistently opposed every concession to Protestant feeling that was suggested, down even to the allowing of liberty in the matter of the sign of the cross. There would, he said, be "no end of alterations" if they should attempt "to take away all scruples." Once, we are told by Birch, his uncompromising adherence to the old rubrics overcame the patience of the broad minded Tillotson. "Doctor, doctor," the great preacher addressed him severely, "charity is better than rubrics."

For the improvement of the Prayer-book from a literary point of view the commissioners seem to have relied chiefly on the saintly Bishop Patrick. Patrick's literary reputation then stood very high, and deservedly. The quotations which Macaulay has given as "specimens of his workmanship" are altogether unrepresentative of his usual style, which is, in fact, concise and energetic. There was an unaccountable taste in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for long drawn out paraphrases of scripture of the order to which the passages quoted by Macaulay belong, and many fine writers, both of poetry and prose, thought they were doing useful work in supplying it. It would be no more unfair to judge of Milton's literary powers by his version of the psalms than of Patrick's by his paraphrases of the Old Testament. The commissioners, whether through insensibility to the simplicity, the conciseness and noble rhythmical quality of the forms the Church already possessed, whether to gratify the Nonconformists, who were a people who delighted in long prayers, or whether they themselves thought that, however fine the Elizabethan compositions were as literature, they were too cold and too general to make good Christian devotions, decided that a new and amplified series of collects should be prepared. Patrick was chosen to compose the new prayers, with Burnet (a rather strange choice) as his assistant. The task of revising their work was given to Stillingfleet, and to

Tillotson, who was esteemed by many "the greatest master of the English eloquence," was entrusted the last office of "polishing their style." The lengthened collects are far from belonging to the same order of writing as the paraphrases in Macaulay. They were modelled on the new collects of 1661, which, while more florid and expansive in style than the old ones, are admittedly among the noblest compositions in the Prayer-book, and their language, though here and there it becomes rather thin and loose, is on the whole nervous and concise. A new version of the psalms had been prepared by the ill-fated Richard Kidder, but, whether it was good or bad, the commissioners had no time to examine it, and no one probably has ever examined it since. Tenison, who admitted in a pamphlet defending the commission that "the prayers cannot be altered for the better," revised the Liturgy, but only a few alterations in passages which obviously needed improvement (such as the concluding sentences in the first prayer of the baptismal office), were made from literary motives. The commissioners seem indeed, as well as their severe critic Macaulay, to have held that "the style of the Prayer-book, in general, is such as cannot be improved."

Nevertheless it must be confessed that a note of five words which they made upon one part of it does raise uneasy suspicions of the quality of their literary taste. They placed the two ordination office versions of the *Veni Creator* (the fine brief hymn as well as the curious long one) in their condemned columns and wrote beside them the direction "New hymns to be composed." Not many years later poet laureate Tate and the Rev. Dr. Brady did join forces to compose an "improved version" of the *Veni* for official church usage and such stanzas as the following were the result:

"Enlighten our dark souls till they  
Thy love (thy heavenly love) embrace,  
And (since we are by nature frail)  
Assist us with thy saving grace."

It is a little to be feared from these five unfortunate words, that the learned divines of the Commission, great prosemen as some of them were, saw little difference between the two versions which they discarded, and thought that the Prayer-book would gain by the substitution of such rhymes as Tate could supply for the noble and vigorous lines of the short Elizabethan hymn.

The alterations under the third head included the substitution of lessons from the canonical scriptures for those from the apocalypse, the addition to the Athanasian creed of a rubric asserting that the "condemnatory clauses" are to be understood as relating only to those who "obstinately deny the substance of the Christian faith, the substitution of new matter for the Communion preface with the curses from Deuteronomy following, and further of new passages her

and there for those which seem to express a Jewish rather than a Christian conception of the Deity. In the revised Prayer-book there was to be no supplication that the royal family should be given "the victory over all their enemies," that the divine "right hand" should be stretched forth to defend believers, or that they should be "mightily defended from above."

Convocation being about to assemble the Commissioners ended their work abruptly on November 18, having sat through eighteen sessions. The fate of their recommendations is well known. The circumstances of the time were singularly unfavourable to the success of a scheme for uniting Churchmen and Dissenters. Hatred of the Government which had laid on them the burden of subscribing the oaths of allegiance to an elected monarch, joined with the bitter feeling roused by the Presbyterian persecution of the Episcopal clergy in Scotland, made many members of Convocation, who, on principle, were not unfriendly to a comprehension, hostile at the moment to any concession. The result was that the Lower House obstinately refused to discuss the scheme, and when the dissolution of Parliament came in February, it was still unconsidered. The mutual feeling of the two parties has never indeed been bitterer than while the Commissioners were making their proposals of peace and union. How bitter it was any odd volume of the pamphlets in which the question was debated outside the Commission will show. The writer of *Vox Cleri*, the ablest of them all, urged that if concessions were made the Dissenters would triumphantly proclaim that the Church had made a confession of error, and yet had dishonestly retained a great part of the ecclesiastical forms and language which gave offence. The controversy, unlike most ecclesiastical controversies, seems to have descended even to the working classes. A pamphlet entitled *Vox Laici*, informed with the keenest dislike of the Dissenters, appeared from the pen of a working man, who, if he could not have named his rhetorical tools after Aristotle, and knew little even of the rules of grammar was a master of the art of vigorous argument in plain Saxon speech, of telling homely illustration and of setting the passions on the side of the church. "Like vermin at the cheese and bacon," said he, "they (the Dissenters) begin with nibbling at the ceremonies of our church, but if let alone they will devour it altogether." He recalled the advice of Charles I. to his son "Forgive but never trust them." Of Tillotson and his party he wrote "I am apt to believe that if a governor of a well-fortified city had but a suspicion of a few false friends within the walls he would be more afraid of being betrayed by those few within than overcome by a great many without." What the Dissenters really wanted, he declared was "a reformation of both church and state to the model of 48." On the other side the most notable piece of writing was a satirical tract, "The merry answer to *Vox Cleri*," the humorous

author of which likened his opponent's party to "the lunatic who would not let the barber cut his hair for fear he should cut off his head."

But the strife though sharp was short, and the pamphlets ceased to appear after the dissolution of the Convocation. The comprehensive scheme was said to be "the only idle project that King William ever formed." In revenge for his disappointment "he kept the Convocation" (to quote Bishop Burnet) "from doing mischief or prorogations for a course of ten years." When it did begin again to transact business it was speedily plunged into the Bangorian controversy, and in the fierceness of that conflict the comprehensive scheme and all other alien subjects were speedily forgotten.

J. M. ATTENBOROUGH.

## PHILOSOPHERS AS FAILURES.

IT is a matter of common remark, and a fact of almost equally common experience, that men cannot be wholly or even chiefly ruled by reason ; that they must be governed, if governed at all, by tangible appeals to their passions—their likes and dislikes. Yet in spite of this damaging admission, the majority of thinking men has not lost faith in reason. Note carefully the literature of political campaigns, and you will observe that it appeals primarily, at least when its appeals are public, to the better judgment of the public. Every party bases its claim to support on a sincere desire to do that which is best for the country. There are, of course, frequent appeals to prejudice, but they are kept in the background or only brought forward to be condemned. Again, observe the proceedings in a court of justice, the best machinery thus far devised in enlightened countries for apportioning to each and every citizen his just dues. All appeals to passion and prejudice are either discouraged or made nugatory as far as possible. We often hear it said that under certain conditions it is impossible for a prisoner to get justice, and that it is imperative to remove him for trial to a place where a verdict will be rendered as little influenced by prepossession as possible. In almost all cases the defeated party has the right of repeated appeals, and not unfrequently his case is finally disposed of only after it has been passed upon by the court of last resort, which, by assumption, is beyond the influence of passion and prejudice. It is thus held that in doubtful instances the right must prevail and justice be done as nearly as possible when all the media that obscure the reason have been eliminated. It is true that men have not unfrequently been appointed to judgeships because they were expected to decide certain exceptional cases in a certain way, but such expectations are never publicly avowed by the appointing power. Besides, such cases generally belong to matters of public policy, and rarely to right and justice between man and man. An avowal in advance on the part of a candidate for a judicial office that he would, if elected or appointed, decide any case in the interests of any particular party, would greatly impair confidence in him if it did not lead to his defeat or to withdrawal of his appointment. Listen to the pleas in favour of any reform or of any change in public policy. What is the principle that is invariably put forward by its champions ? It is always a plea for justice, for equity,

for the public good—in short, for a recognition of the claims of reason. The rich merchant justifies his abstinence on grounds of reason. The moderate farmer does the same thing. The mercantile world it is so unreasonable that men in the same should be able to govern himself as well as to be governed by the elect few. The democrat justifies his contention on the same ground. From the remotest times to this day it has been believed by the great majority of men that their fellow human beings are not competent to select what good they should worship, or how they shall worship God, and that for their highest good this question must be decided for them by persons specially appointed to this duty. And so on through a long list of similar instances. I have never found a man who was willing to plead guilty to the charge of being wholly governed by his prejudices although I have met some who admitted a bias so strong that they could not apprehend the truth clearly. This is more candid than the Scotoman who said: "I am open to conviction, but I would like to see the man who could convince me." But even this fatal admission was an unconscious tribute to his nobler nature.

Let me use a simile to illustrate my meaning. If we dig into the earth at the bottom of a valley we usually find water at a shallow depth. If we go up the side of a hill we must dig somewhat deeper, but water can always be found. If we bore from its summit we shall nevertheless succeed in finding water, if we penetrate far enough. Or we may make our experiment on the most arid plain on the face of the earth: the result will always be the same. Under certain conditions the obstacles to be overcome are enormous, but they are rarely, if ever, insurmountable. So it seems to me to be with the psychic powers of man. Far down beneath his passions and prejudices, his sympathies and antipathies, his likes and dislikes, there lurks the desire to be just and to do justly. Even in the rare instances where this is not the case the poor victim lives under the delusion that it is. Our common phraseology bears witness to the popular view on this subject. What is right is straight, direct; what is wrong is twisted, perverted. A tort is a wrongful act or default. We should probably find the same etymologies in all languages, certainly in all civilised languages.

If I were to undertake to prove that in fact and apart from all theory men are dominated in all their actions by psychic attraction and repulsion, that they are governed, not by reason but by passion and sentiment, I should have a comparatively easy task. The painful facts are patent to every one who has observed the course of events, and I fully admit it. But I am here concerned with man's aspirations, with the hopes and aims of those who have looked beneath the surface of social movements in order to discover, so far as was possible, the principles that underlie them. From the study

of the forces that have dominated the world, taken up again and again, I am convinced that no man labours in vain who strives for what is noblest, truest, best. The realisation may be near or far off, as we look at it, but it is not a mirage. Every careful student of the past must endorse, it seems to me, the verdict of Froude: "The moral law is written on the tablets of eternity. For every false word or unrighteous deed, for cruelty and oppression, for lust or vanity, the price has to be paid at last." This is, I venture to assert, the conclusion of every unprejudiced observer of the course of human events. Even the defenders of occasional force and fraud and aggression for the purpose of gaining some special object, condemn it as a policy. They say in substance, "It is well enough and even necessary to resort to violent measures and crooked methods now and then, but they must not be continued too long." Or, "You may lie once in a while, but if you do this so often as to destroy your reputation for veracity, falsehood will no longer serve you." The Sultan of Turkey knows all about it.

It is a common saying that philosophers are the most unpractical of men; that they are generally mere theorists, who take no account of the obstacles that stand in the way of the realisation of their projects, and that practical men will, if they are wise, pay little attention to their schemes. What is philosophy, and who are philosophers? To philosophise is to think, and he who generalises on the facts and tendencies about him; who tries to understand the bearings of phenomena whether physical or psychical, is in the right way, whether he ever reaches the goal or not. By no means every man who has professed to be a philosopher was one; but every man who has earnestly sought the truth has a just title to this designation. Popularly judged, it is the misfortune of every man who seeks to penetrate beneath the surface of things to be always ahead of his time. Plato said that unless philosophers became kings or kings philosophers there would be no cessation of evils among men. This dictum translated into modern parlance would read, unless the rulers become the most enlightened or the most enlightened be chosen to rule there will be no cessation of evils among men. If this be not true what is the use of enlightenment? If men do not profit by being taught to think; if they are always to follow the old routine and to shrink from every innovation, we may as well close our schools, silence our educational agencies and endure our ills as best we can. There have always been men to advocate such a course, though perhaps without being exactly aware of it. Like the irresolute Hamlet they prefer to bear their present ills rather than to set themselves vigorously to removing them. Their constant refrain is, "Above all things don't ask me to do anything that was never done before." Rousseau said the first thing a child should learn is to suffer, because he will have more use for such





itself financially thought worthy of attention for any length of time. But moral truths always make their way slowly, and as true philosophers are chiefly concerned with such truths they are ridiculed as visionaries. The moral philosophers have long ago formulated those precepts which must regulate the intercourse of men with each other in order that the greatest happiness to the greatest number may result. These precepts are few, and the underlying principles easily apprehended. And it must be said that their validity is almost universally admitted. But as wisdom lingers even after knowledge has come, men are slow to raise themselves from the grooves in which they have been wont to run. Everybody knows the fate of the man who appeared at the wedding without the regulation garment on him. The master of ceremonies did not charge him with being dirty or unkempt or disorderly, but simply with not wearing the prescribed costume. His garments may have coet as much and fitted as neatly as those of any other guest, but the wearer was out of the fashion and his non-conformity got him into trouble. The same thing is constantly happening. If you want to appear at Court you must wear the Court costume. Short-haired women and long-haired men are the constant butt of ridicule. If you wear shoes when other people go barefoot, or go barefoot when other people wear shoes, you make yourself the target of gibes. The Chinaman attaches more importance to his cue than his character. The lower down you go in the scale of civilisation the more rigidly is everything regulated by custom, the more strenuously is everything predetermined by use and wont, the more is independence of thought and action discouraged. Almost all persecution is directed against those who refuse outward conformity. It makes little difference what you believe ; it makes a great deal of difference what you profess to believe. Of course, there are circumstances in which conformity is essential to order ; when it requires more skill to do as others do than to do differently. If you want to be a soldier you must learn to keep step in marching. If you want to dance you must keep time to the music. If you want to sing in chorus or play in orchestra you must follow the score. The desire to be odd is not in the nature of the case an index of a strong character. The man who appears at Court in suitable costume may be just as good as he who presents himself in the garb of a backwoodsman. It is the duty of the man who thinks to discriminate between essentials and non-essentials, to follow the crowd only so far as he may without sacrificing what is important, and no farther. It is by this standard that the true philosopher must be judged, and by this only. Innovations that justify themselves financially are easily maintained. Conversely, in questions of morals, it takes a long time for the better to make headway or even to maintain itself against the passable or even against what many are pleased to call

the good. When we read the history of the world, beginning with its earliest dawn, and note the perennial stream of complaint that issues from the mouths of men about the degeneracy of the times, we should suppose that the majority of mankind would welcome any change that promised to diminish their misery; yet it is not so, if proposed reforms meant a change of habits. It is quite as much a philosophical as a theological truth, that men want to be saved *in* their sins, not *from* their sins. It is so much easier for men in the aggregate to conquer everything rather than themselves; to exercise the overmastership over millions rather than over their passions; to point out to others the way of betterment rather than to walk in it themselves. Self-indulgence sweeps away the barriers of prudence and remains master of the field. No more profound truth was ever uttered than that embodied in the proverb, "He that ruleth his own spirit is mightier than he that taketh a city." While everybody admits that only such changes should be made in the established order of things as can be justified by reason, this does not help the case much, since a reason of some sort or other can be found for almost everything that men want to do. Only that argument can be held against all opposition which can be supported by demonstration. But in morals demonstration is dependent upon the will of men, usually of many men, and can never carry general conviction.

I suppose that it is demonstrably true that honesty is the best policy. Yet there are some who will not go so far, for they tell us that seeming honesty will do just as well. But this is nothing more than the tribute which sham is always willing to pay to reality. Owing to the complex nature of our psychic powers, the strength of our passions and the weakness of our reason, any disturbance of the normal order usually does more harm for a time than good. Human reason has not been stronger at one time than another. The same is true, though perhaps to a less degree, of the benevolent affections. But in times of excitement, especially when the traditional sanctions of morality have become confused, the malevolent feelings get the mastery, and there is hardly a limit to the mischief they do. There is little doubt that every European country was on a lower plane morally and intellectually at Luther's death than at his birth. The abolition of slavery, especially where it was carried through as a war measure, blocked all progress for many years. It is probable that the abolition of serfdom had nearly the same effect. It is so much easier to overthrow existing institutions than to replace them with better.

But it is in war that the malevolent passions have their fullest sway. It is war that has retarded the progress of the human race more than all other causes combined. War or force of any kind is the most unreasonable mode of settling a dispute that can be imagined. The inconsistency becomes the most glaring when we see beings

who are wont to call themselves reasonable resort to it. It is the farthest possible removed from the method of the philosopher and the thinker. A recent writer says :

“Give me the money that has been spent in war and I will purchase every foot of land on the globe. I will clothe every man, woman, and child in an attire of which kings and queens would be proud. I will build a school-house on every hill-side and in every valley over the whole earth ; I will build an academy in every town and endow it, a college in every state and fill it with able professors ; I will crown every hill with a place of worship consecrated to the promulgation of peace ; I will support in every pulpit an able teacher of righteousness, so that on every Sabbath morning the chime on one hill shall answer to the chime on another around the earth's wide circumference, and the voice of prayer and the song of praise should ascend like an universal holocaust to heaven.”

Longfellow expresses the same thoughts thus :

“Were half the power that fills the world with terror,  
 Were half the wealth bestowed in camps and courts,  
 Given to redeem the human mind from error,  
 There were no need for arsenal and forts.  
 The warrior's name would be a name abhorred,  
 And every nation that should lift again  
 Its hand against a brother, on its forehead  
 Should wear for evermore the curse of Cain.”

Among modern wars there is perhaps none that has so generally been held to have been justifiable as that which led to the independence of the American Colonies. But it is a serious question whether all that has been gained might not have been gained without the arbitrament of the sword, while the resulting loss may be seen by a moment's reflection. Leaving quite out of account what the Colonies suffered from the consequent demoralisation, there is hardly a doubt that slavery would have been abolished without the sanguinary struggle of '61-5, and two other wars would have been avoided. But most important of all : if the United States were still a part of the British Empire there is no reason to believe that their development would have been retarded in the least by the mother-country, and the ill-feeling which so long existed and which exists to some extent even now, between the two great divisions of the English-speaking race, would not have been engendered. There are not many persons who will deny that this would have been an enormous gain to the cause of civilisation.

Everybody admits that Continental Europe was to some extent freer after the Napoleonic wars than before. In so far they have therefore their justification, notwithstanding the loss of life and treasure. But it is no freer nor more advanced than Great Britain, whose institutions went their way through a course of regular development, and on whose soil not a battle was fought.

Here, too, it is evident that war at most not only hastened a

transformation that would have taken place in the course of institutional development, the most salient characteristic of modern times.

Probably no person would maintain that war is always avoidable and never necessary, but a careful analysis of most of those recorded in history will make it clear that they did more harm than good. They have been for the most part tribal, dynastic, and religious. Rarely were the fundamental rights of man involved. In the very nature of the case questions of right and wrong can never be decided by force. I get into a difficulty with my neighbour. Repeated acts of aggression on his part and mine increase our mutual exasperation until at last we come to blows, primitive fashion. He, being a stronger man than I am, beats me up so badly that I am compelled for the nonce to cry enough. But I am not satisfied, and after a time hire some stalwart fellow as my proxy, and in the next encounter he is forced to yield. It is now his turn to find a champion, and if he succeeds in going one better I am vanquished. If neither of us is killed our resources at least will be exhausted, while we have settled nothing as to the merits of our controversy. Yet this is the status in which nine-tenths of the wars that have deluged the world with blood and filled it with sorrow have left the combatants.

Unfortunately, the world has been too much given to admiration for the spectacular hero, has been too prone to commemorate him. If one man in a community performs a single act of conspicuous physical courage his name is more likely to be handed down to posterity than the names of a score who have laboured their entire lives for its spiritual, moral, and social welfare; yet it is easily probable that any one of the latter has contributed more to the real good of the community a hundred times over than the former. If I am smitten with a dangerous disease and a physician restores me to health it will be heralded as a remarkable achievement. But is he entitled to less credit and has he contributed less to my happiness and the good of the community, assuming my services to be of some value, if by frequent advice and admonition he keeps me in continuous good health? Superficial judgment is easy, but generally wrong. For the careful student of human thought it is not difficult to discover the extent to which civilisation has been modified along lines marked out by thinking men, by men who tried to penetrate beneath the current views that governed society, untrammelled by the conditions prevailing around them. Until within comparatively recent times no theory was more repugnant to the great mass of mankind than the intrinsic value of a human soul. It was almost universally held by both high and low that one person is better than another, and that this superiority depended upon social differences and the merit of ancestors. There was one

law for the slave, another for the free man; one standard for judging the acts of the Greek; another for judging that of the barbarian; one merit for the heathen, another for the Christian. More than two thousand years ago voices began to be heard here and there mildly condemning this mode of estimating men. This theoretical tenet of the Stoics was made a precept of Christianity, consciously or unconsciously, and laid down as a rule of life by its founders. But these voices were stigmatised as the wild and unrealisable dreams of men who had no experience in practical affairs. Yet after the first wave of enthusiasm had passed and the first generation of Christians had given place to less zealous successors the Church was broken up into sects that in their turn and according to their power inflicted disabilities on those who were not of their particular way of thinking. We are by no means out of the wilderness of prejudice on this point, but the landmarks are becoming plainer every day, and the most enlightened nations see the goal more and more clearly, and are more ready than ever to treat men according to their just deserts. Hardly a century has elapsed since men began seriously to question the time-honoured or dishonoured dogma that one nation can flourish at the expense of its neighbours. Such a thing as cosmopolitanism and reciprocity in commerce was scarcely heard of. But we have begun to see that the prosperity of one country is more or less dependent upon that of others, and instead of trying to restrict international intercourse it is being more and more encouraged. It is true, every government must look first to the welfare of its own citizens rather than to that of aliens, just as every man is rightly expected to provide for his own family rather than for his neighbour's; but it is almost as impossible for one nation to injure others without injuring itself as it is for one man to injure the business of his nearest neighbour without inflicting some detriment on his own.

Two generations ago Germany was cut up into a score or more of divisions each with its own coinage and its own internal revenue system. Merchandise and even passengers to the North Sea from the upper course of the Rhine were stopped every few miles and compelled to pay toll. It cost almost as much to get goods to the ocean as across it. The same is true of Italy. Yet for more than two centuries German political philosophers kept deploring this state of affairs and striving to make propaganda against fearful odds—against both local and personal interests. In the end the dreamers won the day. Take again the institution of human slavery. So late as 1828 that careful observer, Captain Basil Hall, while admitting everything that could be alleged against its evils, put on record the opinion that it seemed "so completely beyond the reach of any human exertions that I consider the abolition of slavery as one of the most profitable of all possible subjects of dis-

cussion." Here we have a sample dictum of the practical man who had a sharp eye for surface indications, but who had none of the prescience of the philosophical thinker, the man whom Plato designates as the spectator of all time and of all existence.

What a tenacious life the duel has—that prerogative of a gentleman to avenge his grievances in his own way! Though it has long been moribund it is not yet dead, so firmly is it rooted in the pre-civilised status of man. What greater absurdity than that society should concern itself about the private differences of two individuals and prevent their coming to terms as they think best? Here, again, the voices that were sporadically raised against this survival of the savage stage were taken up by another and another until the chorus of condemnation overwhelmed all opposition and the people once more won the day. The later books of the Old Testament contain many expressions which show that the prophets had begun to see that their institutions were destined to pass away, or to undergo a radical transformation, because not founded on a sufficiently broad basis. The writings of Euripides teem with indictments of the social order, with protests against an aristocracy of birth, against a public opinion that estimates men by their conditional rather than their intrinsic merit. Though he suffered the neglect of contemporaries and the vituperation of conservatives, posterity has abundantly vindicated his prescience. When Seneca writes: "The door to virtue is closed against no one; it is open to all; it invites everybody, freeborn, freedmen, slaves, kings and exiles. It selects neither class nor condition; it seeks man only," and "Nature directs us to do good to all men whether bond or free, freeborn or emancipated slaves," he shows that his heart has felt and responded sympathetically to the injustice prevailing around him. He mildly protests against it. But, like his brother Stoics, he was no reformer; it was easier for him to talk than to act. He could withstand manfully the assaults of adverse conditions, but he had no inclination to improve them for others by sacrificing himself. In his contemporary, Paul the Apostle, we have a very different sort of a man, a man to whom his own ease and even his own life was nothing, provided its sacrifice redounded to the good of others. Passing over a long interval, we find Marsilio maintaining that, "The universal which maintains the particular in the world of politics is the People. The People is the true divine on earth because it is the highest universal, because God made the first revelation of Himself, not to rulers but to the People, because out of the bosom of the People came the various appellations of the body politic—citizens, faithful, lay, cleric." If we would properly estimate the keen prevision of these philosophers we need to remember that one belonged to a people that could see nothing good in those who had not fallen heir to their culture; that another had been steeped

in the prejudices of his co-religionists, who regarded themselves as the sole possessors of the oracles of God; and that another belonged to the exclusive circle whose every effort was directed towards galvanising into life conditions that had existed more than fifteen centuries in the past. The function of the philosopher is not a pleasant one, as the majority judges pleasure. Those who would avoid attracting disagreeable attention, who are bent on having an easy time, will readily fall in with the current customs and be careful to avoid the avowal of any principles that will unpleasantly smite the ears of the groundlings. Yet such people are like the bubble on the stream that may be pleasant to look upon but which has no influence whatever upon the waters that flow placidly beneath, unhindered by the slight ruffle on the surface above. To most men it seems impossible to interpret the course of events. Perhaps this is not to be wondered at, for it often flows so slow that its direction can only be discerned by the most careful observation. They either cannot or will not see the perennial vigour of moral forces, or are indifferent; yet these cannot be permanently arrested either by individuals or nations. They have been crushed or swept out of visible existence again and again, but again and again they spring up and find champions. The drama of history is so tragic because the nations of the earth have so often failed to see things that made for their peace, their prosperity, and their preservation. To say that the subversion of entire peoples is an immutable law of destiny is to deny the free will of man and to make the human intellect a mere property of the tangible universe, a doctrine which the most radical materialist would hardly maintain at the present day. The hope of notoriety of a certain kind, the craving for power, and the means to gratify desire quickly, is what blinds so many men to that which is abidingly good. He whom Pope describes as "the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind," was a shining example. That he was among the brightest is hardly open to controversy, as little as that he was among the meanest, but he was surely not the wisest. The ambition to shine among his contemporaries darkened his keen intellectual vision, and his memory lives "to point a moral" if not to adorn a tale. So to the highest, as well as to the lowest, are applicable the lines of Ovid: "Video meliora proboque deteriora sequor." "I know the right and yet the wrong pursue." It can matter little to the man who thinks for himself, what the belief or the opinion of the majority may be. When a verdict is to be rendered on questions of right or wrong, truth or error, justice and injustice, mere votes count for nothing. I do not mean to say that the majority is always wrong; but it is foolish and dangerous to wait for the crowd if one is interested in the truth. Nothing has been a greater hindrance to its discovery and promulgation than the fear of the



crowd and the desire to win its favour. The only things we can do with impunity are those that everybody does. The old fogey is no more ridiculed than the new fogey. You must not move faster than the procession, neither must you move slower. The lower you descend in the scale of civilization the harder is the crust of custom, the more severely dealt with is the innovator. Everything is regulated by custom, and custom being confirmed by religious sanctions is dangerous to oppose or disregard. We often hear the fatalistic doctrine: "You can't make people different from what they are by any process, system, or device." In the last analysis very few people believe in so supine a creed. And it may be asserted with confidence, that never has the effort been so general to make people different from what they would naturally be, by a judicious system of moral and intellectual instruction. This simply means progress: but progress must be initiated and directed from above; it must be able to justify itself on reasonable grounds. Or if the designation *above* in such a connection sounds too aristocratic, let us rather say by those in front. If the leaders do not stand higher they at least stand firmer. Though men need guides and leaders, these in their turn can do little if not the expression of popular aspiration. Says Professor James: "The mutations of societies from generation to generation are in the main due directly or indirectly to the acts or examples of individuals whose genius was so adapted to the receptivities of the moment, or whose accidental position of authority was so critical, that they became ferments, initiators of movements, setters of precedents or fashion, centres of corruption, or destroyers of other persons, whose gifts, had they had free play, would have led society in another direction." This being the case it is essential to the welfare of the human race that at least a preponderance of the innovators be not merely persons of intellectual ability, but also of honesty of purpose. If like Thukydides or Alkibiades they are as ready to undo their good works as they were to do them, the highest capacity is as likely to be a detriment to the world as a benefit. Men of demoniac power have once in a while profoundly influenced the course of events, but it is after all those of far less ability, inasmuch as they are the vast majority, who are responsible for the destinies of our race. Ancient Athens excelled in art and literature because almost every citizen was an artist or an intelligent art-critic. The later Middle Ages excelled in ecclesiastical architecture because the enthusiasm for church-building inspired not only projectors but executors. So general education, while it must be supported and encouraged by the populace, cannot be wisely directed by the populace. "You can't make people different from what they are; they will go their own way in spite of your efforts." Often they will no doubt, and often to their own disgrace and even

destruction, if they persist in refusing to listen to the voice of wisdom. But they will listen if the appeal is persistent and disinterested. A typical instance is the Dreyfus case, that attracted the attention of the civilised world a few years ago. An American resident of Paris at the time thus describes the conflict between the intellectual and moral forces of a cultured nation and those who represented its prepossessions.

"With the exception of two or three dilettantists, neither of whom ventured to discuss the Dreyfus case on its merits, the authors, professors, artists, confronted the python coiled around France in a phalanx that could not be broken by any military menace or ministerial persecution. I counted more than four hundred of these men of intellectual, literary, scientific, or artistic distinction. They were razed from the Legion of Honour, deprived of their professorships, fined, challenged to duels, shot at by assassins, and went on inflexibly with their articles—articles never surpassed by the greatest publicists in history, Junius, Paine, Cobbett—and one after another hostile Ministry fell before their terrible pens, until militarism, after crawling through all the mire of falsehood, perjury, forgery, was reduced to cover its defeat with the verdict at Rennes, at once perjured and ridiculous, that there were 'extenuating circumstances' for treason. Such is the splendid record made by the genius of France at the close of the nineteenth century." "For the first time in fifteen years," adds a French writer, "France became sane."

And it is worthy of remark that in no country of the world are the "intellectuals," as they are sometimes stigmatised, the philosophers, working with so much zeal and hopefulness to regenerate a dying or at least decaying nation as in France. That they, comparatively few in number as they are, have accomplished much, no one familiar with their achievements will deny; whether they will wholly succeed in what they have undertaken remains to be seen. Run over in your mind the long list of illustrious men whose labours were unrewarded during their lives, who went to their graves almost in ignominy, but whom posterity has since learned to recognise as its greatest benefactors. That devotion to an idea and an ideal is no longer so costly; that self-sacrifice is no longer equivalent to self-renunciation, is chiefly owing to the labours of those heroic souls who have preceded us and prepared for us a better heritage than that upon which they entered.

It is a fact of human experience that destructive forces always receive more attention than constructive. A tree is growing somewhere near us. We pass it day after day, yet scarcely notice how its branches lengthen season after season, how its leaves spread out to catch the sunshine and the rains. But let a storm overturn it, or a bolt of lightning blast it, then we realise what a thing of beauty has been destroyed for ever. The history of the world is largely the record of its wars. The histories of civilisation are not many, and those that exist belong for the most part to the present or the immediately preceding generation. Men are so prone to look at

what is conspicuous, and to overlook what is recondit, though the latter may be of far greater importance. The philosophers who foresee the doom impending over communities and nations are usually so few, that their warnings, like the vaticinations of Cassandra, are unheeded until it is too late. The history of the Jews is so pathetic, because the words of Christ were so often applicable to them. "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee: how often would I have gathered thy children together even as a hen doth gather her own brood, and ye would not!" Every stage differs from that below it in the extent to which the domain of reason, as compared with the various instincts and impulses, is potent in determining human activity. Primitive man yields to impulses, many of which are as blind as those that drive into action the horse or the dog. The more complex society becomes the more out of place in it is the untutored savage. While he does not act wholly without calculation he takes little account of remoter consequences. The famines that periodically desolate portions of the earth are much less due to the failure of crops than to the improvidence of the cultivators of the soil. The man who provides against future want by force or fraud is impelled by a stronger preservative instinct than he who lives from hand to mouth, little though he may regard the claims of justice. It is, so far as I am aware, one of the best established facts in anthropological psychology that there are no essential differences in the mental powers and characteristics of men, though it is doubtless true that the differences in the development of some of the psychic powers rather than others constitute what we call national character. The primitive man cannot see the logical connection between cause and effect, and lacks the power to control the will. The urchin on the street or in the family is the little savage. When he wants anything he wants it all over. But in most cases when he becomes older he finds it absolutely essential to put some kind of check on his desires, or society will do it for him. Here public opinion performs for the undeveloped savage what it cannot do, and does not attempt, for the maturer one. It will be readily seen that the whole trend of civilisation is to supply these two serious defects. Its ultimate goal is not only to make every adult more or less of a philosopher, but to enable him to put his philosophy into action, to put his actions in charge of his judgment, to enlighten his judgment.

The end of human existence is complete living: the development of social conditions that will give equality of opportunity to every man, woman and child so far as that is possible in an increasingly complex social condition. The process and progress are slow, but they may not rest. The directing agencies must take cognisance not only of the present, but of the past and the future. No hand-to-

mouth policy will serve here. The selfishness of an individual or of a class is equally destructive. These things have been tried over and over again, and always with the same negative results—empires and kingdoms, principalities and powers, have gone down to the dust one after another. They have perished because they were not fit to survive. And we may be sure that the end is not yet, for like causes under similar conditions always produce like results. This is true not only in chemistry but in morals as well. Admitting then, as I think we must, that the history of the world is largely the history of blunders on the part of those who have had the management of affairs, it does not speak in commendation of the class who have called themselves practical men or practical statesmen. It is very easy to stigmatise moral philosophers and preachers of righteousness as unpractical men, but the only way to prove the assertion is to give them a trial. It looks very much as if the so-called practical men were the failures and not the philosophers.

If I say to a young man in whom I am interested: I will set you up in business, and put you in the way of making your fortune. I insist that you shall be honest in your dealings and scrupulous in the fulfilment of your promises; keep a watchful eye on your affairs: be careful to regulate your expenditures according to your income; and more of the same sort. But suppose now that he neglects my advice and soon becomes a bankrupt. Am I a failure or is he? People may question my judgment, but they will not find fault with my motives or condemn my advice.

Shall we say that Christianity is a failure because its founder and many of its early converts met the death of malefactors? Shall we say that the Reformation was a failure because its promoters and its opponents kept Europe in a bloody ferment for two hundred years? Shall we say that the anti-slavery movement was a failure because it led to mobs, incendiarism and murder? Are the temperance movements throughout the world to be called failures because there is still a great deal of drunkenness? Assuredly not. But every principle of a reform that has been advocated on a truly philosophical basis has left its impress on society; or if not, society has been the worse for it. It is not then the philosophers who are failures, but their human environment. There is a sense in which the Scriptures embody a profound philosophical truth, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit."

Many of the great principles that have guided our race along the path of progress have been kept alive by the death of those who have promulgated and defended them. We look with pity or disdain upon the rude tribes that roam naked or half-clad in the primitive forests of the semi-explored portions of the earth, an easy prey to the vicissitudes of climate and physical conditions. We say of them

that they are without civilisation because they do not know how to use the gifts which at least in many places nature puts in profusion within their easy reach. Coming to a higher stage we find men habitually robbing and plundering each other because there is over them no power sufficiently strong to protect the weaker against the stronger. These conditions we should likewise find unendurable. We deplore the fate of those whose misfortune it is to live under them, and congratulate ourselves that our lot has fallen in pleasanter places. Higher still we find countries in which the law theoretically guarantees to every one equality of rights, but where the majority virtually do what they please, law or no law. Such a society we regard as a more or less crude stage in the evolution of governments. Hence it follows that those which are now the highest have passed from a stage as low as the lowest through those that are higher to a position at the summit. In a sense the most advanced social conditions of to-day embody the experience if not the conscious experiments of all the preceding stages. It still remains true that we have no means of foretelling the future but by the experience of the past. How little these records have to tell us about the desire of men to do justice to their fellow-men! Egypt, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Greece, Rome, and portions of America are little more than a mass of ruins, imperishable monuments of the unwisdom of those who strove to perpetuate the reign of wrong. Even central Europe is not without many remains of the same gruesome character. Will it always be so? Is it in obedience to an inexorable law that empires, kingdoms and governments are established, run their brief course, and then decay? I cannot think so, even if I have to disagree with Plato and Aristotle. I am not blind to the fact that there are still destructive forces in the body politic as there have always been, but I believe there have never been so many conservative agencies operative as at present. Governments have been unstable because the ruled have been so largely indifferent or hostile. Such is no longer the case in the foremost countries. I do not believe the reign of righteousness and peace is before our doors; but I cannot shut my eyes to the progress of the last few centuries. Hence I am constrained to believe that each successive generation as it comes upon the scene of action will, all things considered, be wiser and better than its predecessor. I believe too that the time is destined to come when the nations of the earth will look upon our comparatively enlightened age with the same feelings that we now regard our predecessors of even two or three centuries ago. They have shown us how to do many things badly; it remains for us to discover how to do them well, and to do them.

CHAS. W. SUPER.

## THE DECAY OF CONVICTION.

ONE of the most delightful bits of humour in the history of the ever-delightful Mr. Micawber is the record of the step which presented itself to him as the first thing to be done when he was in the act of "turning his attention to coals." "Mr. Micawber," says his wife, "was induced to think, on inquiry, that there might be an opening for a man of his talent in the Medway coal trade. Then, as Mr. Micawber very properly said, the first step to be taken clearly was to come and *see* the Medway. Which we came and saw. My opinion of the coal trade on that river is that it may require talent, but that it certainly requires capital. Talent, Mr. Micawber has; capital, Mr. Micawber has not. We saw, I think, the greater part of the Medway, and that is my individual conclusion."

Had Mr. Micawber lived in our day he would have said that he wanted to get his facts at first hand, to see the situation for himself, to throw off the yoke of prejudice and prepossession and to bring the mind of a business man to bear on the actualities of the position. In his case, we readily enough recognise the delightful comedy of the idea, but not so easily do we detect the same flagrant absurdity in the thousand and one forms in which it presents itself before us. And indeed it is very difficult to uproot from the human mind the fallacy that there is something mentally illuminating in "being on the spot." That curious impulse which sends thousands to visit the place where a murder has been committed, though no trace of the crime is to be seen, is perhaps the lowest form of it. Interviewing is another manifestation of its sway. An artist or a writer is interviewed and the interview printed in order that people, who will not trouble to study the pictures of the one or the books of the other, may learn "all about him," may be told that he habitually dresses in grey, that his children are charming, and his drawing-room furnished in the most elegant taste.

It seems absurd to waste time in stating anything so obvious as that we do not necessarily know anything about a place because we have been there; anything about a book because we have read every word of it; anything about a man because we have lived next door to him for twenty years. Yet on every hand we hear claims of this character made. In this fiscal controversy, which, like the advertisement of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, has entered into every home in Great Britain, we are absolutely told that the only man who can

judge the situation is the man who, like Mr. Micawber, has been to see the Medway. Not to the principles of economic science are we to go for guidance; these are old-fashioned shibboleths, good enough fifty years ago, but out of date; we are to look at the tinplate industry, to consider the glass trade, to meditate on the conditions of sugar refining, to lose ourselves in a maze of particulars and to take as our guides that remarkable "commission" of capitalists and statisticians whom Mr. Chamberlain has hypnotised the British working man into believing to be his friends.

One great danger of this tendency in modern practice (we can hardly call it modern thought) is that the man who goes to see the Medway sees only just what he expected to see, but brings home his views as something novel and original for his neighbours to adopt. And another evil is that he is frequently apt to see double. The jeremiads of some of Mr. Chamberlain's friends, for instance, when they are lamenting the decaying industries of England and prescribing Protection as the only effectual nostrum, are in amusing contrast to the roseate hue that steals over their views of the landscape when these are taking the form of a report to their shareholders on the year's trade. It is hard to decide when doctors disagree, but when the appeal is from Philip drunk to Philip sober one would like to be quite sure which is which.

It is curious what a hold this idea of "looking at the facts" has on mankind. That the facts themselves are coloured by the eye that sees them does not seem to occur to the average intelligence. Still less the idea that any small group of facts taken by itself may lead to conclusions absolutely erroneous. One is reminded of Oliver Wendell Holmes' story of the visitor to an idiot asylum who ventured to express the opinion that man was a rational being, and was met by the objection, "But look at the facts before you!" There is absolutely nothing that we could not prove by facts if only we might choose our facts. "Nothing," it has been well said, "is so misleading as facts—except figures."

With the best will in the world it is difficult not to see what we desire to see, it is almost impossible not to see what the bent of our character, the trend of our environment and education have prepared us to see. We know that a doctor who specialises on a certain disease tends to see that disease in every one. It is difficult—very difficult—to see things in a dry light, difficult so to dislodge the idols of the market-place, of the theatre, of the tribe, of the den, that we can see any truth in its wholeness. The most acute and penetrating intelligence with the widest angle of vision can take in only a partial view, and on that view can construct only a partial theory. But are we therefore to despise the wide outlook in favour of the narrow myopic gaze that can see with the greatest distinctness the thing that is immediately before it and can see nothing else?

It is quite obvious that there are cases in which the acquisition of first-hand information is absolutely necessary. But the essential difference between these cases and those which may be classed under the heading of this article is that the cases in which "going to see" is helpful are those in which the facts are as yet unascertained and in which some immediate action is necessary.

We may legitimately, in order to make the facts known so as effectually to arouse the public conscience, go to see the sweated blouse-makers of London, who are starving themselves to death on a starvation wage, or we may go to see the Macedonian sufferers to find out how we can help them, or we may visit slum areas with the object of bringing municipal action to bear upon those responsible for them.

Still we do not need to go and see each or all of these before we can persuade ourselves that sweating is an abomination, that it is at least not desirable to live under the rule or in the neighbourhood of the unspeakable Turk, or that to make money out of house property whose condition means the perdition—soul and body—of those who inhabit it, is a crime. These things we take as first principles.

But in the extraordinary prominence which it has recently become the fashion to give to the man of facts as distinct from the man of ideas, to the man of statistics rather than to the man who can generalise and interpret those facts, who can detect the uniform law under its million disguises, we are in great danger of going absolutely astray in our bemused reverence for detail. For there are many things which we cannot see but by getting a little away from them. It is not when on a mountain top one is enwrapped in clouds that one perceives the ethereal beauty of their forms. It is not the soldier in the thick of the battle who can discern the order of the attack, but the general who at a distance surveys and arranges. And it is not the business man who thoroughly knows his own particular trade who can tell us what is best for the nation as a whole, who can look out with the wide vision of an ideal statesman and see things in their masses.

One may be permitted to quote Plato's apologue of the crew quarrelling among themselves for the office of pilot, "having no notion that the true pilot must devote his attention to the year and its seasons, to the sky, and the stars, and the winds. . . . Such being the state of things on board, do you not think that the pilot who is really master of his craft is sure to be called a useless star-gazing babbler by the mariners who form the crews of ships so circumstanced?" We have made many an advance since the days of Plato, but we have not left behind us the contempt of the ignorant mariner for the pilot who shaped his course by the eternal stars of principle, rather than by the currents of expediency and popular opinion.



There is a new sense of freedom that has sprung up amongst us of which there is no other example in the history of the world. The old sense of freedom was a freedom of action, it was the freedom of the individual to do as he pleased, and it was this freedom that was the cause of the great revolutions of the world. But the new sense of freedom is a freedom of thought, it is the freedom of the mind to go where it pleases, and it is this freedom that is the cause of the new revolutions of the world. The old sense of freedom was a freedom of action, it was the freedom of the individual to do as he pleased, and it was this freedom that was the cause of the great revolutions of the world. But the new sense of freedom is a freedom of thought, it is the freedom of the mind to go where it pleases, and it is this freedom that is the cause of the new revolutions of the world.

What fundamentally means this idea of power in the history of the history of ideas the sovereignty of facts? How can it be proved by knowledge? How can we really be principles of life, individual and national, if commerce if government, under which we live as they are discovered naturally urge themselves? Or is the system of life in nature, in nature, that a few conversations with a few acquaintance, a few new facts relating to a particular industry, a few paragraphs of journals or speeches are sufficient to make us turn what we believed and adore what we burned?

It may well be so in many cases. The smallest shock will overturn an intellectual pyramid, but the very fact that these slight accidents to knowledge and thought suffice to overturn a man's opinion is proof positive of the insecure foundation on which they had hitherto rested. A slight force will overturn a light opinion, but *convictions rooted in knowledge and thought, and bound up with the very fibre of character, can indeed be modified and developed but can never be suddenly annihilated.*

The fiscal controversy is not the only case in which those who should be leaders of thought among us seem to be without convictions, without any ground principles which could aid them to come to a decision on great questions. It is not very long ago that a prominent Nonconformist minister found himself unable to make up his mind on the ethics of the South African war without going out "to be on the spot." In other words, his knowledge of undoubted facts was not sufficient guide for him, and his principles were not so firmly rooted in the everlasting laws of morals but that he felt the knowledge of a few more details might radically alter them. He went therefore and saw the Medway. He plunged himself into a milieu in which feeling was at boiling-point, into an atmosphere in

which every one was a partisan, in which from the very nature of things one could not be calmly judicial, into a mass of detail amidst which the greatest intellect might be pardoned for losing sight of principles, into a circle in which every influence tended towards the view then overwhelmingly popular in England.

And, having seen the Medway, like Mr. Micawber again, he came home, and formulated a conclusion to which the whole trend of his mind, perhaps unknown to himself, predisposed him from the first, and which an acute observer could have predicted from the very fact of his feeling it necessary to go out to the spot in order to make up his mind.

We quite admit that there were many things about that war on which no just decision could be then reached without first-hand information and inspection. The state of the concentration camps, for instance, needed personal investigation. The measure in which England's promises of compensation and re-establishment are being carried out still cries for the close scrutiny "on the spot" of those who care for the honour of their country.

But that any one should feel himself unable to decide whether the Boer War was, on England's side, right or wrong, evitable or inevitable without going out to South Africa to see, betokens a really extraordinary degree of mental and moral confusion.

On whatever side we look we see this decay of conviction, this belief that there is really much to be said on both sides of every question, and that it is better not to hold any opinion very strenuously, but to adhere to the side that offers the most material advantages.

It is not easy to get at all the factors in this product of our day. In part, no doubt, the extension of the franchise, the growth of the cheap newspaper, and improved primary education have given voice to a large class who from insufficient knowledge of the first principles of reasoning can hardly avoid coming to crude or false conclusions, and who are very much at the mercy of any one who skilfully appeals to their interests or rouses their prejudices.

But the lack of real conviction, of root principles of thought, is yet more apparent amongst what are called the educated classes. The disintegrating influence of the questioning process, by which the ideas that dominated the earlier half of the nineteenth century have been winnowed and sifted, seems to have reached the limit of a *reductio ad absurdum*. It is not merely analysis, disintegration, it is pulverisation, and the popular opinion may be taken to be that there are two sides to every question, that it is best to keep an open mind as to which of these is true, and that it is really very doubtful if anything is true.

The fact that our present tendency is towards decay, not advance, is evident from the fact that it offers so little that is positive. The wreck of old opinions of course took its great start in the French

Revolution. But the great issue of the French Revolution was essentially constructive and only in an accident destructive. In our own country the men who moulded the issue, the leaders, the aims of the early Victorian England were also the promoters of a new and better order. Ruskin and Morris gave us a criticism of life which was certainly more positive than negative. Darwin overthrew the ideas of all the centuries as to the process of creation by putting in their place a truer theory. The earliest writers in the field of Biblical criticism laboured not to destroy but to disengage from the legendary and the incredible a great literature embracing the picture of the greatest of personalities.

But at an indefinite point, somewhere between 1865 and 1875, began to be perceptible the first symptoms of that strange malady which overgrew not merely England but Europe and the English-speaking race, and from which, though we are no longer in the throes of the crisis, we are not yet entirely convalescent. Then came the years in which month after month and even year after year the questions were debated: — "Is life worth living?" "Is marriage a failure?" questions which could not even have been *raised* by a generation whose life had anything of the heroic strain, whose ideals retained anything of the sanctities of home.

The reforming fervour which had characterized the earlier half of the century had subsided. Those whose hopes for mankind had been large and generous saw in the cold light of actuality their vision realised in part but wanting the heavenly radiance in which they had beheld it when, solitary, they had dreamed it first. And those who had never the heart to dream found it easy enough to criticise, to scoff.

For it seems, unhappily, true of the larger part of mankind that though they are quite untouched by the flame of enthusiasm which makes the patriot or the thinker, ready to count all things but dross in comparison with the object of his impassioned longing, yet they are at all times ready to count as dross the great and enduring things of life because these are intangible, immaterial. Thus, therefore, the generation which found it impossible to believe in the essential worth and dignity of life, in the blessedness and sanctity of marriage, in the existence of God, yet could not rest in an entire negation. And there is one thing in which it did believe, one cause to which it did yield itself with ardour and devotion—material success and money-making.

Without an adequate appreciation of this great, this inspiring motive, the future historian of our times will find it absolutely impossible to understand the strange and devious path we have pursued. Our education, our religion, our reading, our amusements, our economies, the set of our whole life is, speaking generally, determined by materialistic ideas. As a nation we have become

like the man with the muck-rake, industriously heaping up dirt and straws while unseen and disregarded hangs over our head the offered crown of life.

If it be objected that this is too severe a censure, let us ask ourselves in all seriousness whether it be not a true one? Take the literature of the day. Is it a literature of ideas? Is it a germinating literature? Is it an imaginative literature? We have no great poetry, hardly a great book of any kind at the present moment, nor have we had for some years anything that deeply stirs the imaginative fibre in man. Our recent novels, with few exceptions, are of the kind that amuse without rousing either thought or feeling. And in the weaker kind of novels, which with the half-penny newspaper make almost the sole reading of the lower-middle class, wealth is unblushingly held up as the one object of desire. Take education again. Are we not constantly hearing that we must educate our people better if we are to hold our own against the Germans in the world's markets? The degradation of politics to the pursuit of material ends is so marked, so patent, that there is no need to point it out. Everywhere there is the loss of conviction, the deterioration of principle that must ensue on the acceptance of the idea that to gain something material—wealth, position, power—is the true end of education, the theme of literature, the goal of politics, the aim of life.

Hence we find the bulk of our generation distrustful of philosophy, contemptuous of learning, sceptical as to the existence of any root principles of ethics to which we can turn for guidance in practical affairs. In all classes of society there has been that worship of wealth, that anxiety to "get in on the ground floor," that toleration or acceptance of the most vulgar and commonplace personality if only the plutocrat would work some of his golden miracles for his entertainers. The *entrée* into society has been openly and shamelessly bought and sold. The keenness to get money without earning it, and at any possible or certain loss to others, which is the very essence of the gambling spirit, has tainted every class of the community from the throne to the gutter-boy. We used to be a nation of shopkeepers, we are now in danger of becoming a nation of speculators and gamblers.

Then, when faith in the great ideas that can inspire and lift up humanity to its highest level has been exchanged for faith in the American multi-millionaire, in the Stock Exchange operator, in the deities of chance and of luck that are the evil spirits that attend the lazy and the empty-minded, the Micawbers of our day, high and low, rich and poor, always waiting for something to turn up, go to see their Medway. They cannot study history, it is too dry, too severe. They care not to study the fundamental laws of economics—these are shibboleths. They have no power of thinking

things not from first principles. So they turn to what they call 'the facts.' That is the golden dream which they build up on what they suppose to be the facts, which a wider knowledge would instantly shatter.

Facts indeed are what we want, but facts all round—not studiously selected facts. We hear, for instance, on every hand from the English writers that Protection means higher wages. When ignorant enough, he says, "Look at America! look at Germany!" And when we who have lived in Germany and America tell him that in Germany men work longer hours for a lesser wage with a smaller purchasing power than in England, when we tell him that the personal experience of Englishmen who have lived in America is that the dollar goes no further there than the half-crown here, he simply does not believe it. His so-called reverence for facts, in short, is an absolute disbelief in all facts that do not fit in with his new theories.

But there is always more sense, more virtue in a nation than appears. The loud laugh that speaks the vacant mind is always audible, while the quiet thinking that is to shape the future is imperceptible. And we may reasonably hope from many signs now visible, notably from the results of the by-elections, that England is beginning "to wean its heart from its cannibalizing food." But there can be no sudden recovery from the debility and loss of tone from which we have so long suffered. A decay of conviction is one of the most serious diseases that can afflict a nation, and the most ardent wish of every true lover of England must be that, throwing off her late feebleness and corruption, we may again see her, as in the vision of one of her greatest poets, "a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks"; see her "as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam, purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about amazed at what she means."

It is not yet too late to hope for that regeneration. Encouraging signs are not wanting that the lazy, cynical, sceptical spirit is less potent among us than it was a few years ago. If only we will rightly educate the present generation, if we can give them a knowledge and a love of great literature, if we can teach them to find joy in work, and recreation—not in gambling or in looking on at football—but in healthy play, we may again see a race of great Englishmen—God's Englishmen, as Milton called them—who shall work out a nobler and a fairer life for the generations to

ANNIE GLADSTONE.

## WILHELMINA, MARGRAVINE OF BAIREUTH.

### PART II.

IN May 1735, Wilhelmina's long probation came to an end. The "old *benoit*" father-in-law died at last. But the new rulers succeeded to a mass of debts and difficulties as well as to the Margravate. Almost immediately on their accession, husband and wife had a difference over some official business. Though Wilhelmina was sincerely attached to her husband always, "he has no serious tastes," she writes, "and cares for nothing but hunting or shooting." In this difference the wife came off the winner, but whether after this first and futile attempt the Margrave ever, except in *affaires de cœur*, attempted to get his own way again, we know not. We may conclude, however, that, from this out, the new Margravine did as she liked in Baireuth, and with Baireuth. Her health improved, as did her shooting, which she took up again. She rearranged the Court, installed herself at the Brandenberger and the Hermitage, and founded the Royal Library at the Old Castle, which still exists. She began to go a-visiting like the other princelets, and particularly describes a visit to the Prince Bishop of Bamberg. The "sister of Ansbach" went with her, the cause, as usual, of endless bickerings over etiquette and precedence, and, on the journey, Wilhelmina had the misfortune to lose her little Bologna dog. On a marble memorial garden seat overlooking the Solent a modern Royal lady has inscribed to "Bully, a nine year's pet." Wilhelmina's pet, through weal and woe, had been her companion for nineteen years. Often, doubtless, it had shared with her the rare tit-bits on the meagre table at Potsdam. It was probably the long-haired little King Charles that she is holding on her lap in her portrait at Berlin.

The great eleventh-century cathedral of the Emperor Henry II., and the magnificent pile of the mighty Prince Bishop's palace, tower above the little town of Bamberg. Though Wilhelmina is, as a rule, silent about everything but the human interests about her, doubtless she was interested in the beautiful cathedral with its rich sculpture, its wealth of monuments, the tomb of Pope Clement II.,



treasury, if, nine years after her accession, she could spend 2,000,000 florins on the Hermitage and 100,000 on the Temple of Apollo alone.

Thus introducing life and culture into her Court, Wilhelmina likewise improved its general tone by attracting outside talent, so that when, the following year, the Bishop of Bamberg came to pay his return visit she was able to flatter herself that he found a vast change in the Margravian circle. Yet she was not wholly bent on amusement. There were always conjugal differences at her sister's home at Ansbach and now there was trouble. The baby heir, so long expected, had died. Wilhelmina intervened, while the parents' hearts were yet bleeding, and "over the grave of the little child—they kissed again with tears."

Again Wilhelmina's health failed, and she was ordered to Ems. For the first time she saw the Rhine, and like the modern invalid she made her "Kur" in the stuffy little valley of the Lahn, coming back, not much benefitted, by Wiesbaden and Münchbrück. Of the semi-barbarous manners and customs of that little Court, Wilhelmina, *grande dame* to her finger-tips, has left us an amusing description. On her return, after visits to Eselsbach and Würzburg, and home *via* the gloomy forest of Spessart, Wilhelmina found herself no better. The Margrave also fell ill, and on the news reaching Frederick, he, ever ready with medical advice, sent his sister his own doctor, a clever, cultivated man, who, coming as a medical attendant, eventually remained as a trusted financial adviser. With a capacity unusual in an age when bleeding was the universal remedy for every ailment, he decided that the Margravine's lungs were affected, and prescribed a winter at Montpellier, then the health resort of Southern Europe. Money difficulties having been surmounted by a visit of the Margrave to Berlin with a timely present of tall recruits to loosen his father-in-law's purse-strings, in the autumn they started for the south. They had not got further than Erlangen, however, when the Margrave suddenly fell dangerously ill.

Wilhelmina thought him dying, and, to add to her anxiety, it was at this moment that the first trail of the "green-eyed monster" swept over her life. Wilhelmina was no longer in her first youth. Ill health and suffering had diminished her physical charms. To judge by the Berlin portrait, with her dog in her arms, her music books by her side, and dressed in a scallop-trimmed velvet mantle, her form was emaciated, and the cheeks below the close white curly wig hollow and hectic. The lustre of her fine eyes, the beautiful lines of her clever satirical mouth, indeed, betrayed the brilliant spirit that burned within. But the sporting Margrave, a man as we know "of no serious tastes," was unlikely to fully appreciate "in the decay of her beauty, the dawn of her intellect," as Voltaire puts it. The raw hoyden Wilhelmina had brought from Berlin eight



years before and taken a delight in training, was now in the heyday of her youth and beauty, and Mdlla. von Marwitz turned and stung the hand that fed her. It was during the Margrave's illness at Erlangen that Wilhelmina, herself ever faithful, began to suspect the "giggling Marwitz's" designs upon her conjugal happiness. There was a great quarrel between husband and wife, the faithful Sonnfeld intervened and made peace, but the journey to the south was abandoned.

On her return to Baireuth Wilhelmina consoled herself with New Year balls. But the "unco guido" in Baireuth, survivals of the old Margrave's *régime*, looked askance at the new Margravine's frivolities, and at her partiality for the heathen gods and classic literature, and her open admiration of the pagan world. Nor was this all. Wilhelmina was widely and deeply read. She and her brother, incited by their studies, and goaded by the harsh paternal rule, had long ago revolted from the austere Calvinism or Lutheranism in vogue at Berlin. The opinions of Voltaire and the encyclopædists had saturated all the thinking minds of the time, and neither brother nor sister had escaped their influence. Wilhelmina, indeed, never went as far as Frederick or Voltaire. Suffering, as years went on, brought her back to the faith. "I pity your blindness," she wrote once to Voltaire, "only to believe in one God and to deny Jesus." Yet she was not going to brook any puritanical interference. In the spring, however, all gaieties came to an abrupt end, for her father died. Of the parent whose persecutions had clouded her girlhood, Wilhelmina, on hearing of his death, writes with credit to her taste and feeling, "His faults were those of temper rather than of heart." She could be sarcastic, as, indeed, was ever her first impulse, but kind feeling always followed as a second thought.

No sooner were the preliminary formalities of his succession over than Frederick, at last his own master, prepared "to set out for Baireuth, to see the sister I love no less than esteem." In the King's suite, chiefly military, came his beloved Algarotti, "the swan of Padua," "one of the first *beaux esprits* of this age," a fervid-eyed young Venetian, full of speculation on every subject under the sun, who had written books on the opera, taking it seriously, as a moral school, even as is done at Baireuth at this day, and who was doubtless much appreciated by the Margravine. The Bishop of Bamberg, the Ansbachs, came to meet Frederick, and there were three great, if not completely happy days, to Wilhelmina at Baireuth. She finds her brother altered—*grandi*—"set on stilts." She is jealous of preference shown to her sister, annoyed with the flirtations of the giggling Marwitz. Then the King whirls away westwards on his mysterious jaunt across the French frontier, and Wilhelmina is left lamenting.

"I had so much to say to him. I had got nothing said at all.

Alas! it is ever so!" Have we not all felt it thus after a brief glimpse of those we love?

In October came the promised return visit to Berlin. Wilhemina, after an eight years' absence, found all her young brothers and sisters much grown, but the Queen-Mother, in deepest mourning, jealous and sorrowful, and shut out from politics; the King more a king than ever, but unpopular and ageish. At Rheinsberg, Frederick's own particular country mansion among the beech-woods on the little lake of Grünerich, things were brighter. Frederick had many artistic schemes on hand—a French theatre, an Italian opera house. Voltaire had inoculated him with taste for the drama, and private theatricals were being got up at Rheinsberg, Voltaire's *Mort de César*, when—the Emperor Charles VI. died. The next day Frederick wrote to Voltaire: "I believe there will be by June next more talk of cannon, soldiers, trenches, than of actresses and dancers for the ballet." Straight from a masque ball in December, memorable as one at Brussels some fifty years later, Frederick went off to join his secretly massed troops and, in direct defiance of the Pragmatic Sanction, to wrest Silesia from Maria Theresa.

Wilhelmina returned home, anxiously to watch her brother's career. After the victory at Mollwitz the widowed Empress wrote in vain to beg her intercession with her brother, and Mdle. von Marwitz took herself temporarily to nurse her wounded uncle the General. The new Emperor Charles VII., Elector of Bavaria, hurried through Baireuth "in a very bad post-chaise," with half an hour's talk to the Margrave, on his way to be crowned at Frankfurt. Next came the Duchess of Würtemberg, the liveliest of dames, with her son Charles, aged fourteen, who became "quite *amouraché* with my little girl, and greatly diverted us with his gallantries," and, in an evil hour for the two children the mothers began to concoct a marriage scheme. In the middle of the visit Marwitz returned, "not much to my joy, I being, with some cause, jealous of that foolish minx." The lively Duchess "quite corrupted Marwitz, turned the poor girl's head into a French whirligig, and undermined any morals she had." The passing through of the Emperor had fired Wilhelmina, ever ready to amuse herself, with a desire to go and see the coronation. So she started off, in strict disguise and incognito, with the Margrave and his brother:

"Bad roads, waters all out, we had to go day and night, reached the gates of Frankfurt late January 30, 1742. Berghoven, Legationsrath (secretary) there, says we are known everywhere. Coronation is not to be till February 12. I was fatigued to death, and had cold on me; we turned back to the last stage, and stayed over night. Back again in secret to see the public entry of the Emperor. *Des plus superbes*. Masque ball that night, where I had much amusement tormenting the masques, not being known to any one. We next day retired to a small house which Berghoven had got for us out of the town, for fear of being discovered, and

lodged there; waiting February 14 under difficulties. The weather was bitterly cold; we had brought no clothes, my ladies and I had nothing earthly but a black andrienne each, to spare bulk of luggage; strictest incognito was indispensable. Marwitz and her sister, for giggling raillery, French airs, and absolute impertinence, were intolerable in that solitary place. We returned to Frankfurt again, had balls and theatres; of these latter, I missed none. One evening my head-dress got accidentally awry and exposed my face for a moment. Prince George of Hesse-Cassel who was looking that way, recognised me, told the Prince of Orange; they are in our box the next moment, and the former, good fat man, and the latter, hunched-backed but sprightly, and whose *esprit* and conversation delighted me, bore me faithful company all the coronation time. They would needs take me home in their carriage and asked the Margrave to let them stay supper, and from that hour they were never out of the house. Next morning, by means of them, our secret got abroad. The Archbishop of Cologne had set spies on us; next evening he came up to me, 'Madame, I know your Highness, and you must dance a measure with me.' We had nothing for it but to give up our incognito and take our fate."

Wilhelmina was presented to his three nieces, and the husbands of two of them "very polite indeed." She decided to send home for her clothes and equipages. Madame de Belleisle, wife of the French Ambassador, who was the soul of all their assemblies and the maker of Kaisers, suddenly called.

"I had carefully avoided her, reckoning she would have pretensions I should not be in the humour to grant. I took my resolution at the moment, and received her like any other lady. Her visit was not long. The conversation turned entirely on the praises of the King (Frederick). I found Madame de Belleisle very different from the opinion I had formed of her. *Elle sentait son monde*, but her air appeared to me that of a *soubrette*, and her manners insignificant. Monseigneur himself waited on me several times. The coronation truly grand, of an oriental splendour. The Kaiser, oftenest in his bed, courting all manner of German princes, managed to lead the Margrave into a foolish bargain about raising men for him. Which bargain I persuade the Margrave to back out of, and in the end does so; though it detains us some time longer in Frankfurt, which is still full of princes, busy with visitings and ceremonials. Among other things, by way of forwarding this bargain, they wished me to go and call on the Empress."

This was no easy thing to manage with due regard to every one's dignity. "How a King's daughter and an Empress are to meet, was probably never settled by example. What number of steps downstairs does she come? The *fauteuil*, is that to be denied me?" Wilhelmina wished to consult her brother. But there was no time. Finally, matters were arranged. Wilhelmina was allowed a very big common chair; the Empress sat on a very small one with arms. The former was not impressed. "She looks like a ball; *laide au possible*. Her mind corresponds to her appearance. She passes her days and nights in her oratory, with mere rosaries and gaunt superstitions. The old and ugly are generally the Almighty's portion. Our conversation was not long." The Empress would

speak no French, and "her Austrian jargon and my low Saxon are not mutually intelligible."

Meanwhile national enthusiasm in Austro-Hungary had reached boiling-pitch, and the very day that Wilhelmina saw Charles VII. receive the Imperial Crown with oriental splendours in the Römerhall at Frankfurt, a wild herd of Pandours, Croats and the like swept into Bavaria and seized Mních, his capital.

On Wilhelmina's return to Baireuth, the frisky Duchess paid her another visit to actually arrange the marriage between their two children. Her influence on the Court was bad. She introduced all manner of questionable French manners and amusements, which the flighty Von Marwitz found attractive, while they extremely shocked her high-bred mistress. A return visit to Stuttgart probably completed the ruin of that young lady's morals and of Wilhelmina's domestic happiness. For with it her Memoirs abruptly cease. The "shrill, glib voice" is hushed, the facile pen drops. Yet we would so fain have had her chronicle the culmination of the glories of the Court of Baireuth, the ascending successes of her beloved brother.

By August 1743, master of the whole of Silesia, and with his head full of a scheme of a union of the South German Princes, Frederick again ran over to Baireuth, on a visit more of diplomacy than of affection. With him came Voltaire, already dabbling in politics. A correspondence on art, philosophy, religion, had previously begun between him and the Margravine. The great little man was pining to see her charming capital. "Baireuth! Baireuth!" he wrote, "quand serai-je assez heureux pour voir vos fêtes!" Concerning his visit Wilhelmina is, alas! silent, but Voltaire was not too busy in his new ill-fitting character of diplomatic spy and go-between, to throw sidelights on that delicious fortnight.

"Mais enfin j'entends et je vois,  
Cette adorable sœur dont l'amour suit les traces."

With her Hermitage just finished and in all its glory, Wilhelmina, we may be sure, entertained her guest delightfully.

The flighty Duchess was there, but she was full of political worries, and had an interview, bathed in tears, with Voltaire, for had not the King detained at Berlin, for education, her son, little Frederica's fiancé? Voltaire stayed on a week after Frederick had departed on his political tour, finding "Baireuth a charming retreat where one can enjoy all that is agreeable in a Court without any of its inconveniences," and the Margrave, just made a Field-marshal, "a young prince full of worth and courage who loves the French and hates the Austrians."

In the brief lull before the second Slesian war, Frederick occupied himself in working up his opera, in founding his Academy of

Sciences, and marrying and giving in marriage his relations—to his own advantage. Wilhelmina, who we know had a turn for match-making, abetted by the giggling Marwitz and her sister, amused herself at Baireuth by trying unsuccessfully to arrange a rich marriage for the old Chamberlain Polwitz, to whose gossiping pen we owe so much of her family history. She was also busy building her Opera House. Standing close to the river and flush with the street, exteriorly it is unattractive. Plain folding wooden doors, wide enough to admit sedan chairs and their bearers, open into a dim entrance, whence a wide double staircase leads up what was considered one of the finest theatres with the largest stage in Germany, till 140 years later it was eclipsed by Richard Wagner's herculean model, which commands the town from the fir-clad hill to the north. Babiena, a famous Italian architect, superintended a work which is a glory of rococo art, all gilt balustrades with scrolls and canopies with Minerva and Apollo either side the proscenium. *Sic transit.* The gold embroidered curtain, carried off by the French when they occupied Baireuth from 1807 to 1810, is now at the Royal Opera at Vienna. Only modern German farces occasionally hold the stage where once Montperni, the Margravine's director, ruled supreme in florid Italian opera or Voltaire's classic French comedies, the echoes of which are now drowned by Wagner's *Parsifal* from the hill above.

Meantime, while her mother was encouraging all the arts and philosophies, and her father amusing himself with shooting trips to Erlangen and kindred delights, Frederica had grown up, and, on her sixteenth birthday, 1748, diplomacy married her to Duke Charles of Würtemberg. She had an unhappy life. Her Duke, educated, despite his mother, at Berlin, was Schiller's Duke of Würtemberg, "a man gloriously famous in Germany, of inarticulate, extremely arbitrary turn—an angry mule, voracious, dim-eyed, ambitious, with glooms and whims, and the temper of a——" Frederica bore with him for eleven years. Their only baby son died, and the year after her mother's death they were separated. Frederica died in 1780, poisoned, it is said, by the excessive use of cosmetics.

After the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle Europe had quiet for eight years. The muses, not the goddess of war, were in the ascendant at Berlin, and Baireuth followed suit. The correspondence of Voltaire and the Margravine gives us glimpses of this gay life, full of theatricals, mummeries of all kinds, with the poet in the zenith of his glory as general actor-manager. "Charlottenburg," he writes, "is a delicious abode; Frederick does the honours there, the King knowing nothing of it. One lives at Potsdam as in the château of a great French *seigneur* who has culture and genius, in spite of that terrible big battalion of Grenadiers." In the letters "Frère

Voltaire" likens Potsdam to an abbey, Frederick himself, and the other brilliant spirits, to monks; "Sœur Guilmette," as the Margravine styles herself, to the abbess; and there is not a little almost profane parody of religious doctrine and worship interspersed.

From August to November 1750, Wilhelmina herself had "a good time" of it at Berlin. There was the splendid carousal, or tournament, on the Palace Esplanade, lit by 40,000 oil lamps, with the Princess Amelia as Venus, distributing the prizes, and distinguished visitors from half the Courts of Europe looking on. There were amateur theatricals, both Frederick and Wilhelmina taking parts. No wonder she returned home in the finest of health and spirits.

It was Voltaire's best time at Berlin, too. A couple of years later and he had fled disgraced, whining to his friend to intercede for him with her brother. Wilhelmina did so, but there was no hesitation as to whose side she should take in the quarrel, and for four years there is dead silence between her and Voltaire.

In 1753 the old castle was nearly burnt to the ground. There had been revelries afoot, "the Duke of Württemberg and my daughter acting prettily," Wilhelmina writes to Voltaire before the split, and the Margrave setting fire to a window curtain put the whole place in flames. Wilhelmina, ill, had to be carried out of her bed to the house of her impressario, Montperni. While a new palace on a fresh site was erecting, the Italian journey for the benefit of the Margravine's health, which had been planned fifteen years before, really came off. But Wilhelmina started south *via* Colmar, and paid the delighted wanderer Voltaire a surprise visit at his inn, and tried to get him to accompany her and the Margrave to Montpellier. Voltaire wrote to Frederick for a passport, but the king laughed at him for his pains, and told his sister that she was well rid of him. Wilhelmina went on to Lyons, where she saw the grateful sage again ("Women are worth so much more than men," he writes), and, not without diplomatic intentions, and ever partial, as we know, to interesting ecclesiastics, made the acquaintance of Cardinal de Tencin and the Jesuits. Through him, Wilhelmina tried to get at the Pompadour, the virtual *premier* of France, and to arrange a treaty for Frederick. But Maria Theresa was beforehand with her. The Cardinal shilly-shallied, and the favourite snubbed Voltaire, who retired discomfited to Geneva.

Wilhelmina has recorded her winter at Montpellier and her Italian journey in her letters to her brother. Doubtless the antiquities of Languedoc filled her with a desire to see Rome and its classic glories. When the spring came Wilhelmina went as far south as Naples, where she saw "all the sights," the sulphurous *grotto del cane*, Virgil's grave, the original of that she had erected at her Hermitage, and from which she sent a spray of laurel with a pretty message to her beloved hero. Then home, *via* Venice, to settle down in the Neues Schloss.

This stands on the outskirts of the town, a fine piece of Renaissance work overlooking stiff trim gardens and square fishponds. But where once the powdered beauties of the Margravine's Court sauntered discussing all the 'ologies, now only the Baireuth *bourgeois* and the little blue-coated Bavarian soldier stroll on Sundays, or the Wagner pilgrim flits by to the lonely tomb at the Villa Wahnfried, hard by. Many crowned and imperial heads have lodged at the Neues Schloss since the Margravial line became extinct. Napoleon, rampaging through South Germany, occupied the stately, if dull, apartments, still beautiful with dainty rococo furniture and decoration. (Sad that beauty and furniture should, as it always does, coincide with decadence of art.) But Napoleon's stay was short. The "White Lady," tradition says, came out one night and turned the upstart *petit caporal* out of his little iron camp-bed, still to be seen among the damask-hung and gilt carved furniture, and Napoleon fled to the Hermitage.

In 1756 began the Seven Years' War, Frederick against the "alliance des trois cotillons"—France, Russia, and Austria. The Voltaire correspondence also recommences, but changed in tone. "Sœur Guillette" and "Frère Voltaire" no longer discuss philosophy and the arts, for Wilhelmina sits breathless on the edge of the storm watching her brother's career. She weeps with him for the complete massacre of his magnificent Grenadier Guards, when the disaster of Kollin turns the tables on the capture of Prague.

After his allies' ignoble treaty of Klostersieven when Frederick writes "*de profundis*" only hoping for death in calm, the faithful sister avers she will not survive him, and she kept her word—the night of the defeat of Hochkirch. "In long pages," writes Frederick, "I talk to you of nothing but my troubles and affairs. A strange abuse it would be of any other person's friendship. But yours, my dear sister, is known to me, and I am persuaded that you are not impatient when I open to you a heart which is wholly yours."

Wilhelmina does not sympathise in words only. She sends Riquetti, director of her Opera, to Paris to negotiate, and tries to work in Voltaire's assistance, as the celebrated *Lettres des Pandours* show, mysterious as an announcement in the agony column in the *Times*. The Pandours were part of the miscellaneous army of the Empire—to North Germany what the Prussian Uhlans were in 1870 to France. It was so written that if the Prince of Coburg intercepted the letter no one would guess that the "Sœur Mésaline" was indeed the Margravine, pleading through Voltaire to her friend Tencin to negotiate peace. Her efforts failed, however, and what Carlyle calls the "lamentation psalms" of Frederick, a wonderful jumble of French rhymes and prose poetry, throw a lurid light on the King's depression and despair:

"Oh! sweet and dear hope of my remaining days. Oh! sister, whose friendship, so fertile in resources, shares in all my sorrows, and with a helpful arm assists me in the gulf. It was in vain that the Destinies have overwhelmed me, if the crowd of Kings have sworn my ruin, if the earth have opened to swallow me—you still love me, noble and affectionate sister; loved by you, what is there of misfortune?"

Wilhelmina, that miserable summer, beside herself with anxiety, writes to Voltaire: "I am in a frightful state and will not survive the destruction of my house and family. That is the one consolation which remains to me. You will have fine subjects for making tragedies of." Indeed, her frail constitution, impaired by her suffering youth and her later sorrows, was distinctly breaking down under the weight of her brother's disasters. Then came the Austrian side movement on Berlin, and Frederick started off to intercept it.

"Death and a thousand torments could not equal the state I am in," she writes in October. "There run reports which make me shudder. Some say you are wounded; others dangerously ill. In vain have I tormented myself to get news of you, and can get none. My dear brother, come what may I will not survive you. If I continue in this frightful uncertainty, I cannot stand it, I shall sink under it, and then I shall be happy. I have been on the point of sending you a courier, but I durst not. In the name of God bid some one write me a word. I know not what I have written, my heart is torn in pieces. I feel that by dint of disquietude and alarms I am losing my wits. Oh! my dear, adorable brother, have pity on me! Heaven grant I may be mistaken and that you may scold me, but the least thing that concerns you pierces me to the heart and alarms my affection too much. Might I die a thousand times provided you lived and were happy. I can say no more, grief chokes me, and I can only repeat that your fate shall be mine, being my dear brother, your

"WILHELMINA."

Three weeks later Frederick, in the moment of victory over the French at Rosbach, writes to beg his "divine and affectionate sister to share in his joy. The instant I have time I will tell you more. I embrace you with all my heart."

In the lull which followed the victory of Leuthen and the capture of Breslau Wilhelmina seems to have taken heart again, and amused herself once more with building, for 1755 is the date of the *Fantaisie*, another charming country house among the fir-clad hills west of Baireuth, less fantastic than the *Hermitage*, and which passed to her daughter, and then to the Dukes of Würtemberg.

But when the war began again in 1758, it enveloped even Baireuth. The clouds were darkening round her brother's head, and Wilhelmina was not to see them lifted. The Prince of Zwiëbrück, with the Imperial troops, made her capital their headquarters, and when, in May, Prince Henry of Prussia came to clear the country of them, it was Wilhelmina's last sight of her brother or of a Prussian uniform. Frederick had been obliged to raise the siege



of Olmütz and hurry north, for the Russians were thundering at the gates of Berlin. The tempest he had raised was again howling around him, and his faithful sister was succumbing to the storm. To the brother who had seen her recently Frederick writes :

“What you write to me of my sister of Baireuth makes me tremble. Next to our mother she is what I have most tenderly loved in this world. She is a sister who has my heart, and whose character is of price beyond all the crowns in this universe. From my tenderest years I was brought up with her, you can conceive how there reigns between us that indissoluble bond of mutual affection and attachment for life, which in all other cases, were it only from disparity of years, is impossible. Would to heaven I might die before her and that this terror itself does not take away my life without my actually losing her.”

To Wilhelmina herself he writes: “Oh! you dearest of my family, you whom I have most at heart of all in this world, for the sake of whatever is most precious to you, preserve yourself, and let me have the consolation at least of shedding tears on your bosom. Fear nothing for us!”

But the answers are only dictated. The bright pen has fallen for ever from the gifted hand, though the loyal spirit is with him to the last. There came the brilliant defeat of the Russians at Zorndorf, too late to save Wilhelmina, and Frederick turns his attentions south again to invade Saxony. On Saturday, October 14, 1758, came the surprise of Hochkirch in the dead of night among the forests of the Spree, the Prussians' guns turned upon themselves, the loss of 800 of his men, two of his best officers and—retreat. But worse was yet to follow. The fourth day after Hochkirch fell the thunderbolt of his life, the greatest misfortune Frederick ever suffered. “My noble Wilhelmina dead, died the very night we were fighting here.”

Frederick passed a gloomy winter at Breslau :

“Like a Carthusian monk,” he wrote to D'Argues, “I dine alone, I spend my life in reading and writing, I do not sup. When one is sad it becomes at last too burdensome to hide one's grief continually, and it is better to give way to it by oneself. Nothing solaces me but the vigorous application required in steady continuous labour. This distraction does force one to put away painful ideas, while it lasts, but alas! no sooner is the work done than these fatal companions present themselves again, as if livelier than ever. Maupertuis was right; the sum of evil does certainly surpass that of good, but to me it is all one. I have almost nothing more to lose, and my few remaining days what matters it much of what complexion they be.”

Eighteen years later he thus wrote to his friend d'Alembert, condoling with him on the death of M<sup>lle</sup>. de Lespinasse :

“Potsdam, Sept. 7, 1776.

“I have had friends both men and women; I have lost five or six, and I thought to die of my grief. By a mere chance these losses fell upon me

during the different wars in which I have been engaged. . . . There is in truth no remedy but that of time."

Frederick turned to his poet friend to rear to his lost one an immortal monument of verse. Many letters passed between them on the subject, for Voltaire felt unequal to the task, and his celebrated *Ode sur la mort de S.A.S. Madame la Princesse de Baireuth* he deemed but a poor memorial to one whom he and Frederick could best appreciate.

Wilhelmina lies not in the gloomy and crowded Fürstengruft under St. Madeleine, but beneath the organ in what was the Margrave's chapel of the Old Castle, her husband, who survived her five years, by her side.

Twenty-two years later, when her unhappy life came to an end, their daughter was laid with her parents. "You have never had, madame, many reasons to love life," Voltaire had once written to her, and, by Wilhelmina's own wish, her obsequies were simple in the extreme, and her funeral oration was, by her special desire, upon "Vanity of vanities."

ED. TH. E. CUTHELL.

## OUR LAND.

FROM THE FINNISH POET, JOHAN LUDVIG  
RUNEBERG.

OUR land, our land, our native land!  
Ring high, O words of worth!  
No mountains 'gainst the sky-line stand,  
No vale is hid, nor washed one strand,  
That's dearer than our place of birth,—  
Than our sires' northern earth.

Our land is poor none can deny,  
If gold for them has spells;  
And strangers pass her proudly by,  
Yet for her sake we'd gladly die;  
For with her moorlands, crags, and fells  
She golden stories tells.

We love our rushing torrents' boom,  
Our streamlets' rapid flight,  
Our murky forests' whip'ring gloom,  
Our summer nights' star-spangled tomb,  
Yea, all that erstwhile song or sight  
Has touched our hearts aright.

'Twas here our fathers fought the fight  
With ploughshare, sword, and brain;—  
'Twas here, in gloomy times and bright,  
With fortune's favours or despite,  
That Finnish hearts learnt to sustain,  
Nor ever throbbed in vain.

Who's told the whole heroic tale—  
All that our folk withstood—  
When battle roared from vale to vale,  
When frost cried out with hunger's wail,—  
Who measured all their outpoured blood  
And all their valiant mood?

And here it was blood stained the earth ;—  
 For us they suffered sore ;—  
 And here it was they laughed in mirth,  
 Here, too, their broken sighs had birth,—  
 That people who our burdens bore  
 In days long gone before.

And here for us 'tis good, 'tis sweet  
 To be and have our share.  
 Whatever fate to us may mete,  
 We have a native land to greet ;—  
 And what is there on earth more rare  
 To treasure up with care ?

On ev'ry side lies stretched this land :  
 Our eyes can see it clear :  
 And we can proudly raise our hand,  
 And point with joy to sea and strand,  
 And say : " Behold the country here—  
 Our native land so dear ! "

Were we to dwell in stately guise  
 'Midst gold clouds azure-set,  
 And life tripped on 'midst starry skies,  
 Where none shed tears or uttered sighs,  
 E'en this poor land of ours we'd yet  
 With longing hearts regret.

Thou land of thousand lakes ! Thou land  
 By song and virtue famed,  
 Where life's sea's granted us a strand ;—  
 Land of our Past—our Future's land—  
 Be not of poverty ashamed ;  
 Live happy, free, unblamed !

Thy blooming early nipped by blight,  
 Shall burst forth blossoming.  
 See, from our love take upward flight  
 Thy splendour, glory, hope, delight ;  
 And louder, too, some day shall ring  
 The song thy sons shall sing.

WILLIAM FREDERICK HARVEY.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

## SCIENCE.

A USEFUL list of the New Zealand Fauna has been published by Captain F. W. Hutton,<sup>1</sup> with the collaboration of various specialists. The work does not pretend to be more than an index, with references to the authorities; but the introduction contains some interesting remarks upon the probable origin of the fauna and the date of isolation of the island, which will be of use to the geologist as well as the biologist. The references are not in every case complete; but, as the author remarks, the expense of making this part of the work more extensive would have been considerable, and it is to be hoped that at some future time means may be found for the further development of so important an undertaking, which should be conducted on national lines.

With a maritime nation like ourselves the teaching of navigation is, or ought to be, of paramount importance, and such a work as Mr. W. Hall's *Modern Navigation*<sup>2</sup> ought to meet with a considerable demand. In the first instance the book is intended as a text-book for students of navigation; but it is at the same time sufficiently advanced to serve as a handbook for practical navigators. The explanations of nautical terms are clear and concise, and the same may be said of the descriptions of instruments such as the log, compass, and sounding machines. The author has wisely reduced the working out of computations to the simplest basis possible, and has avoided an excessive use of mathematics, which so frequently puzzles and deters beginners. On the whole we can confidently recommend Mr. Hall's book to all who wish to acquire a knowledge of navigation.

The same firm of publishers have issued a series of *Worked Problems in Higher Arithmetic* for civil service and other examinations by W. P. Workman and R. H. Chope.<sup>1</sup> The book may be looked upon as a supplement to the *Tutorial Arithmetic*, and in

<sup>1</sup> *Index Fauna Nova Zealandia*. By Captain F. W. Hutton. London: Dulau and Co. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Modern Navigation*. By W. Hall. London: University Tutorial Press, Ltd. 1904.

<sup>3</sup> *Worked Problems in Higher Arithmetic*. By W. P. Workman and R. H. Chope. London: University Tutorial Press, Ltd. 1904.

connection with examinations will be found useful to students and teachers alike.

Those in search of mental gymnastics will find abundance of exercise in Mr. C. H. Hinton's *Fourth Dimension*.<sup>1</sup> The author endeavours, without the use of models or mathematics, to give his readers a conception of the use of four dimensions; but we must confess that we have been unable to follow him into the "higher world," or to do full justice to his description and illustrations of a tesseract. Those of our readers, however, who are not satisfied with three dimensions will probably derive much satisfaction from the perusal of Mr. Hinton's book. There are numerous illustrations, but in our opinion it is almost impossible to deal with the subject satisfactorily without the use of models.

Among the recent publications of the Smithsonian Institution, Mr. A. W. Grabau's *Phylogeny of Fusus and its Allies*<sup>2</sup> occupies a prominent place. The author deals with the genus from its earliest stages of development down to the most recent forms. In work of this kind there will always be a difference of opinion as to the relationship of members within a phyletic group, and Mr. Grabau has been careful to so describe the various forms, and at the same time has portrayed them so well in a series of eighteen excellent plates, that his monograph must be considered a distinct gain to the science of conchology.

Another important monograph published by the Smithsonian Institution is Mr. M. W. Travers's<sup>3</sup> *Researches on the Attainment of very low Temperatures*. The experiments, which were carried out with the assistance of a grant from the Hodgkins Fund, have contributed in no small degree to our knowledge of the properties of liquid hydrogen and other gases, and the apparatus designed by the author in conjunction with Sir William Ramsay for the liquefaction of gases has rendered researches of this kind much easier than was formerly the case. The present report forms the first part of the investigation, and further researches will be published as Part II, the advent of which will be eagerly awaited by all chemists and physicists.

Beekeepers and indeed all lovers of nature will greet with pleasure the second edition of Mr. T. W. Cowan's *Honey Bee*.<sup>4</sup> For fourteen years the first edition has maintained its place as the standard work on the subject, and this has now been revised and brought up to date. The clear and graphic way in which

<sup>1</sup> *The Fourth Dimension*. By H. Hinton. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Phylogeny of Fusus and its Allies*. By A. W. Grabau. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, vol. xlv. No. 1417. Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1904.

<sup>3</sup> *Researches on the Attainment of very Low Temperatures*. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, vol. xlvi. No. 1441. Washington. 1904.

<sup>4</sup> *The Honey Bee: Its Natural History, Anatomy, and Physiology*. By T. W. Cowan. London: Houlston & Sons. 1904.

Mr. Cowan describes the most intricate parts of the complicated anatomy of the bee renders the perusal of his work a pleasure. A copious bibliography and a list of all illustrations with full descriptions are features which add much to the value of the work, and might well be imitated by other writers on natural history.

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#### SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS AND JURISPRUDENCE

IN *La Politique Protectioniste en Angleterre : un nouveau danger pour la France*<sup>1</sup> M. Georges Blondel is more concerned with the effect of the return to Protection by this country upon the trade of France. He in passing gives a brief account of the present commercial situation in England, and declares that each system, Protection and Free Trade, has its advantages and its dangers. Serious as the question is to England, threatening her with the loss of her commercial and marine supremacy, M. Blondel has no doubt at all that the proposed change in the commercial policy of England would have very serious consequences indeed for France. England, as he shows, is France's best customer. A tariff wall against the natural products of France would be disastrous, and we cannot help adding that England would be the poorer for the exclusion of French inventions in machinery and electricity, French improvements and designs in objects of an artistic character. We can only assure M. Blondel that for different reasons we are as anxious as he is for the maintenance of the *status quo*. We do not believe that Protection offers any advantages to any nation to be compared for one moment with its disadvantages.

*The Secret of Herbart*,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. F. H. Hayward, is at once a challenge and a creed. Is the doctrine of Herbart nonsense, or is it sober truth, asks the author? Is Herbart's apperception doctrine right or wrong? Mr. Hayward is firmly convinced that to the extent of its own message it appears to be absolutely and faultlessly true; but if it is not true, he wants to be shown why it is false. There are, doubtless, many half-informed persons who will take up Mr. Hayward's challenge, and prove conclusively to their own satisfaction, if not to that of some of us, that there can be no education

<sup>1</sup> *La Politique Protectioniste en Angleterre : Un nouveau danger pour la France*. Par Georges Blondel. Paris : Librairie Victor Lecoffre. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *The Secret of Herbart*. An Essay on Education and a Reply to Professor James of Harvard. By F. H. Hayward, D.Litt., M.A., B.Sc. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1904.

without religious instruction. This in England, almost alone of all nations, would appear to be the popular view, both of Churchmen and Nonconformists. Mr. Hayward perhaps would not go with us in desiring to eliminate so-called religious instruction from our schools, but he strongly insists that religion by itself is no match for evil. The child is the father of the man; unless the child is interested in his work, his education is useless from a moral point of view; unless wholesome interests can be instilled into the child or youth, he grows up indifferent to all wholesome interests in life. "The stupid man," says Herbart, "cannot be virtuous." There are two points here, one educational, one moral. Without the stimulus of interest there can be no real education, no true culture. Without culture there can be no moral strength, not even a moral perception. The message of Herbart is "Interest." The secret of Herbart is apperception. Interest in almost anything good, and interest in nature, in art, in politics—above all, interest in moral goodness. All this we have felt quite as strongly as Mr. Hayward, but commonplace as it is, it still needs to be said. The present system of education, from the elementary school to the university, is on the wrong tack, and as long as the parsons are allowed the sole control, so long will it continue in the same fatal course.

Miss Clapperton is a woman of culture, depth of thought, and breadth of view. She has also the courage of her opinions, and however unsavoury may be the subject, she does not hesitate to draw attention to it. Her new book, *A Vision of the Future*,<sup>1</sup> deals with many subjects which are usually relegated to medical treatises or to papers read before ethical societies, but which, from their vital importance to the national welfare, ought to be brought home to every citizen. In her treatment of the sex problem Miss Clapperton follows Dr. Havelock Ellis; and we need scarcely say we entirely agree with her views, and join with her in condemning the prudishness which vetoes all discussion of a thorny problem, and seeks to drive the evil below the surface, content so long as it is out of sight. Upon education Miss Clapperton is especially sound. Her views are largely mere common sense to those of us who have trained children; but, truisms as they are, they need to be stated, and not only stated but to be applied. The wealthy classes are no less to blame than the lower. How can they expect their children to grow up with sound moral views or even a respectable code of honour when they are left to servants, who necessarily have little idea of either? Miss Clapperton is to be congratulated upon a particularly brilliant piece of work—a real contribution to national education.

<sup>1</sup> *A Vision of the Future based on the Application of Ethical Principles.* By Jane Hume Clapperton. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1904.



## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

To students in search of a manual of Greek history we can confidently recommend *The Tutorial History of Greece*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. W. Woodhouse, Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, New South Wales. Candidates for a Pass will find it amply sufficient for their purpose, while to Honourmen it will serve as an illuminating conspectus when engaged in revising their studies of the standard histories. Professor Woodhouse has, we venture to think, acted wisely in confining himself to the political history, and omitting reference to the achievements of the Greeks in the domains of literature, philosophy, and art. The book, modest as are its aims, is, nevertheless, the outcome of wide reading, high scholarship, and much original thought.

By the victory of Charles Martel at Tours, in 732, the tide of Mohammedan invasion had reached its limit, and the ebb was to set in. "The question there to be judged by force of arms," says Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole in *The Moors in Spain*, "was whether Europe was to be Christian or Mohammedan—whether the future Nôtre-Dame was to be a church or a mosque—perhaps, even, whether St. Paul's, when it came to be built, should echo the chant of Agnus Dei or the muttered prayers of Islam." *History of Moorish Empire in Europe*,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. S. P. Scott, is the first attempt made by an Englishman or American to treat this vast subject as a whole. His linguistic studies—attested by a list of authorities extending over twenty-five pages and embracing no less than seventeen languages and dialects—show the amazing industry with which he equipped himself for a task which took him twenty years to perform. Books, indeed, exist in plenty, treating of the Saracen dominion in Spain; but all works written before the publication of Gayangos' and Dozy's histories have but very slight historical value, being founded, for the most part, on Conde's *Dominacion de los Arabes en España*. According to Mr. Scott, both Irving and Prescott swarm with errors in their accounts of the last days of Moorish rule in Spain; moreover, the former shows a surprising lack of familiarity with Spanish. Of the Emperor Frederick II. Mr. Scott writes in terms of glowing praise. "The genius of Frederick II. was centuries in advance of his time. His most intelligent contemporaries were incapable of understanding his motives or of appreciating his efforts for the regeneration of humanity. No individual of that age accomplished so much for civilisation. He improved the c

<sup>1</sup> *The Tutorial History of Greece from the Earliest Times to the Death of Demosthenes*. By W. J. Woodhouse, M.A. Oxon. London: W. B. Clive. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*. By S. P. Scott. Three vols. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1904.

dition of every class of society in his dominions. He diffused the learning of the Arabs throughout Europe. He imparted new impulses to the cause of education in distant countries not subject to his sway, an impulse, while it was often impeded, was never wholly suppressed." Mr. Scott's chapter on the general condition of Europe from the eighth to the sixteenth century is one bitter indictment of the Popes and their clergy; Latin civilisation is contrasted, to its disadvantage, with the flourishing state of the arts and sciences under the enlightened rule of the Khalifs. Where, indeed, in Europe was to be found a University comparable with Cordova in her prime? If the enlightened policy of Archbishop Hernando de Talavera had prevailed over the blind bigotry of Cardinal Ximenes, and the Moors been suffered to dwell unmolested in the land they had made the focus of European culture; if Charles V. had not initiated the fatal policy of interference in the affairs of Italy, present-day Spain might be a dominant factor in the European Concert, instead of being a reproach among the nations.

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## THE DRAMA.

TEN plays, viz., "The Maid's Tragedy," "Philaster," "The Wid-Goose Chase," "Thierry and Theodoret," "The Knight of the Burning Castle," "King and No King," "Bonduca," "The Spanish Curate," "The Faithful Shepherdess," and "Valentinian," make up the two vols. of the thin-paper "Mermaid" edition of "the mysterious double personality of *Beaumont and Fletcher*."<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey has performed his editorial duties well; his Introduction is at once an eloquent tribute to the memory of these courtly poets and an analysis of "The Maid's Tragedy."

## BELLES LETTRES.

*Isolée*,<sup>2</sup> by Brada, might be described as the experiences of Sylvaine Charmoy—a beautiful and innocent girl of good family—who, by the death of the grandmother who had brought her up, suddenly finds herself transplanted to the London residence of an invalid uncle who had married for her fortune a vulgar widow of undoubted wealth, but of doubtful reputation. Brada, whose *Notes sur Londres* found favour with the French Academy, has described the "smart-set," in all their moral hideousness, with appalling accuracy. The character of Nelly Holt—the lady journalist who fondly imagined herself superior to the weaknesses of her sex by having cast off its conventions—is a careful study of contemporary English life. It is a clever, but, in its conclusion, unconvincing story.

*The Watchers*,<sup>3</sup> by A. E. W. Mason, is a book calculated to make the flesh of the timid "creep." It is a story of pirates and treasure-hidden in the burial-ground of Tresco Abbey about the middle of the eighteenth century; but differs from other stories of its type by making the principal villain employ a crude kind of mesmerism as an agency in the perpetration of his crimes.

<sup>1</sup> *Beaumont and Fletcher*. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by J. St. Loe Strachey. The Mermaid Series. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

<sup>2</sup> *Isolée*. Par Brada. Paris: Librairie Plon.

<sup>3</sup> *The Watchers*. By A. E. W. Mason. New Edition. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith. 1904.

*Chaucer: Canterbury Tales. The Prologue and Squire's Tale*,<sup>1</sup> edited by Mr. A. J. Wyatt, M.A., contains all that a student can reasonably be expected to know when presenting himself for an examination on the texts in question. The notes and glossaries have evidently been prepared with great care. The same remark also applies to the treatment of metre, especially in the matter of the final *e*, which in the *Prologue* (except at the end of lines), is indicated, when syllabic, by a diæresis.

In his sequel to *Wee Macgregor*,<sup>2</sup> J. J. B. has presented his admirers with another series of *genre* pictures of Scotch life as genuinely humorous as its predecessor. It was a happy thought of the author to preface his booklet with a glossary for the use of the Southron ignorant of Scots. As the hero is still of tender years, we may hope to hear something more of him in the near future.

It was only last year that the civilised world was bewailing the premature death of Captain Olivieri Sangiacomo, the novelist *par excellence* of military life in Italy. Of his latest and, perhaps, greatest work, *The Colonel*<sup>3</sup>—now admirably translated by Mr. E. Spender—no less than 30,000 copies have been sold abroad. At the opening of the story Count Ettore di Sant' Agata, who had distinguished himself as military attaché to the embassies of Paris, Berlin, and London, has, at a comparatively early age, within his grasp all for which his ambitious heart can crave: a brilliant appointment on the general staff, and the love of a rich, beautiful, and accomplished woman. But the Nemesis of a half-forgotten sin is at hand to wreck his life, in the person of that hopeless degenerate his son, who, after startling Italy by a series of dastardly crimes without parallel in history, is doomed to die a felon's death by the verdict of the court over which his father was forced to preside. We follow with bated breath the successive phases of the tragedy as they inevitably unfold themselves. The austere simplicity of language in the latter episodes—a triumph, indeed, of restrained art—intensifies the crowding horrors of the end in a manner unattainable by the verbosity of the ultra-Realistic school of writers.

We have received from Messrs. George Bell & Sons a handy little reprint of *Erclina; or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*,<sup>4</sup> by Fanny Burney, edited with Introduction and Notes by Miss (?) Annie Raine Ellis, who is acknowledged to be the leading authority on all that concerns Madame d'Arblay. Few novels

<sup>1</sup> *Chaucer: Canterbury Tales. The Prologue and Squire's Tale.* Edited by A. J. Wyatt, M.A. Lond. and Camb. London: W. B. Clive.

<sup>2</sup> *Wee Macgregor Again: A Sequel.* By J. J. B. London: Grant Richards.

<sup>3</sup> *The Colonel.* By Captain Olivieri Sangiacomo. Translated from the Italian by E. Spender. London: David Nutt. 1904.

<sup>4</sup> *Erclina; or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World.* By Fanny Burney. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Annie Raine Ellis. London: George Bell & Sons. 1904.

have enjoyed in their day a wider popularity than did *Ecolina*, which excited the unstinted admiration of so redoubtable a critic as Dr. Johnson. Apart from its intrinsic merits, the laudable interest now taken in our eighteenth-century authors ought to ensure to this production a new lease of life.

In all civilised countries, from the Middle Ages down to the end of the Renaissance, etiquette, especially in relation to decorum at meals, formed an important branch of education for the nobility. For instance, England had *The Babees Book; The Book of Curteisie that is Clepid stans puer ad mensam*—the most popular of fifteenth-century productions, which Hugh Rodes soon afterwards developed in *The Book of Nurture, or School of Good Manners* (1550). *The Schoole of Vertue, and booke of Good Nourture for Children and youth to learne their dutie by*, composed by F. Seager (1557), puts etiquette on an ethical basis. Erasmus: *De civitate morum puerilium* was Englished in 1532. In 1576 Robert Peterson published his version from the Italian of Archbishop Giovanni della Casa's *Galateo*—one of the most famous works of its kind. But no book enjoyed greater popularity in the sixteenth and seventeenth century than the Latin satire, entitled *Grobianus: De morum simplicitate*, composed, in 1552, by the Wittenburg Master, Friedrich Dadekind. German versions innumerable of it appeared, with varying degrees of grossness and deviations from the original. In *Palaestra xxxviii*. Dr. Ernst Rühl has published an illuminative monograph on *Grobianus in England*,<sup>1</sup> together with a reprint of the first English translation: *The Schoole of Slotenrie* (1605), and Schwanke's *Grobiana's Nuptialls*, from the Bodleian MS. 30. He also devotes a chapter to Roger Bull's translation of *Grobianus*, which was dedicated to Swift. *Grobianus* belongs to the same class of literature as Erasmus' *Encomium moris* and Pirckheimer's *Podagras laus*, and, perhaps, is related to Obsopæus' *De arte bibendi*—works of mordant irony which, a favourite pastime amongst the Humanists, praise what is blameworthy and blame what is praiseworthy; in short, inculcate an inverted etiquette. In *The Gull Horne-booke* (1619), *Grobianus* is transformed by Dekker into an English "gull," the type of an empty-pated "man about town"; the country variety of this amazing creature appears in Ben Johnson's *Every Man in his Humour*. The second English version of *Grobianus* was dedicated to Swift by a writer who concealed his identity under the pseudonym of John Bull. Swift himself adopted Grobianian irony in his *Directions to Servants*.

From the psychological point of view, *The Vineyard*<sup>2</sup> incontestably ranks with John Oliver Hobbes' highest achievements. The curious

<sup>1</sup> *Palaestra xxxviii. Grobianus in England*. Von Ernst Rühl. Berlin: Mayer and Müller. 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *The Vineyard*. By John Oliver Hobbes. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1904.

antiphonal verse on the fly-leaf, "He beholdeth not the way of the vineyards," is taken by Biblical commentators to imply the opposite to "sitting under his vine and fig-tree." The protagonists of the story are Gerald Federan, Jennie Sussex, and Rachel Tredegar. Federan is a young provincial solicitor who, after winning the Victoria Cross with the Yeomanry in South Africa, has returned home to carry on the practice of his paralysed father. He possesses all the physical qualities, together with some share of the moral defects, that we are wont to associate with Ouida's typical guardsman. After fluttering, in inconsequent flirtation, the hearts of half the countryside, he falls in love at last with sweet Jennie Sussex, penniless, but an aristocrat to the finger-tips. In his eagerness to make money fast, in order to live in a style befitting his individual tastes and his *fiancée's* proper social position he becomes the tool of his father's recently discharged clerk in a shady transaction, from the ruinous consequences of which he can only be saved by marriage with Rachel Tredegar. This spoilt child of fortune is the living antithesis of Jennie Sussex; self-willed, passionate, and morbid as *Les fleurs du mal* of Baudelaire—a creation as exotically unwholesome as she is masterly—contends with her, in unequal fight, for the body of Gerald Federan. What soul the man possesses must for ever belong to Jennie. It is the old, old battle of the two standards (to quote the Ignatian Exercises), and, in his weakness, he has deliberately ranged himself under the Standard of Evil. "A man," says John Oliver Hobbes, "is never happy with the second best, or the third best, or, indeed, with anything less than the ideal he is capable of imagining. So long as he can imagine something better than what he possesses already—so long as he can feel he has missed something he might have had but for ill-luck or no chance, he's bound to be miserable."

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## POETRY

DR. MAURICE C. HIME, taking his stand on the broad principles of Christian ethics, eschews prose in favour of verse as the vehicle of his sermons. Little as we like didactic poetry in general, we are in honour bound to admit that Dr. Hime's command of metre, coupled with a keen sense of humour, has preserved him from the pitfall of sentimentality that lies in wait for poets who venture into this field. *Fanny Haire*<sup>1</sup> was not only "tall and lean," but also

"Was crabbed as a cross-grained cat,  
All wailing, tears, and spleen."

No less than three stanzas are occupied with the recital of her various ailments—for the most part imaginary. From these she rapidly recovers, after taking to heart the lesson conveyed by a singularly uncaunty dream. *The Unlucky Golfer his Handbook* presents the tyro in the game with some useful hints, together with a warning against "that most demoralising fallacy of constantly ascribing bad play . . . to ill-luck, accident, fortune." The illustrations to both booklets have artistic merit, and, besides, are very funny.

<sup>1</sup> I. *Fanny Haire her Dream; or, a Plea for Cheerfulness*. II. *The Unlucky Golfer his Handbook*. By Maurice C. Hime, M.A., LL.D. With Illustrations by John R. Monsell. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. 1904.

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grouped in districts, under superintendents and assistant superintendents, managers, general agents and special agents, and in each district a strong spirit of emulation is developed by human contact and co-operation. Weekly meetings are held, and the problems of wisely presenting insurance are discussed. Comparative records of the men are kept in many districts, and prizes are offered for those writing the largest volume of business, for those making the greatest individual increase, and for many other contests. This wholesome rivalry produces an alertness and industry which are to the company an invaluable asset in human efficiency. A few weeks after this magazine appears, probably 2,000 agents of the Prudential—those who have made the best records for the year—will be brought to Newark from all parts of the country. They will, of course, visit the home offices and come in contact with the directing centre of their wonderful organization.

And, after all, there is no place where one feels the greatness of the Prudential quite so much as in the vast granite piles which have been raised for the company's home buildings. They rise above the Jersey meadows as Gibraltar does above the sea, a convincing witness, surely, to the growth and to the strength of the Prudential. But they are not a cold, gray rock, but a living organism throbbing from vital contact with millions of policyholders. There are now four of these great buildings, all occupied by the company.

To-day the Prudential is paying over 300 claims a day, or about forty each working hour. On many policies settlement is made

within a few hours by the superintendent of the district; on the large policies a report is sent immediately to the home office and settlement authorized by telegraph. And on over 45 per cent. of the claims more money is paid than the policy calls for. From the beginning the Prudential has followed lines of great liberality, whether in dealing with the family where the policy is kept in the bureau drawer, or with the estate of the millionaire.

It would be interesting to describe the broad activities that hum in the great buildings at Newark, but they would more than require an entire article themselves. So

too, with the equipment and furnishings of the buildings which, in the way of complete adjustment to their particular work, are probably unequalled in the world. For example, in the actuarial department is a card machine, invented by the actuary of the company, which can do all but think. But many of these things, in miniature, will be seen

by the thousands who go to the World's Fair at St. Louis. They will find in the Prudential's exhibit in the Palace of Education a fine model of all the buildings, and also the fullest data concerning life insurance that have ever been brought together.

But the last word about the Prudential is not told at any Exposition. It is found in the 5,500,000 policies which form a stupendous exhibit on the value of life insurance in developing thrift, safe investment, and home protection in a nation. Of course, such an exhibit could never have been possible if the Prudential had not worked out safe policies that would meet the broad needs of the American people.



and developed. The Prudential was founded. In the most careful way its idea was tested, just as the Secretary of Agriculture tests seeds at the Government's experiment farms. Here was where prudence kept the large vision in proper focus. Gradually the idea took root and grew. Year after year the Prudential added to its number of policyholders. And all the time the company was working out a more liberal basis for its democratic idea. But each time a more liberal policy was offered, it was fully tested. "Progress with strength" is the way President Dryden describes the company's principle of growth—the results, clearly, of vision and prudence. At the end of ten years of this method of growth, the company reached the point where, it was believed, insurance could be safely offered for any amount with premiums payable on any plan, either in weekly installments or at longer periods. Within the five years 1886 to 1890 inclusive, the company's assets increased nearly five-fold, from \$1,040,816 to \$5,084,895, and the amount of insurance in force from \$40,206,445 to \$139,163,654.

The Prudential had found itself. The idea of democratic insurance had been fully tested and adjusted to the needs and conditions of the American people. Then, with a boldness which only large vision could have quickened, the plan was formed to make the Prudential's idea known in every section of the country. Gibraltar was chosen as the symbol of the company's strength, and advertising—the telling of the Prudential idea to the people—was begun. At that time insurance advertising was as unknown as the Atlantic when Columbus set sail from Palos. But, with a map of the United States for chart, and a live idea for compass, the Prudential took passage in nearly every important magazine in the country, and thus safely made port in millions of homes. As the insurance idea

was carried broadcast in this wide publicity it was followed up by the well-drilled army of Prudential agents.

Again it was vision and prudence and again the result was "Progress with strength." The Prudential grew into a place of foremost importance, known in every part of the world. The printed announcement—always attractive and suggestive—had never gone ahead of men bearing the insurance message until sent by the Prudential, and this conjunction marked the epoch in business in which advertising and personal endeavor should be used as complementary forces.

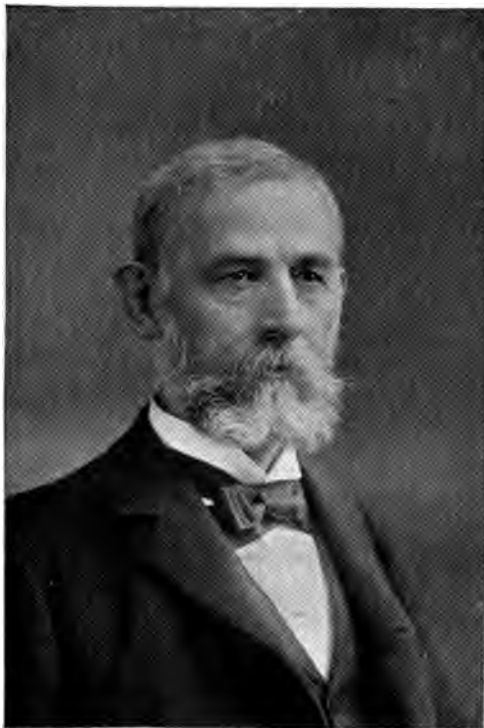


SECTION OF MAIN OFFICES.

The Prudential publicity is accompanied by wise promotion from a field force of over 12,000, some of whom have been with the company for over a quarter century, working in almost every State of the Union. They have the zeal of Crusaders and it is kept at ardent pitch through an organization that could not fail to produce a wonderful *esprit de corps*. Wise direction and constant encouragement come from the home office, and then the company's agents are

masses the idea of life insurance protection. To them is being carried the gospel of self-help, protection and a higher life."

And what has been the result of the democratic American principle worked out in life insurance? In 1875 the first policy was written in the Prudential. At the end of 1903 there were 5,447,307 policies in force on the books of the company, representing nearly a billion dollars. The assets in 1876 were \$2,232, while twenty-seven years later, in 1903, they were more than



U. S. SENATOR JOHN F. DRYDEN, PRESIDENT OF THE PRUDENTIAL.

30,000 times greater, or \$72,712,435.44, the liabilities at the same time being \$62,578,410.81. This is a record of growth that is without precedent in insurance and that is hard to match in the whole range of industry. The rise of the Prudential to greatness reads like a romance in big figures, but, in fact, it is a record of business ex-

pansion that has been as natural as the growth of an oak. The corn crop of the country seems too big for comprehension until one sees the vast fields of the Middle West, and then it appears as simple as the growth of a single stalk. So with the Prudential. To say that, in ten years, the company's income grew from something more than \$9,000,000 a year to more than \$39,000,000 last year is amazing as a general statement, but when made in relation to the broad principles on which that growth has been based, it becomes as much a matter of course as the corn crop. There is no mystery about it; but there is in it, from the day when the principles were planted in Newark until these great harvest days, the genuine American spirit of achievement, strong, hopeful and expansive.

The Prudential Insurance Company of America is a national institution. It was founded to provide insurance for the American people on the broadest possible basis, consistent with strength and safety.

Just as Grant and Lee organized their armies, or as Kouropatkin and Yamagata plan their campaigns in Asia, so does the Prudential work out its national insurance propaganda. The company's organization is essentially military. It is a wonderful combination of big grasp and outlook and with the most painstaking thoroughness and system in details. And, as is always the case in every organization that throbs throughout with intelligent energy, there is a man at the centre of it. This man has a constructive imagination lighting up a New England brain. To business prudence there is added the large vision which sweeps the horizon for opportunity. Naturally, to such a vision the application of the democratic idea to insurance was an opportunity of the first magnitude. When seen, it was grasped



SKY-LINE VIEW OF HOME OFFICE BUILDINGS, PRUDENTIAL INSURANCE CO., NEWARK, N. J.

## THE AMERICAN PILLAR OF HERCULES

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PHOTOGRAPHICALLY ILLUSTRATED BY ARTHUR HEWITT

**W**HEN the Greek scholars carried the new learning into Italy, and on to the Pillars of Hercules, the middle ages had to give way to light. For ideas with life in them have spread light from the stone age until now, in every century where they have been wisely brought. The spread of thrift and saving in America in connection with insurance is a striking illustration in point. A little over a quarter of a century ago a young New Englander introduced from England the idea of life insurance for the masses of the people. For a number of years that idea had been growing in Great Britain and it had gained a broad foothold at the time it was transplanted in this country. And when brought here it was so fully adjusted to American conditions by the Prudential that it grew from the beginning, like a native. That record of growth is an amazing story of human achievement, but it is the old story—always absorbingly in-

teresting—of the abounding power of an idea with life in it.

Ten years after the close of the Civil War—a period so recent that its history has scarcely been written—the Prudential was established in Newark. As if fore-knowing the great rock to which it would grow, it began its foundation in a basement office. It was like the beginning of the *New York Herald* by Bennett, the elder, in a basement on Ann Street. But it would be an idle play with words to make a basement office the real foundation of the Prudential. It was something much deeper down than that—nothing else than the bed-rock American principle of democracy. The Prudential applied the democratic principle to life insurance. As Senator Dryden, of New Jersey, the founder of the company, has said, "Life insurance is of the most value when most widely distributed. The Prudential and the companies like it are cultivating broadly and soundly among the

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